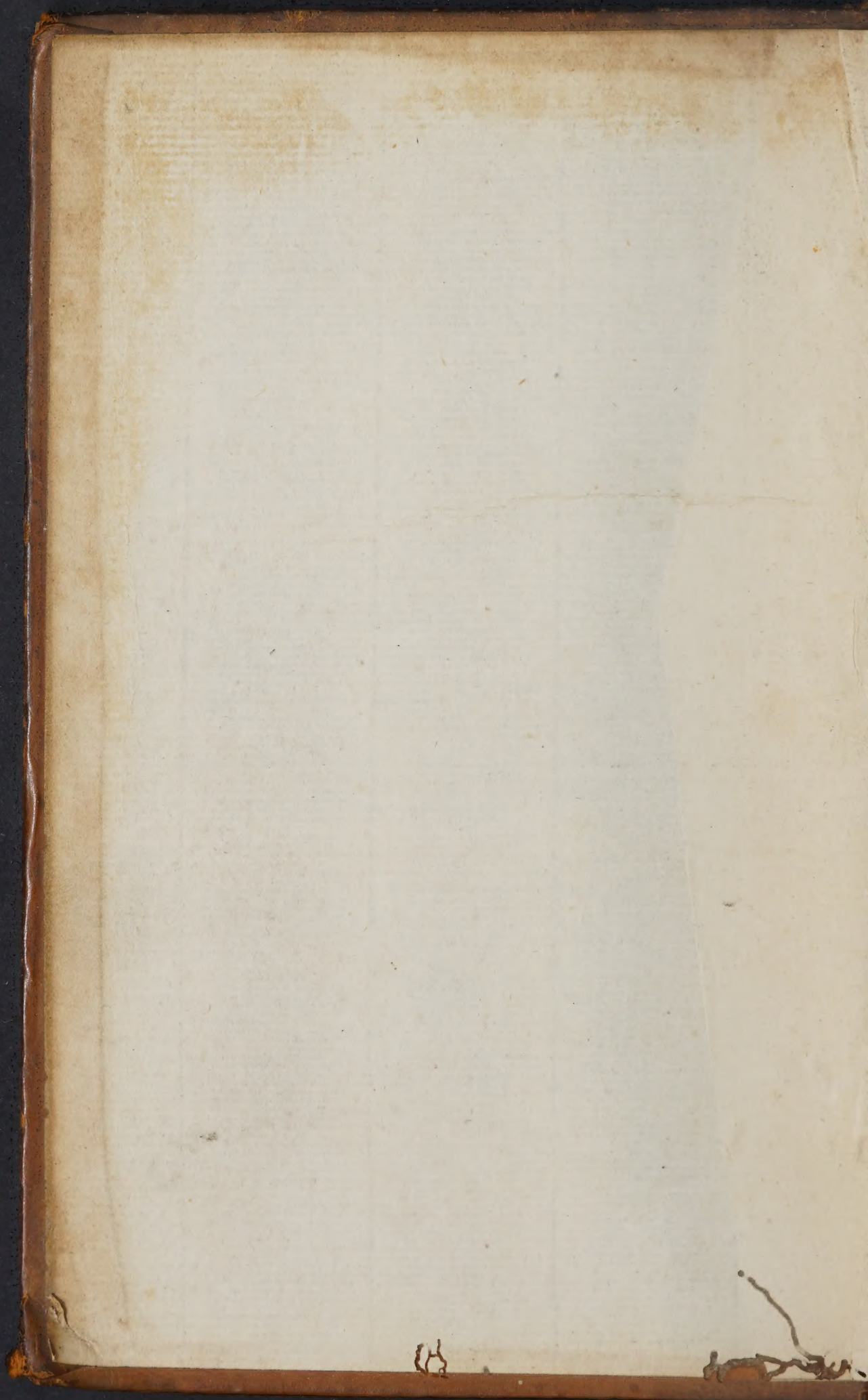


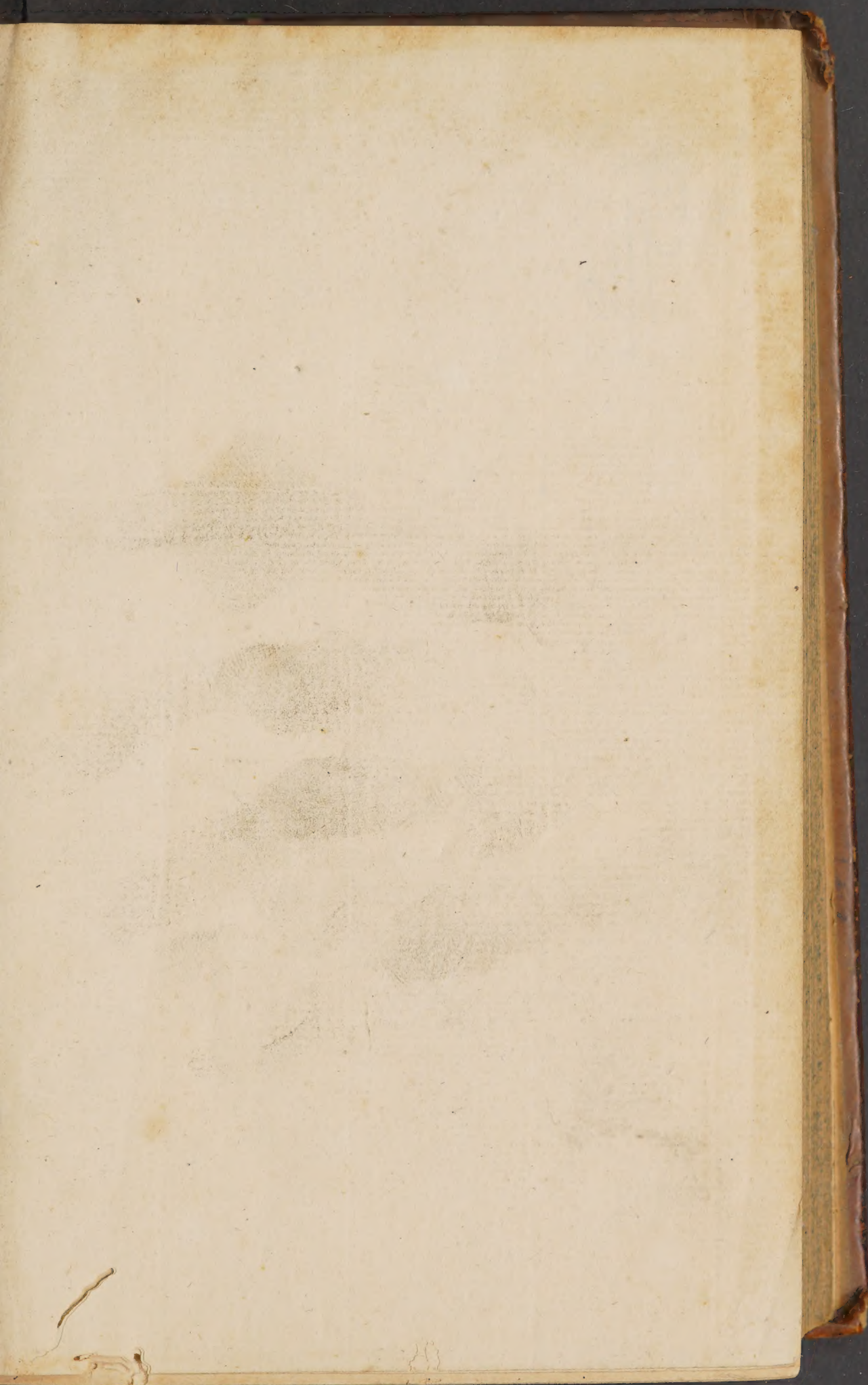




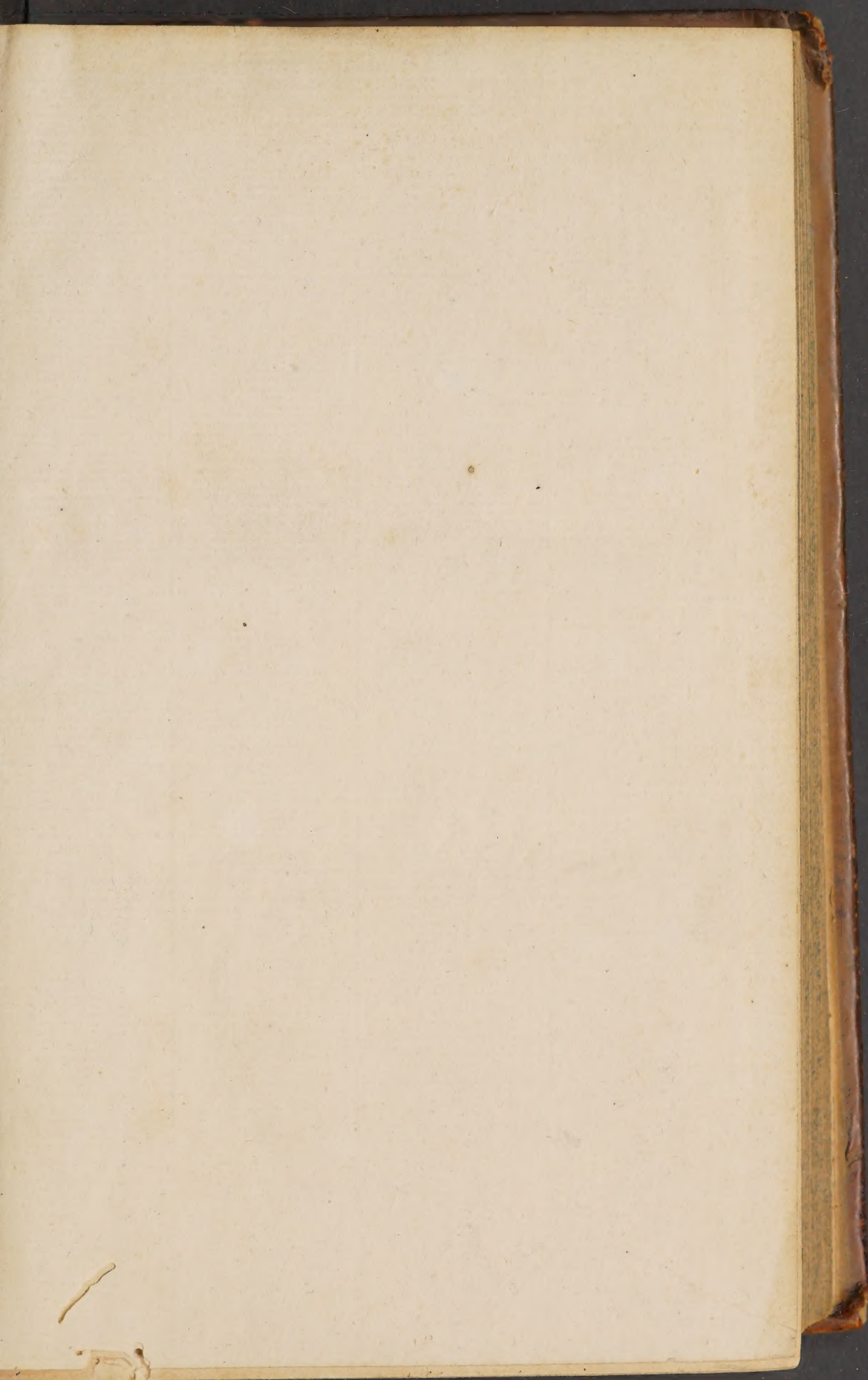


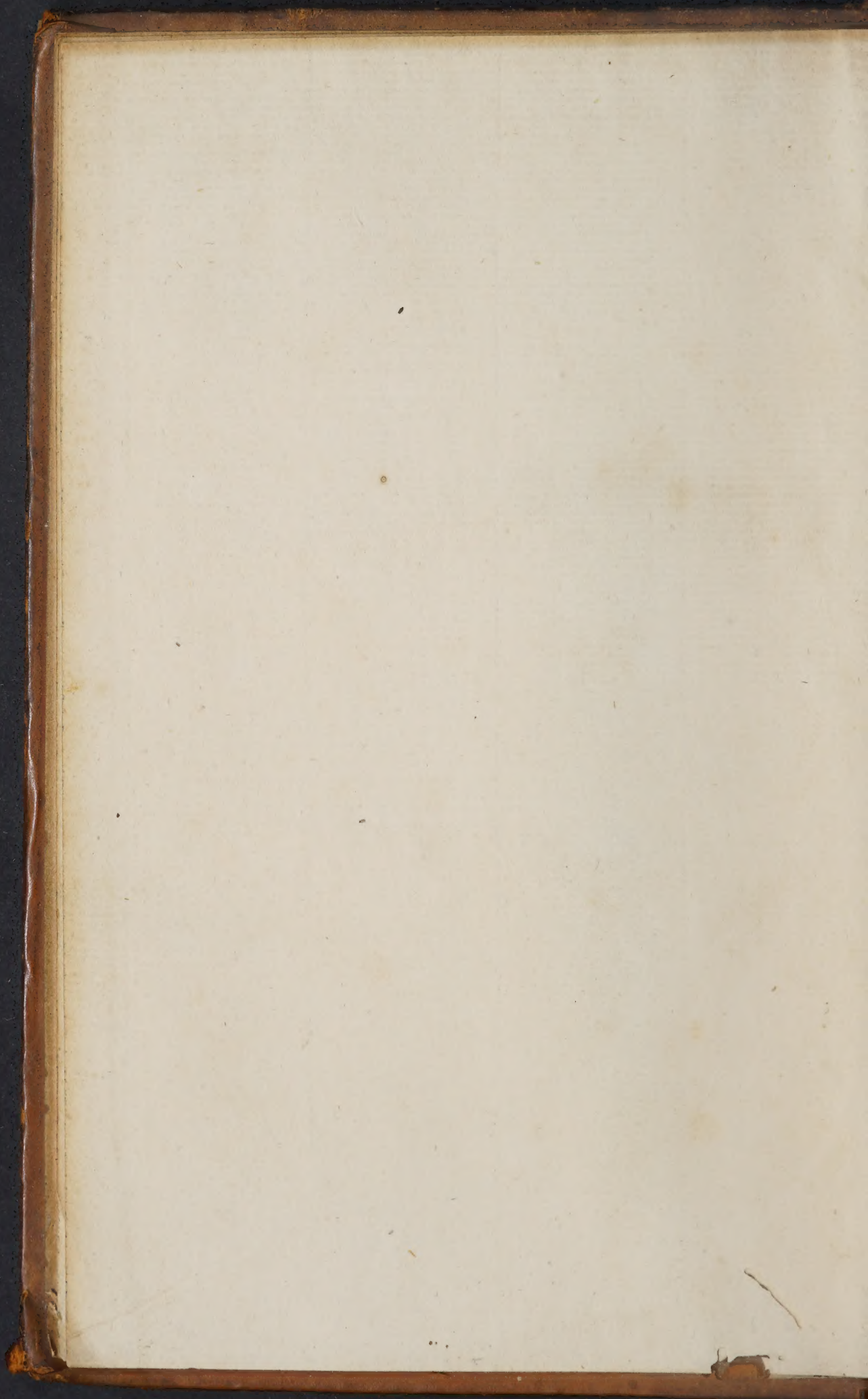






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PARADISE LOST.

A

P O E M,

I N

T W E L V E B O O K S.

The A U T H O R

J O H N M I L T O N.

The S E C O N D E D I T I O N,

With N O T E S of various A U T H O R S,

By T H O M A S N E W T O N, D. D.

V O L U M E *the* F I R S T.

∴ L O N D O N :

Printed for J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper; and for S. Birt,
C. Hitch, J. Hodges, B. Dod, E. Wicksted, J. Oswald,
J. Ward, J. Brindley, C. Corbet, and J. New.

M D C C L.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IV.

THE SONS OF HEAVEN.

THE SONS OF HEAVEN.

THE SONS OF HEAVEN.

THE SONS OF HEAVEN.

THE SONS OF HEAVEN.

THE SONS OF HEAVEN.

THE SONS OF HEAVEN.

THE SONS OF HEAVEN.

THE SONS OF HEAVEN.

To the RIGHT HONORABLE the

E A R L O F B A T H.

M Y L O R D,

MILTON himself prefixed no Dedication to the PARADISE LOST; for he designed it, not for a single patron, but for the wise and learned of all ages. However several of the later editions have been inscribed to Lord Sommers, as a great admirer and encourager of this work: and indeed such a poem should be addressed only to the most worthy, to Lord Sommers, or One like Him a judge and patron of arts, and illustrious both in the commonwealth of men and the commonwealth of letters.

A 2

But

DEDICATION.

But this edition hath a peculiar right and title to Your Lordship's patronage and protection, as it was undertaken chiefly at Your desire, and in some measure carried on at Your expense *, Your Lordship having generously contributed the copper plates to beautify and adorn it: and at the same time Your Lordship was willing to give some encouragement to the art of designing here in England; for it is greatly to be lamented, when we can produce models in poetry superior to any or all the nations in Europe, that we should be deficient and inferior to several of them in the sister art of painting.

Milton was ever a favorite poet with Your Lordship. You considered him always as a classic author in English, and were desirous to have him published as such: and

* This is said of the First Edition in Quarto. though

DEDICATION.

though I cannot pretend to instruct Your Lordship to understand him better, or admire him more; yet if I can make him more generally understood, and consequently more justly admired, Your Lordship's purpose and mine will be sufficiently answered. Your Lordship's taste has never been questioned; and I should dread Your great abilities, if I did not love more Your candor and good-nature: and no wonder that You have so much a finer taste than other great men, as You are so much a finer writer, and if I may be allowed to mention it, in poetry as well as in prose. For the state has not wholly ingrossed Your time and attention; at proper seasons and intervals You have also sacrificed to the Muses. Your writings in other kinds are very well known to the world, have long been in

DEDICATION.

every body's hands, and read with universal delight and admiration: but Your verses are made only for the amusement of Your leisure hours, and the entertainment of Your friends; and it is not easy for others, who have not had the pleasure of seeing some of them, to conceive the spirit, and ease, and elegance, and happiness, with which they are written. They, who remember the pieces by Lord Dorset, may have the best notion of them.

And if I may presume to know any thing of the spirit or mind of Milton by a diligent perusal of his works, he would be pleased with the offering of any of his writings to Your Lordship, for the sake of those principles of liberty which You have always professed. He would have rejoiced
in

DEDICATION.

in Your long, and glorious struggle in the cause of liberty, in the cause of Your country: and if all the good effects have not followed from it, which might have been expected, though it may not become me to say where the blame ought to be laid, yet it cannot misbecome me to say that it ought by no means to be laid, as it has been, upon Your Lordship. It is not my business to give any offense, and I intend none. I abhor defamation, and I scorn as much to flatter your Lordship or any man. But it may be said, I hope without offense, I am sure without flattery, that it is in Your Lordship's power to set all these transactions in a clear light, and You have sufficient materials by You for this purpose, and have often been solicited by Your friends to do it: but Your Lordship's

DEDICATION.

answer always was, that You would leave it to Time and Truth to vindicate Your character. And the event has succeeded according to Your Lordship's wisdom and foresight; prejudice is dying away; truth is gaining ground daily; and the more the truth is understood, the more it redounds to Your Lordship's honor: and Your enemies themselves, and those who not knowing Your purposes will not allow You to have acted a wise, must yet be forced to acknowledge that you acted a most disinterested part. For it is very well known, that you were even courted to accept the place of the greatest power and confidence; or if You had foreseen any difficulty of maintaining Yourself in power, as that is a slippery and uncertain situation, You might have secured Yourself in the possession

DEDICATION.

session of any of the most lucrative employments, and might have enjoyed it with a patent for life. But Your Lordship was content to leave others in place and power, who You thought were most able and best qualified for the administration of public affairs, and retired Yourself with only a dignity, which had been offered You several times before. Such instances of magnanimity and disinterestedness have not been common in any age, and are very uncommon in the present.

Thus much the love of truth and virtue, which is inseparable from the love of Your Lordship, has obliged me to say: and if I am partial to Your Lordship's character, there are other reasons which have made me so, besides the friendship and kindness which You have shown to
me

DEDICATION.

me upon all occasions. Your love of religion and virtue, which You express in all Your discourses and actions; Your reverence for the holy Scriptures, and how unfashionable soever it may be, Your open profession of the truth of the Christian revelation; Your regard for our establish'd Church, and regular attendance upon the public worship; Your constant and inviolable affection to the constitution and liberties of Your country; Your acting always upon the true Whig principles, and asserting equally the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the people; Your steady and sincere attachment, tho' not always to the ministers, yet always to the person of our most gracious King, and the true interests of his royal family, who next under God are the great bulwark and

DEDICATION.

and defense of our religion and liberties ;
Your readiness at all times to maintain the
liberty of the press, tho' no man ever suffered
more by the abuse of it than Yourself ; Your humane and compassionate
temper ; Your uncommon knowledge, and
extensive genius for literature or business ;
Your easy wit, and flowing conversation,
often instructive, always agreeable and entertaining ; Your social and convivial spirit,
that it is a happiness to live or converse with You ; these, these are the good
qualities, which have gained my affection,
and must gain every one's who hath equal
opportunities of observing them. If I
knew any man, who possessed and exerted
them all in a greater and more eminent
degree than Your Lordship, I should
love him and admire him more : but till then

DEDICATION.

I must have the highest honor for Your Lordship, and cannot help professing myself without reserve, and with all possible veneration,

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's ever obliged,

and devoted Servant,

May 20, 1749.

THOMAS NEWTON.

P R E F A C E.

TO publish new and correct editions of the works of approved authors has ever been esteemed a service to learning, and an employment worthy of men of learning. It is not material whether the author is ancient or modern. Good criticism is the same in all languages. Nay I know not whether there is not greater merit in cultivating our own language than any other. And certainly next to a good writer, a good critic holds the second rank in the republic of letters. And if the pious and learned Bishop of Thessalonica has gained immortal honor by his notes upon Homer, it can be no discredit to a graver Divine than myself to comment upon such a divine poem as the *Paradise Lost*, especially after some great men, who have gone before me in this exercise, and whose example is sanction sufficient.

My design in the present edition is to publish the *Paradise Lost*, as the work of a classic author cum notis variorum. And in order to this end the first care has been to print the text correctly according to Milton's own editions. And herein the editors of Milton have a considerable advantage over the editors of Shakespear. For the first editions of Shakespear's works being printed from the incorrect copies of the players, there is more room left for conjectures and emendations; and as according to the old proverb,

Bene qui conjiciet vatem hunc perhibebo optimum,
the best guesser was the best diviner, so he may be said in some measure too to be the best editor of Shakespear, as Mr. Warburton hath proved himself
by

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by variety of conjectures, and many of them very happy ones, upon the most difficult passages. But we who undertake to publish Milton's *Paradise Lost* are not reduced to that uncertainty; we are not left floating in the wide ocean of conjecture, but have a chart and compass to steer by; we have an authentic copy to follow in the two editions printed in his own life-time, and have only to correct what may be supposed to be the errors of the press, or mistakes occasioned by the author's blindness. These two editions then, the first in ten books printed in a small quarto, and the second in twelve books printed in a small octavo, are proposed as our standard: the variations in each are noted; and we never deviate from them both without assigning, as we think, a substantial reason for it. Some alterations indeed are necessary to be made in consequence of the late improvements in printing, with regard to the use of capital letters, Italic characters, and the spelling of some words: but to Milton's own spelling (for we must distinguish between his and that of his times) we pay all proper regard, and commonly note where it is right, and where it is wrong; and follow it or not accordingly. His pointing too we generally observe, because it is generally right; such was the care, that Milton himself took in having the proof-sheets read to him, or his friends took for him: and changes of consequence we make none without signifying the reasons; in lesser instances there is no occasion to be particular. In a word we approve of the two first editions in the main, tho' we cannot think that they ought to be followed (as some have advised) letter for letter, and point for point. We
desire

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desire to transcribe all their excellences, but have no notion of perpetuating their faults and errors.

When the text was settled, the notes came next under consideration. P. H. or Patrick Hume, as he was the first, so is the most copious annotator. He laid the foundation, but he laid it among infinite heaps of rubbish. The greater part of his work is a dull dictionary of the most common words, a tedious fardel of the most trivial observations, explaining what requires no explanation: but take away what is superfluous, and there will still remain a great deal that is useful; there is gold among his dross, and I have been careful to separate the one from the other. It was recommended to me indeed to print intire Mr. Addison's Spectators upon the Paradise Lost, as ingenious essays which had contributed greatly to the reputation of the poem, and having been added to several editions they could not well be omitted in this edition: and accordingly those papers, which treat of the poem in general, are prefixed in the nature of a preliminary discourse; and those, which are written upon each book separately, are inserted under each book, and interwoven in their proper places. Dr. Bentley's is a great name in criticism. But he has not acquired any additional honor by his new edition of the Paradise Lost. Nay some have been so far prejudiced as to think, that he could not be a good critic in any language, who had shown himself so injudicious an one in his own mother-tongue. But prejudice apart, he was a very great man, of parts inferior to few, of learning superior to most men; and he has made some very judicious and useful remarks upon the Paradise Lost, though

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though in the general they may rather be called the dotages of Dr. Bentley. He was more sagacious in finding faults, than happy in mending them; and if he had confined himself only to the former, he might have had better success; but when he attempted the latter, and substituted verses of his own in the room of Milton's, he commonly made most miserable bungling work, being no poet himself, and having little or no taste of poetry. Dr. Pearce, the present Lord Bishop of Bangor, has distinguished his taste and judgment in choosing always the best authors for the subjects of his criticism, as Cicero and Longinus among the Ancients, and Milton among the Moderns. His Review of the Text of the Paradise Lost is not only a most complete answer to Dr. Bentley, but may serve as a pattern to all future critics, of sound learning and just reasoning joined with the greatest candor and gentleness of manners. The whole is very well worthy of the perusal of every lover and admirer of Milton, but such parts only are ingrafted into this work as are more immediately proper for our design, and explain some difficulty, or illustrate some beauty of our author. His Lordship together with my Lord Bath first engaged me in this undertaking, and he has kindly assisted me in it from the beginning to the end; and I cannot but entertain the better hopes of the public approbation, as these sheets, long before they went to the press, were perused and corrected by his Lordship. Of Mr. Richardson's notes it must be said that there are strange inequalities in them, some extravagances, and many excellences; there is often better sense than grammar or English; and he

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he sometimes hits the true meaning of the author surprisingly, and explains it properly. He had good natural parts but without erudition or learning, in which he was assisted by his son, who is a man of taste and litterature, as well as of the greatest benevolence and good-nature. Mr. Warburton likewise has published some remarks upon the Paradise Lost, occasioned chiefly by Dr. Bentley's edition. They were printed some years ago in the History of the works of the Learned, and he allowed me the free use of them: but upon looking into the History of the works of the Learned, to my regret I found that his remarks were continued no farther than the three first books, and what is become of his other papers, and how they were mislaid and lost, neither he nor I can apprehend; but the excellence of those which remain sufficiently evinces the great loss that we have sustained in the others, which cannot now be recovered. He has done me the honor too of recommending this edition to the public in the preface to his Shakespear, but nothing could have recommended it more effectually than if it had been adorned by some more of his notes and observations. There is a pamphlet intituled An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients, said to be written by a Gentleman of North Britain; and there is another intituled Letters concerning poetical translations, and Virgil's and Milton's arts of verse, commonly ascribed to Mr. Auditor Benson: and of both these I have made some use, as I have likewise of the learned Mr. Upton's Critical Observations on Shakespear, wherein he has occasionally interspersed some remarks upon Milton; and in short, like the bee, I have been

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studious of gathering sweets wherever I could find them growing.

But besides the flower of those which have been already published, here are several new observations offered to the world, both of others and my own. Dr. Heylin lent me the use of his manuscript remarks, but much the greater part of them had been rifled before by Dr. Bentley. It seems Dr. Heylin had once an intention of publishing a new edition of the Paradise Lost, and mentioned his design to Dr. Bentley: but Dr. Bentley declaring at the same time his resolution of doing it, Dr. Heylin modestly desisted, and freely communicated what observations he had made to Dr. Bentley. And what does Dr. Bentley do? Why, he borrows the best and most plausible of his notes from Dr. Heylin, publishes them as his own, and never has the gratitude to make any acknowledgment, or so much as any mention of his benefactor. I am obliged too to Mr. Jortin for some remarks, which he conveyed to me by the hands of Dr. Pearce. They are chiefly upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients; but every thing that proceeds from him is of value, whether in poetry, criticism, or divinity; as appears from his *Lusus Poetici*, his *Miscellaneous Observations* upon authors, and his *Discourses* concerning the truth of the Christian Religion. Besides those already mentioned, Mr. Warburton has favored me with a few other notes in manuscript; I wish there had been more of them for the sake of the reader, for the loose hints of such writers, like the slight sketches of great masters in painting, are worth more than the labor'd pieces of others. And he very kindly lent me

Mr.

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Mr. Pope's Milton of Bentley's edition, wherein Mr. Pope had all along with his own hand set some mark of approbation, rectè, benè, pulchrè &c, in the margin over-against such emendations of the Doctor's, as seemed to him just and reasonable. It was a satisfaction to see what so great a genius thought particularly of that edition, and he appears throughout the whole to have been a very candid reader, and to have approved of more than really merits approbation. Mr. Richardson the father has said in his preface, that his son had a very copious collection of fine passages out of ancient and modern authors, by which Milton had profited; and this collection, which is written in the margin and between the lines of Mr. Hume's annotations, Mr. Richardson the son has put into my hands. Some little use I have made of it; and it might have been of greater service, and have saved me some trouble, if I had not then almost completed this work. Mr. Thyer, the Librarian at Manchester, I have not the pleasure of knowing personally, but by his writings I am convinced that he must be a man of great learning, and as great humanity. It was late before I was informed that he had written any remarks upon the Paradise Lost, but he was very ready to communicate them, and for the greater dispatch sent me his interleav'd Milton, wherein his remarks were written: but unluckily for him, for me, and for the public, the book thro' the negligence of the carrier was dropt upon the road, and cannot since be found. Mr. Thyer however hath had the goodness to endeavor to repair the loss to me and to the public by writing what he could recollect, and sending me a sheet or two full of re-

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marks almost every post for several weeks together : and tho' several of them came too late to be inserted into the body of the work, yet they will be found in the * Appendix, which is made for the sake of them principally. It is unnecessary to say any thing in their commendation ; they will sufficiently recommend themselves. Some other assistance too I have received from persons, whose names are unknown, and others, whose names I am not at liberty to mention : but I hope the Speaker of the House of Commons will pardon my ambition to have it known, that he has been pleased to suggest some useful hints and observations, when I have been admitted to the honor of his conversation.

And as the notes are of various authors, so they are of various kinds, critical and explanatory ; some to correct the errors of former editions, to discuss the various readings, and to establish the true genuine text of Milton ; some to illustrate the sense and meaning, to point out the beauties and defects of sentiment and character, and to commend or censure the conduct of the poem ; some to remark the peculiarities of stile and language, to clear the syntax, and to explain the uncommon words, or common words used in an uncommon signification ; some to consider and examine the numbers, and to display our author's great arts of versification, the variety of the pauses, and the adaptness of the sound to the sense ; some to show his imitations and allusions to other authors, whether sacred or profane, ancient or modern. We might have been much larger and more copious under each of these heads, and especially under

* In this edition they are inserted in their proper places.

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under the last: but I would not produce every thing that hath any similitude and resemblance, but only such passages as we may suppose the author really alluded to, and had in mind at the time of writing. It was once my intention to prefix some essays to this work, one upon Milton's stile, another upon his versification, a third upon his imitations &c; but upon more mature deliberation I concluded that the same things would have a better effect in the form of short notes, when the particular passages referred to came immediately under consideration, and the context lay before the reader. There would have been more of the pomp and ostentation of criticism in the former, but I conceive there is more real use and advantage in the latter. It is the great fault of commentators, that they are apt to be silent or at most very concise where there is any difficulty, and to be very prolix and tedious where there is none: but it is hoped that the contrary method has been taken here; and tho' more may be said than is requisite for critics and scholars, yet it may be no more than is necessary or proper for other readers of Milton. For these notes are intended for general use, and if they are received with general approbation, that will be sufficient. I can hardly expect that any body should approve them all, and I may be certain that no body can condemn them all.

The life of the author it is almost become a custom to prefix to a new edition of his works; for when we admire the writer, we are curious also to know something of the man: and the life of Milton is not barely a history of his works, but is so much the more interesting, as he was more engaged in

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public affairs than poets usually are. And it has happened that more accounts have been written of his life, than of almost any author's, particularly by Antony Wood in his *Fasti Oxonienses*, by our author's nephew Mr. Edward Philips before the English translation of Milton's State-letters printed in 1694, by Mr. Toland before the edition of our author's prose works in three volumes folio printed in 1698, by Monsieur Bayle in his *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, by Mr. Fenton before the edition of our author's poetical works printed in 1725, by Mr. Richardson in the preface to his *Explanatory Notes and Remarks upon Milton's Paradise Lost*, and by the reverend and ingenious Mr. Thomas Birch in the *General Dictionary*, and more largely before the edition of our author's prose works in two volumes folio printed in 1738. And I have not only read and compared these accounts together, and made the best extracts out of them which I possibly could; but have also collected some other particulars from Milton's own works as well as from other authors, and from credible tradition as well as from written testimonies: and all these, like so many different threds, I have woven into one piece, and formed into a continued narration, of which, whether it affords more or less satisfaction and entertainment than former accounts, the reader must judge and determin: but it has been my study and endeavor, as in the notes to comprise the flower of all other notes, so in the life to include the substance of all former lives, and with improvements and additions.

In the conclusion are added copious indexes, one of the principal matters, and another of the words.

The

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The man, who is at the pains of making indexes, is really to be pitied; but of their great utility there is no need to say any thing, when several persons, who pass in the world for profound scholars, know little more of books than title-pages and indexes, but never catch the spirit of an author, which is sure always to evaporate or die in such hands. The former of these indexes, if not drawn up by Mr. Tickell, was I think first inserted in his quarto edition of Milton's poetical works printed in 1720; and for the latter, which was much more laborious, it was composed at the desire and encouragement of Mr. Auditor Benson by Mr. Cruden, who hath also published a very useful Concordance to the Bible.



THE LIFE OF MILTON.

IT is agreed among all writers, that the family of Milton came originally from Milton in Oxfordshire; but from which of the Miltons is not altogether so certain. Some say, and particularly Mr. Philips, that the family was of Milton near Abington in Oxfordshire, where it had been a long time seated, as appears by the monuments still to be seen in Milton-church. But that Milton is not in Oxfordshire, but in Barkshire; and upon inquiry I find, that there are no such monuments in that church, nor any remains of them. It is more probable therefore that the family came, as Mr. Wood says, from Milton near Halton and Thame in Oxfordshire: where it flourished several years, till at last the estate was sequester'd, one of the family having taken the unfortunate side in the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. John Milton, the poet's grand-father, was, according to Mr. Wood, an under-ranger or keeper of the forest of Shotover near Halton in Oxfordshire; he was of the religion of Rome, and such a bigot that he disinherited his son only for being a protestant. Upon this the son, the poet's father, named likewise John Milton, settled in London, and became a scrivener by the advice of a friend eminent in that profession: but he was not so devoted to gain and to business, as to lose all taste of the politer arts, and was particularly skilled in music, in which he was not only a fine performer, but

but is also celebrated for several pieces of his composition: and yet on the other hand he was not so fond of his music and amusements, as in the least to neglect his business, but by his diligence and œconomy acquired a competent estate, which enabled him afterwards to retire, and live in the country. He was by all accounts a very worthy man; and married an excellent woman, Sarah of the ancient family of the Bradshaws, says Mr. Wood; but Mr. Philips, our author's nephew, who was more likely to know, says, of the family of the Castons derived originally from Wales. Whoever she was, she is said to have been a woman of incomparable virtue and goodness; and by her husband had two sons and a daughter.

The elder of the sons was our famous poet, who was born in the year of our Lord 1608, on the 9th of December in the morning between 6 and 7 o'clock, in Bread-street London, where his father lived at the sign of the spread eagle, which was also the coat of arms of the family. He was named John, as his father and grand-father had been before him; and from the beginning discovering the marks of an uncommon genius, he was designed for a scholar, and had his education partly under private tutors, and partly at a public school. It has been often controverted whether a public or private education is best, but young Milton was so happy as to share the advantages of both. It appears from the fourth of his Latin elegies, and from the first and fourth of his familiar epistles, that Mr. Thomas Young, who was afterwards pastor of the company of English merchants residing at Hamburg, was one of his private preceptors: and when he had made good progress
in

in his studies at home, he was sent to St. Paul's school, to be fitted for the university under the care of Mr. Gill, who was the master at that time, and to whose son are addressed some of his familiar epistles. In this early time of his life such was his love of learning, and so great was his ambition to surpass his equals, that from his twelfth year he commonly continued his studies till midnight, which (as he says himself in his second Defense) was the first ruin of his eyes, to whose natural debility were added too frequent head-akes : but all could not extinguish or abate his laudable passion for letters. It is very seldom seen, that such application and such a genius meet in the same person. The force of either is great, but both together must perform wonders.

He was now in the 17th year of his age, and was a very good classical scholar and master of several languages, when he was sent to the university of Cambridge, and admitted at Christ's College (as appears from the register) on the 12th of February 1624-5, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Bishop of Cork and Ross in Ireland. He continued above seven years at the university, and took two degrees, that of Bachelor of Arts in 1628-9, and that of Master in 1632. It is somewhat remarkable, that tho' the merits of both our universities are perhaps equally great, and tho' poetical exercises are rather more encouraged at Oxford, yet most of our greatest poets have been bred at Cambridge, as Spenser, Cowley, Waller, Dryden, Prior, not to mention any of the lesser ones, when there is a greater than all, Milton. He had given early proofs of his poetic genius before he went to the university,
and

and there he excelled more and more, and distinguished himself by several copies of verses upon occasional subjects, as well as by all his academical exercises, many of which are printed among his other works, and show him to have had a capacity above his years: and by his obliging behaviour added to his great learning and ingenuity he deservedly gained the affection of many, and admiration of all. We do not find however that he obtained any preferment in the university, or a fellowship in his own college; which seemeth the more extraordinary, as that society has always encouraged learning and learned men, had the most excellent Mr. Mede at that time a fellow, and afterwards boasteth the great names of Cudworth, and Burnet author of the *Theory of the Earth*, and several others. And this together with some Latin verses of his to a friend, reflecting upon the university seemingly on this account, might probably have given occasion to the reproach which was afterwards cast upon him by his adversaries, that he was expelled from the university for irregularities committed there, and forced to fly to Italy: but he sufficiently refutes this calumny in more places than one of his works; and indeed it is no wonder, that a person so engaged in religious and political controversies, as he was, should be calumniated and abused by the contrary party.

He was designed by his parents for holy orders; and among the manuscripts of Trinity College in Cambridge there are two draughts in Milton's own hand of a letter to a friend, who had importuned him to take orders, when he had attained the age of twenty three: but the truth is, he had conceived early

early prejudices against the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and subscribing to the Articles was in his opinion subscribing slave. This no doubt was a disappointment to his friends, who though in comfortable were yet by no means in great circumstances: and neither doth he seem to have had any inclination to any other profession; he had too free a spirit to be limited and confined; and was for comprehending all sciences, but professing none. And therefore after he had left the university in 1632, he retired to his father's house in the country; for his father had by this time quitted business, and lived at an estate which he had purchased at Horton near Colebrooke in Buckinghamshire. Here he resided with his parents for the space of five years, and, as he himself has informed us, (in his second Defense, and the 7th of his familiar epistles) read over all the Greek and Latin authors, particularly the historians; but now and then made an excursion to London, sometimes to buy books or to meet his friends from Cambridge, and at other times to learn something new in the mathematics or music, with which he was extremely delighted.

His retirement therefore was a learned retirement, and it was not long before the world reaped the fruits of it. It was in the year 1634 that his *Mask* was presented at Ludlow-castle. There was formerly a president of Wales, and a sort of a court kept at Ludlow, which has since been abolished; and the president at that time was the Earl of Bridgwater, before whom Milton's *Mask* was presented on Michaelmas night, and the principal parts, those of the two brothers were performed by his Lordship's sons
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the Lord Brackly and Mr. Thomas Egerton, and that of the lady by his Lordship's daughter the Lady Alice Egerton. The occasion of this poem seemeth to have been merely an accident of the two brothers and the lady having lost one another in their way to the castle: and it is written very much in imitation of Shakespear's *Tempest*, and the *Faithful Shepherdess* of Beaumont and Fletcher; and though one of the first, is yet one of the most beautiful of Milton's compositions. It was for some time handed about only in manuscript; but afterwards to satisfy the importunity of friends and to save the trouble of transcribing, it was printed at London, though without the author's name, in 1637, with a dedication to the Lord Brackly by Mr. H. Lawes, who compos'd the music, and played the part of the attendant Spirit. It was printed likewise at Oxford at the end of Mr. R's poems, as we learn from a letter of Sir Henry Wotton to our author; but who that Mr. R. was, whether Randolph the poet or who else, is uncertain. It has lately, tho' with additions and alterations, been exhibited on the stage several times; and we hope the fine poetry and morality have recommended it to the audience, and not barely the authority of Milton's name; and we wish for the honor of the nation, that the like good taste prevailed in every thing.

In 1637 he wrote another excellent piece, his *Lycidas*, wherein he laments the untimely fate of a friend, who was unfortunately drowned that same year in the month of August, on the Irish seas, in his passage from Chester. This friend was Mr. Edward King, son of Sir John King, Secretary of Ireland

Ireland under Queen Elizabeth, King James I, and King Charles I; and was a fellow of Christ's College, and was so well beloved and esteemed at Cambridge, that some of the greatest names in the university have united in celebrating his obsequies, and published a collection of poems, Greek and Latin and English, sacred to his memory. The Greek by H. More &c; the Latin by T. Farnaby, J. Pearson &c; the English by H. King, J. Beaumont, J. Cleaveland with several others; and judiciously the last of all, as the best of all, is Milton's *Lycidas*. "On such sacrifices the Gods themselves strow incense;" and one would almost wish so to have died, for the sake of having been so lamented. But this poem is not all made up of sorrow and tenderness; there is a mixture of satire and indignation; for in part of it the poet taketh occasion to inveigh against the corruptions of the clergy, and seemeth to have first discovered his acrimony against Archbishop Laud, and to have threaten'd him with the loss of his head, which afterwards happened to him thro' the fury of his enemies. At least I can think of no sense so proper to be given to the following verses in *Lycidas*,

Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said;
But that two-handed engin at the door
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

About this time, as we learn from one of his familiar epistles, he had some thoughts of taking chambers at one of the Inns of Court, for he was
not

not very well pleased with living so obscurely in the country: but his mother dying, he prevailed with his father to let him indulge a desire, which he had long entertained, of seeing foreign countries, and particularly Italy: and having communicated his design to Sir Henry Wotton, who had formerly been ambassador at Venice, and was then Provost of Eton College, and having also sent him his Mask of which he had not yet publicly acknowledged himself the author, he received from him the following friendly letter dated from the College the 10th of April 1638.

S I R,

“ It was a special favor, when You lately bestowed
“ upon me here the first taste of Your acquaintance,
“ tho’ no longer than to make me know, that I
“ wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it
“ rightly. And in truth, if I could then have ima-
“ gined Your farther stay in these parts, which I
“ understood afterwards by Mr. H., I would have
“ been bold, in our vulgar phrase, to mend my
“ draught, for You left me with an extreme thirst,
“ and to have begged your conversation again jointly
“ with Your said learned friend, at a poor meal or
“ two, that we might have banded together some
“ good authors of the ancient time, among which I
“ observed You to have been familiar.

“ Since Your going, You have charged me with
“ new obligations, both for a very kind letter from
“ You, dated the sixth of this month, and for a
“ dainty piece of entertainment, that came there-
“ with; wherein I should much commend the tra-
“ gical part, if the lyrical did not ravish with a
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“ certain Doric delicacy in Your songs and odes,
 “ wherein I must plainly confess to have seen yet
 “ nothing parallel in our language, *Ipsa mollities*.
 “ But I must not omit to tell You, that I now only
 “ owe You thanks for intimating unto me, how
 “ modestly soever, the true artificer. For the work
 “ itself I had view’d some good while before with
 “ singular delight, having received it from our com-
 “ mon friend Mr. R. in the very close of the late
 “ R’s poems printed at Oxford; whereunto it is
 “ added, as I now suppose, that the accessory might
 “ help out the principal, according to the art of
 “ stationers, and leave the reader *con la boccadolce*.

“ Now, Sir, concerning Your travels, wherein I
 “ may challenge a little more privilege of discourse
 “ with You; I suppose, You will not blanch Paris
 “ in Your way. Therefore I have been bold to
 “ trouble You with a few lines to Mr. M. B. whom
 “ You shall easily find attending the young Lord S.
 “ as his governor; and You may surely receive from
 “ him good directions for shaping of Your farther
 “ journey into Italy, where he did reside by my
 “ choice some time for the king, after mine own re-
 “ ceifs from Venice.

“ I should think, that Your best line will be
 “ thro’ the whole length of France to Marseilles,
 “ and thence by sea to Genoa, whence the passage
 “ into Tuscany is as diurnal as a Gravesend barge. I
 “ hasten, as You do, to Florence or Sienna, the ra-
 “ ther to tell You a short story, from the interest
 “ You have given me in Your safety.

“ At Sienna I was tabled in the house of one Alberto
 “ Scipione, an old Roman courtier in dangerous
 Vol. I. C “ times,

not barely to see fights and to learn the languages, like most of our modern travelers, who go out boys, and return such as we see, but such as I do not choose to name. He was attended by only one servant, who accompanied him through all his travels; and he went first to France, where he had recommendations to the Lord Scudamore, the English ambassador there at that time; and as soon as he came to Paris, he waited upon his Lordship, and was received with wonderful civility; and having an earnest desire to visit the learned Hugo Grotius, he was by his Lordship's means introduced to that great man, who was then ambassador at the French court from the famous Christina Queen of Sweden; and the visit was to their mutual satisfaction; they were each of them pleased to see a person, of whom they had heard such commendations. But at Paris he stayed not long; his thoughts and his wishes hastened into Italy; and so after a few days he took leave of the Lord Scudamore, who very kindly gave him letters to the English merchants in the several places thro' which he was to travel, requesting them to do him all the good offices which lay in their power.

From Paris he went directly to Nice, where he took shipping for Genoa, from whence he went to Leghorn, and thence to Pisa, and so to Florence, in which city he found sufficient inducements to make a stay of two months. For besides the curiosities and other beauties of the place, he took great delight in the company and conversation there, and frequented their academies as they are called, the meetings of the most polite and ingenious persons, which they have in this, as well as in the other

principal cities of Italy, for the exercise and improvement of wit and learning among them. And in these conversations he bore so good a part, and produced so many excellent compositions, that he was soon taken notice of, and was very much courted and caressed by several of the nobility and prime wits of Florence. For the manner is, as he says himself in the preface to his second book of the Reason of Church-government, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there, and his productions were received with written encomiums which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps. Giacomo Gaddi, Antonio Francini, Carlo Dati, Beneditto Bonmatthei, Cultellino, Frescobaldi, Clementilli are reckoned among his particular friends. At Gaddi's house the academies were held, which he constantly frequented. Antonio Francini composed an Italian ode in his commendation. Carlo Dati wrote a Latin eulogium of him, and corresponded with him after his return to England. Bonmatthei was at that time about publishing an Italian grammar; and the eighth of our author's familiar epistles, dated at Florence Sept. 10. 1638, is addressed to him upon that occasion, commending his design, and advising him to add some observations concerning the true pronunciation of that language for the use of foreigners.

So much good acquaintance would probably have detained him longer at Florence, if he had not been going to Rome, which to a curious traveler is certainly the place the most worth seeing of any in the world. And so he took leave of his friends at Florence, and went from thence to Sienna, and from
Sienna

Sienna to Rome, where he staid much about the same time that he had continued at Florence, feasting both his eyes and his mind, and delighted with the fine paintings, and sculptures, and other rarities and antiquities of the city, as well as with the conversation of several learned and ingenious men, and particularly of Lucas Holstenius, keeper of the Vatican library, who received him with the greatest humanity, and showed him all the Greek authors, whether in print or in manuscript, which had passed thro' his correction; and also presented him to Cardinal Barberini, who at an entertainment of music, performed at his own expense, waited for him at the door, and taking him by the hand brought him into the assembly. The next morning he waited upon the Cardinal to return him thanks for his civilities, and by the means of Holstenius was again introduced to his Eminence, and spent some time in conversation with him. It seems that Holstenius had studied three years at Oxford, and this might dispose him to be more friendly to the English, but he took a particular liking and affection to Milton; and Milton, to thank him for all his favors, wrote to him afterwards from Florence the ninth of his familiar epistles. At Rome too Selvaggi made a Latin distich in honor of Milton, and Salfilli a Latin tetraстich, celebrating him for his Greek and Latin and Italian poetry; and he in return presented to Salfilli in his sickness those fine Scazons, or Iambic verses having a spondee in the last foot, which are inserted among his juvenile poems.

From Rome he went to Naples, in company with a certain hermit; and by his means was introduced

to the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a Neapolitan nobleman, of singular merit and virtue, to whom Tasso addresses his dialogue of friendship, and whom he mentions likewise in his *Gierusalemme Liberata* with great honor. This nobleman was particularly civil to Milton, frequently visited him at his lodgings, and went with him to show him the Viceroy's palace, and whatever was curious or worth notice in the city: and moreover he honored him so far as to make a Latin distich in his praise, which is printed before our author's Latin poems, as is likewise the other of Selvaggi, and the Latin tetraстich of Salfilli together with the Italian ode and the Latin eulogium before mentioned. We may suppose that Milton was not a little pleased with the honors conferred upon him by so many persons of distinction, and especially by one of such quality and eminence as the Marquis of Villa; and as a testimony of his gratitude he presented to the Marquis at his departure from Naples his eclogue intitled *Mansus*, which is well worth reading among his Latin poems. So that it may be reckoned a peculiar felicity of the Marquis of Villa's life, to have been celebrated both by Tasso and Milton, the one the greatest modern poet of his own, and the other the greatest of foreign nations.

Having seen the finest parts of Italy, Milton was now thinking of passing over into Sicily and Greece, when he was diverted from his purpose by the news from England, that things were tending to a civil war between the King and Parliament; for he thought it unworthy of himself to be taking his pleasure abroad, while his countrymen were contend-
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ing for liberty at home. He resolved therefore to return by the way of Rome, tho' he was advised to the contrary by the merchants, who had received intelligence from their correspondents, that the English Jesuits there were forming plots against him, in case he should return thither, by reason of the great freedom which he had used in all his discourses of religion. For he had by no means observed the rule, recommended to him by Sir Henry Wotton, of keeping his thoughts close and his countenance open: He had visited Galileo, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for asserting the motion of the earth, and thinking otherwise in astronomy than the Dominicans and Franciscans thought: And tho' the Marquis of Villa had shown him such distinguishing marks of favor at Naples, yet he told him at his departure that he would have shown him much greater, if he had been more reserved in matters of religion. But he had a soul above dissimulation and disguise; he was neither afraid, nor ashamed to vindicate the truth; and if any man had, he had in him the spirit of an old martyr. He was so prudent indeed, that he would not of his own accord begin any discourse of religion; but at the same time he was so honest, that if he was questioned at all about his faith, he would not dissemble his sentiments, whatever was the consequence. And with this resolution he went to Rome the second time, and stayed there two months more, neither concealing his name, nor declining openly to defend the truth, if any thought proper to attack him: and yet, God's good providence protecting him, he came safe to his kind friends at Florence, where he was received with as much

joy and affection, as if he had returned into his own country.

Here likewise he stayed two months, as he had done before, excepting only an excursion of a few days to Lucca: and then crossing the Apennine, and passing thro' Bologna and Ferrara, he came to Venice, in which city he spent a month; and having shipped off the books, which he had collected in his travels, and particularly a chest or two of choice music books of the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy, he took his course thro' Verona, Milan, and along the lake Lemman to Geneva. In this city he tarried some time, meeting here with people of his own principles, and contracted an intimate friendship with Giovanni Deodati, the most learned professor of divinity, whose annotations upon the Bible are published in English. And from thence returning thro' France, the same way that he had gone before, he arrived safe in England, after a peregrination of one year and about three months, having seen more, and learned more, and conversed with more famous men, and made more real improvements, than most others in double the time.

His first business after his return was to pay his duty to his father, and to visit his other friends; but this pleasure was much diminished by the loss of his dear friend and schoolfellow Charles Deodati in his absence. While he was abroad, he heard it reported that he was dead; and upon his coming home he found it but too true, and lamented his death in an excellent Latin eclogue intitled *Epitaphium Damonis*. This Deodati had a father originally of Lucca, but his mother was English, and he was born and bred in

in England, and studied physick, and was an admirable scholar, and no less remarkable for his sobriety and other virtues than for his great learning and ingenuity. One or two of Milton's familiar epistles are addressed to him; and Mr. Toland says, that he had in his hands two Greek letters of Deodati to Milton, very handsomely written. It may be right for scholars now and then to exercise themselves in Greek and Latin; but we have much more frequent occasion to write letters in our own native language, and in that therefore we should principally endeavor to excel.

Milton, soon after his return, had taken a lodging at one Ruffel's, a taylor, in St. Bride's Church-yard; but he continued not long there, having not sufficient room for his library and furniture; and therefore determined to take a house, and accordingly took a handsome garden-house in Aldersgate-street, situated at the end of an entry, which was the more agreeable to a studious man for its privacy and freedom from noise and disturbance. And in this house he continued several years, and his sister's two sons were put to board with him, first the younger and afterwards the elder: and some other of his intimate friends requested of him the same favor for their sons, especially since there was little more trouble in instructing half a dozen than two or three: and he, who could not easily deny any thing to his friends, and who knew that the greatest men in all ages had delighted in teaching others the principles of knowledge and virtue, undertook the office, not out of any sordid and mercenary views, but merely from a benevolent disposition, and a desire to do good.

And

And his method of education was as much above the pedantry and jargon of the common schools, as his genius was superior to that of a common school-master. One of his nephews has given us an account of the many authors both Latin and Greek, which (besides those usually read in the schools) thro' his excellent judgment and way of teaching were run over within no greater compass of time, than from ten to fifteen or sixteen years of age. Of the Latin the four authors concerning husbandry, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius, Cornelius Celsus the physician, a great part of Pliny's Natural History, the Architecture of Vitruvius, the Stratagems of Frontinus, and the philosophical poets Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek Hesiod, Aratus's *Phænomena* and *Diosemeia*, Dionysius Afer *de situ orbis*, Oppian's *Cynegetics* and *Halieutics*, Quintus Calaber's poem of the Trojan war continued from Homer, Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautics*, and in prose Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*, and of the education of children, Xenophon's *Cyropædia* and *Anabasis*, Ælian's *Tactics*, and the *Stratagems* of Polyænus. Nor did this application to the Greek and Latin tongues hinder the attaining to the chief oriental languages, the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, so far as to go thro' the Pentateuch or five books of Moses in Hebrew, to make a good entrance into the Targum or Chaldee paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriac Testament; besides the modern languages, Italian and French, and a competent knowledge of the mathematics and astronomy. The Sunday's exercise for his pupils was for the most part to read a chapter of
of

of the Greek Testament, and to hear his learned exposition of it. The next work after this was to write from his dictation some part of a system of divinity, which he had collected from the ablest divines, who had written upon that subject. Such were his academic institutions; and thus by teaching others he in some measure enlarged his own knowledge; and having the reading of so many authors as it were by proxy, he might possibly have preserved his sight, if he had not moreover been perpetually busied in reading or writing something himself. It was certainly a very recluse and studious life, that both he and his pupils led; but the young men of that age were of a different turn from those of the present; and he himself gave an example to those under him of hard study and spare diet; only now and then, once in three weeks or a month, he made a gawdy day with some young gentlemen of his acquaintance, the chief of whom, says Mr. Phillips, were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, both of Gray's-Inn, and two of the greatest beaux of those times.

But he was not so fond of this academical life, as to be an indifferent spectator of what was acted upon the public stage of the world. The nation was now in a great ferment in 1641, and the clamor run high against the bishops, when he joined loudly in the cry, to help the puritan ministers, (as he says himself in his second Defense) they being inferior to the bishops in learning and eloquence; and published his two books, *Of Reformation in England*, written to a friend. About the same time certain ministers having published a treatise against episcopacy,
in

in answer to the Humble Remonstrance of Dr. Joseph Hall Bishop of Norwich, under the title of *Smectymnuus*, a word consisting of the initial letters of their names, Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurston; and Archbishop Usher having published at Oxford a refutation of *Smectymnuus*, in a tract concerning the Original of Bishops and Metropolitans; Milton wrote his little piece *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, in opposition chiefly to Usher, for he was for contending with the most powerful adversary; there would be either less disgrace in the defeat, or more glory in the victory. He handled the subject more at large in his next performance, which was the *Reason of Church Government* urged against Prelaty, in two books. And Bishop Hall having published a *Defense of the Humble Remonstrance*, he wrote *Animadversions* upon it. All these treatises he published within the course of one year, 1641, which show how very diligent he was in the cause that he had undertaken. And the next year he set forth his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, in answer to the Confutation of his *Animadversions*, written as he thought himself by Bishop Hall or his son. And here very luckily ended a controversy, which detained him from greater and better writings which he was meditating, more useful to the public, as well as more suitable to his own genius and inclination: but he thought all this while that he was vindicating ecclesiastical liberty.

In the year 1643, and the 35th of his age, he married; and indeed his family was now growing so numerous, that it wanted a mistress at the head of it.

it. His father, who had lived with his younger son at Reading, was, upon the taking of that place by the forces under the Earl of Essex, necessitated to come and live in London with this his elder son, with whom he continued in tranquillity and devotion to his dying day. Some addition too was to be made to the number of his pupils. But before his father or his new pupils were come, he took a journey in the Whitsuntide vacation, and after a month's absence returned with a wife, Mary the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, of Foresthill near Shotover in Oxfordshire, a justice of the peace, and a gentleman of good repute and figure in that country. But she had not cohabited with her husband above a month, before she was earnestly solicited by her relations to come and spend the remaining part of the summer with them in the country. If it was not at her instigation that her friends made this request, yet at least it was agreeable to her inclination; and she obtained her husband's consent upon a promise of returning at Michaelmas. And in the mean while his studies went on very vigorously; and his chief diversion, after the business of the day, was now and then in an evening to visit the Lady Margaret Lee, daughter of the Earl of Marlborough, Lord High Treasurer of England, and President of the Privy Council to King James I. This Lady, being a woman of excellent wit and understanding, had a particular honor for our author, and took great delight in his conversation; as likewise did her husband Captain Hobson, a very accomplished gentleman. And what a regard Milton again had for her, he has left upon record

record in a sonnet to her praise, extant among his other poems.

Michaelmas was now come, but he heard nothing of his wife's return. He wrote to her, but received no answer. He wrote again letter after letter, but received no answer to any of them. He then dispatched a messenger with a letter, desiring her to return; but she positively refused, and dismissed the messenger with contempt. Whether it was, that she had conceived any dislike to her husband's person or humor; or whether she could not conform to his retired and philosophical manner of life, having been accustomed to a house of much gaiety and company; or whether being of a family strongly attached to the royal cause, she could not bear her husband's republican principles; or whether she was overpersuaded by her relations, who possibly might repent of having matched the eldest daughter of the family to a man so distinguished for taking the contrary party, the King's head-quarters being in their neighbourhood at Oxford, and his Majesty having now some fairer prospect of success; whether any or all of these were the reasons of this extraordinary behaviour; however it was, it so highly incensed her husband, that he thought it would be dishonorable ever to receive her again after such a repulse, and he determined to repudiate her as she had in effect repudiated him, and to consider her no longer as his wife. And to fortify this his resolution, and at the same time to justify it to the world, he wrote the *Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce*, wherein he endeavors to prove, that indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, proceeding from any
unchangeable

unchangeable cause in nature, hindering and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, are greater reasons of divorce than adultery or natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and there be mutual consent for separation. He published it at first without his name, but the stile easily betrayed the author; and afterwards a second edition, much augmented, with his name; and he dedicated it to the Parliament of England with the Assembly of Divines, that as they were then consulting about the general reformation of the kingdom, they might also take this particular case of domestic liberty into their consideration. And then, as it was objected, that his doctrine was a novel notion, and a paradox that no body had ever asserted before, he endeavored to confirm his own opinion by the authority of others, and published in 1644 the Judgment of Martin Bucer &c: And as it was still objected, that his doctrine could not be reconciled to Scripture, he published in 1645 his Tetrachordon or Expositions upon the four chief places in Scripture, which treat of marriage, or nullities in marriage. At the first appearing of the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce the clergy raised a heavy outcry against it, and daily solicited the Parliament to pass some censure upon it; and at last one of them, in a sermon preached before the Lords and Commons on a day of humiliation in August 1644, roundly told them, that there was a book abroad which deserved to be burnt, and that among their other sins they ought to repent, that they had not yet branded it with some mark of their displeasure. And Mr. Wood informs us, that upon Milton's publishing his

his three books of Divorce, the Assembly of Divines, that was then sitting at Westminster, took special notice of them; and notwithstanding his former services in writing against the Bishops, caused him to be summoned before the House of Lords: but that House, whether approving his doctrine, or not favoring his accusers, soon dismissed him. He was attacked too from the press as well as from the pulpit, in a pamphlet intitled Divorce at pleasure, and in another intitled an Answer to the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, which was licenced and recommended by Mr. Joseph Caryl, a famous Presbyterian Divine, and author of a voluminous commentary on the book of Job: and Milton in his Colasterion or Reply published in 1645 expostulates smartly with the licencer, as well as handles very roughly the nameless author. And these provocations, I suppose, contributed not a little to make him such an enemy to the Presbyterians, to whom he had before distinguished himself a friend. He composed likewise two of his sonnets on the reception his book of Divorce met with, but the latter is much the better of the two. To this account it may be added from Antony Wood, that after the King's restoration, when the subject of divorce was under consideration with the Lords upon the account of John Lord Ros or Roos his separation from his wife Anne Pierpoint eldest daughter to Henry Marquis of Dorchester, he was consulted by an eminent member of that House, and about the same time by a chief officer of state, as being the prime person who was knowing in that affair.

But

But while he was engaged in this controversy of divorce, he was not so totally engaged in it, but he attended to other things; and about this time published his letter of Education to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, who wrote some things about husbandry, and was a man of considerable learning, as appears from the letters which passed between him and the famous Mr. Mede, and from Sir William Petty's and Pell the mathematician's writing to him, the former his treatise for the Advancement of some particular parts of learning, and the latter his Idea of the Mathematics, as well as from this letter of our author. This letter of our author has usually been printed at the end of his poems, and is as I may say the theory of his own practice; and by the rules which he has laid down for education we see in some measure the method that he pursued in educating his own pupils. And in 1644 he published his *Areopagitica* or Speech for the liberty of unlicenced printing to the Parliament of England. It was written at the desire of several learned men, and is perhaps the best vindication, that has been published at any time or in any language, of that liberty which is the basis and support of all other liberties, the liberty of the press: but alas it had not the desired effect; for the Presbyterians were as fond of exercising the licensing power, when they got it into their own hands, as they had been clamorous before in inveighing against it, while it was in the hands of the Prelates. And Mr. Toland is mistaken in saying, "that such was the effect of this piece, that the following year Mabot a licencer offered reasons against licensing; and at his own request was discharged that office."

For neither was the licencer's name Mabol, but Gilbert Mabbot; neither was he discharged from his office till May 1649, about five years afterwards, tho' probably he might be swayed by Milton's arguments, as every ingenuous person must, who peruses and considers them. And in 1645 was published a collection of his poems, Latin and English, the principal of which are On the morning of Christ's nativity, L'Allegro, Il Penferoso, Lycidas, the Mask &c &c: and if he had left no other monuments of his poetical genius behind him, these would have been sufficient to have rendered his name immortal.

But without doubt his Doctrin of Divorce and the maintenance of it principally engaged his thoughts at this period; and whether others were convinced or not by his arguments, he was certainly convinced himself that he was in the right; and as a proof of it he determined to marry again, and made his addresses to a young lady of great wit and beauty, one of the daughters of Dr. Davis. But intelligence of this coming to his wife, and the then declining state of the King's cause, and consequently of the circumstances of Justice Powell's family, caused them to set all engines on work to restore the wife again to her husband. And his friends too for different reasons seem to have been as desirous of bringing about a reconciliation as her's, and this method of effecting it was concerted between them. He had a relation, one Blackborough, living in the lane of St. Martin's Le Grand, whom he often visited; and one day when he was visiting there, it was contrived that the wife should be ready in another room; and as he was thinking of nothing less, he was surprised to see

see her, whom he had expected never to have seen any more, falling down upon her knees at his feet, and imploring his forgiveness with tears. At first he showed some signs of aversion, but he continued not long inexorable; his wife's intreaties, and the intercession of friends on both sides soon wrought upon his generous nature, and procured a happy reconciliation with an act of oblivion of all that was past. But he did not take his wife home immediately; it was agreed that she should remain at a friend's till the house, that he had newly taken, was fitted for their reception; for some other gentlemen of his acquaintance, having observed the great success of his method of education, had recommended their sons to his care; and his house in Aldersgate-street not being large enough, he had taken a larger in Barbican: and till this could be got ready, the place pitched upon for his wife's abode was the widow Webber's house in St. Clement's Churchyard, whose second daughter had been married to the other brother many years before. The part, that Milton acted in this whole affair, showed plainly that he had a spirit capable of the strongest resentment, but yet more inclinable to pity and forgiveness: and neither in this was any injury done to the other lady, whom he was courting, for she is said to have been always averse from the motion, not daring I suppose to venture in marriage with a man who was known to have a wife still living. He might not think himself too at liberty as before, while his wife continued obstinate; for his most plausible argument for divorce proceeds upon a supposition, that the thing be done with mutual consent.

After his wife's return his family was increased not only with children, but also with his wife's relations, her father and mother, her brothers and sisters, coming to live with him in the general distress and ruin of the royal party: and he was so far from resenting their former ill treatment of him, that he generously protected them, and entertained them very hospitably, till their affairs were accommodated thro' his interest with the prevailing faction. And then upon their removal, and the death of his own father, his house looked again like the house of the Muses: but his studies had like to have been interrupted by a call to public business; for about this time there was a design of constituting him Adjutant General in the army under Sir William Waller; but the new modeling of the army soon following, that design was laid aside. And not long after, his great house in Barbican being now too large for his family, he quitted it for a smaller in High Holborn, which opened backward into Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he prosecuted his studies till the King's trial and death, when the Presbyterians declaiming tragically against the King's execution, and asserting that his person was sacred and inviolable, provoked him to write the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, proving that it is lawful to call a tyrant to account and to depose and put him to death, and that they who of late so much blame deposing are the men who did it themselves: and he published it at the beginning of the year 1649, to satisfy and compose the minds of the people. Not long after this he wrote his *Observations on the articles of peace between the Earl of Ormond and the Irish rebels*. And in these and
all

all his writings, whatever others of different parties may think, he thought himself an advocate for true liberty, for ecclesiastical liberty in his treatises against the bishops, for domestic liberty in his books of divorce, and for civil liberty in his writings against the king in defense of the parliament and people of England.

After this he retired again to his private studies; and thinking that he had leisure enough for such a work, he applied himself to the writing of a History of England, which he intended to deduce from the earliest accounts down to his own times: and he had finished four books of it, when neither courting nor expecting any such preferment, he was invited by the Council of State to be their Latin Secretary for foreign affairs. And he served in the same capacity under Oliver, and Richard, and the Rump, till the Restoration; and without doubt a better Latin pen could not have been found in the kingdom. For the Republic and Cromwell scorned to pay that tribute to any foreign prince, which is usually paid to the French king, of managing their affairs in his language; they thought it an indignity and meanness, to which this or any free nation ought not to submit; and took a noble resolution neither to write any letters to any foreign states, nor to receive any answers from them, but in the Latin tongue, which was common to them all. And it would have been well, if succeeding princes had followed their example; for in the opinion of very wise men, the universality of the French language will make way for the universality of the French monarchy.

But it was not only in foreign dispatches that the government made use of his pen. He had discharged the business of his office a very little time, before he was called to a work of another kind. For soon after the King's death was published a book under his name intitled *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, or the royal image: and this book, like Cæsar's last will, making a deeper impression, and exciting greater commiseration in the minds of the people, than the King himself did while alive, Milton was ordered to prepare an answer to it, which was published by authority, and intitled *Εἰκονοκλαστικὴ* or the image-breaker, the famous surname of many Greek emperors, who in their zeal against idolatry broke all superstitious images to pieces. This piece was translated into French; and two replies to it were published, one in 1651, and the other in 1692, upon the reprinting of Milton's book at Amsterdam. In this controversy a heavy charge hath been alleged against Milton. Some editions of the King's book have certain prayers added at the end, and among them a prayer in time of captivity, which is taken from that of Pamela in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*: and it is said, that this prayer was added by the contrivance and artifice of Milton, who together with Bradshaw prevailed upon the printer to insert it, that from thence he might take occasion to bring a scandal upon the King, and to blast the reputation of his book, as he hath attempted to do in the first section of his answer. This fact is related chiefly upon the authority of Henry Hills the printer, who had frequently affirmed it to Dr. Gill and Dr. Bernard his physicians, as they themselves have testified. But Hills was not himself
the

the printer, who was dealt with in this manner, and consequently he could have the story only from hearsay: and tho' he was Cromwell's printer, yet afterwards he turned papist in the reign of James II, in order to be that king's printer, and it was at that time that he used to relate this story; so that, I think, little credit is due to his testimony. And indeed I cannot but hope and believe, that Milton had a soul above being guilty of so mean an action to serve so mean a purpose; and there is as little reason for fixing it upon him, as he had to traduce the King for profaning the duty of prayer "with the polluted trash of romances." For there are not many finer prayers in the best books of devotion; and the King might as lawfully borrow and apply it to his own occasions, as the Apostle might make quotations from Heathen poems and plays: and it became Milton the least of all men to bring such an accusation against the King, as he was himself particularly fond of reading romances, and has made use of them in some of the best and latest of his writings.

But his most celebrated work in prose is his Defense of the people of England against Salmasius, *Defensio pro populo Anglicano contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam*. Salmasius, by birth a Frenchman, succeeded the famous Scaliger as honorary Professor of the university of Leyden, and had gained great reputation by his Plinian Exercitations on Solinus, and by his critical remarks on several Latin and Greek authors, and was generally esteemed one of the greatest and most consummate scholars of that age: and is commended by Milton himself in his Reason of Church Government, and called the

learned Salmasius. And besides his great learning he had extraordinary talents in railing. "This prince of scholars, as some body said of him, seemed to have erected his throne upon a heap of stones, that he might have them at hand to throw at every one's head who passed by." He was therefore courted by Charles II, as the most able man to write a defense of the late King his father and to traduce his adversaries, and a hundred Jacobuses were given him for that purpose, and the book was published in 1649 with this title *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I. ad Carolum II.* No sooner did this book appear in England, but the Council of State unanimously appointed Milton, who was then present, to answer it: and he performed the task with amazing spirit and vigor, tho' his health at that time was such, that he could hardly indure the fatigue of writing, and being weak in body he was forced to write by piece-meal, and to break off almost every hour, as he says himself in the introduction. This necessarily occasioned some delay, so that his Defense of the people of England was not made public till the beginning of the year 1651: and they who cannot read the original, may yet have the pleasure of reading the English translation by Mr. Washington of the Temple, which was printed in 1692, and is inserted among Milton's works in the two last editions. It was somewhat extraordinary, that Salmasius, a pensioner to a republic, should pretend to write a defense of monarchy; but the States showed their disapprobation by publicly condemning his book, and ordering it to be suppressed. And on the other hand Milton's book was burnt at Paris, and at Tolouse by the hands

hands of the common hangman; but this served only to procure it the more readers: it was read and talked of every where, and even they who were of different principles, yet could not but acknowledge that he was a good defender of a bad cause; and Salmasius's book underwent only one impresson, while this of Milton passed thro' several editions. On the first appearance of it, he was visited or invited by all the foreign ministers at London, not excepting even those of crowned heads; and was particularly honored and esteemed by Adrian Paaw, ambassador from the States of Holland. He was likewise highly complimented by letters from the most learned and ingenious persons in France and Germany; and Leonard Philaras, an Athenian born, and ambassador from the Duke of Parma to the French king, wrote a fine encomium of his Defense, and sent him his picture, as appears from Milton's letter to Philaras dated at London in June 1652. And what gave him the greatest satisfaction, the work was highly applauded by those, who had desired him to undertake it; and they made him a present of a thousand pounds, which in those days of frugality was reckoned no inconsiderable reward for his performance. But the case was far otherwise with Salmasius. He was then in high favor at the court of Christina Queen of Sweden, who had invited thither several of the most learned men of all countries: but when Milton's Defense of the people of England was brought to Sweden, and was read to the Queen at her own desire, he sunk immediately in her esteem and the opinion of every body; and tho' he talked big at first, and vowed the destruction

destruction of Milton and the Parliament, yet finding that he was looked upon with coldness, he thought proper to take leave of the court; and he who came in honor, was dismissed with contempt. He died some time afterwards at Spa in Germany, and it is said more of a broken heart than of any distemper, leaving a posthumous reply to Milton, which was not published till after the Restoration, and was dedicated to Charles II. by his son Claudius; but it has done no great honor to his memory, abounding with abuse much more than argument.

Isaac Vossius was at Stockholm, when Milton's book was brought thither, and in some of his letters to Nicolas Heinsius, published by Professor Burman in the third tome of his *Sylloge Epistolarum*, he says, that he had the only copy of Milton's book, that the Queen borrowed it of him, and was very much pleased with it, and commended Milton's wit and manner of writing in the presence of several persons, and that Salmasius was very angry, and very busy in preparing his answer, wherein he abused Milton as if he had been one of the vilest catamites in Italy, and also criticized his Latin poems. Heinsius writes again to Vossius from Holland, that he wondered that only one copy of Milton's book was brought to Stockholm, when three were sent thither, one to the Queen, another to Vossius which he had received, and the third to Salmasius; that the book was in every body's hands, and there had been four editions in a few months besides the English one; that a Dutch translation was handed about, and a French one was expected. And afterwards he writes from Venice, that Holstenius had lent him

him Milton's Latin poems; that they were nothing, compared with the elegance of his Apology; that he had offended frequently against prosody, and here was a great opening for Salmasius's criticism: but as to Milton's having been a catamite in Italy, he says, that it was a mere calumny; on the contrary he was disliked by the Italians, for the severity of his manners, and for the freedom of his discourses against popery. And in others of his letters to Vossius and to J. Fr. Gronovius from Holland, Heinsius mentions how angry Salmasius was with him for commending Milton's book, and says that Grafwinkelius had written something against Milton, which was to have been printed by Elzevir, but it was suppressed by public authority.

The first reply that appeared was published in 1651, and intitled an Apology for the king and people &c, *Apologia pro rege & populo Anglicano contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Angli) Defensionem destructivam regis & populi Anglicani*. It is not known, who was the author of this piece. Some attributed it to one Janus a lawyer of Grays-Inn, and others to Dr. John Bramhall, who was then Bishop of Derry, and was made Primate of Ireland after the Restoration: but it is utterly improbable, that so mean a performance, written in such barbarous Latin, and so full of solœcisms, should come from the hands of a prelate of such distinguished abilities and learning. But whoever was the author of it, Milton did not think it worth his while to animadvert upon it himself, but employed the younger of his nephews to answer it; but he supervised and corrected the answer so much before it went to the press,

press, that it may in a manner be called his own. It came forth in 1652 under this title, *Johannis Philippi Angli Responsio ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam tenebrionis pro rege & populo Anglicano infantissimam*; and it is printed with Milton's works; and throughout the whole Mr. Philips treats Bishop Bramhall with great severity as the author of the Apology, thinking probably that so considerable an adversary would make the answer more considerable.

Sir Robert Filmer likewise published some animadversions upon Milton's Defense of the people, in a piece printed in 1652, and intitled *Observations concerning the original of government*, upon Mr. Hobbes's *Leviathan*, Mr. Milton against *Salmasius*, and *Hugo Grotius de Jure belli*: but I do not find that Milton or any of his friends took any notice of it; but Milton's quarrel was afterwards sufficiently avenged by Mr. Locke, who wrote against Sir Robert Filmer's principles of government, more I suppose in condescension to the prejudices of the age, than out of any regard to the weight or importance of Filmer's arguments.

It is probable that Milton, when he was first made Latin Secretary, removed from his house in High Holborn to be nearer Whitehall: and for some time he had lodgings at one Thomson's next door to the Bull-head tavern at Charing-Cross, opening into Spring-Garden, till the apartment, appointed for him in Scotland-Yard, could be got ready for his reception. He then removed thither; and there his third child, a son was born and named John, who thro' the ill usage or bad constitution of the nurse died an infant. His own health too was
greatly

greatly impaired; and for the benefit of the air, he removed from his apartment in Scotland-Yard to a house in Petty-France Westminster, which was next door to Lord Scudamore's, and opened into St. James's Park; and there he remained eight years, from the year 1652 till within a few weeks of the King's restoration. In this house he had not been settled long, before his first wife died in childbed; and his condition requiring some care and attendance, he was easily induced after a proper interval of time to marry a second, who was Catharine daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney: and she too died in childbed within a year after their marriage, and her child, who was a daughter, died in a month after her; and her husband has done honor to her memory in one of his sonnets.

Two or three years before this second marriage he had totally lost his sight. And his enemies triumphed in his blindness, and imputed it as a judgment upon him for writing against the King: but his sight had been decaying several years before, thro' his close application to study, and the frequent headaches to which he had been subject from his childhood, and his continual tampering with physic, which perhaps was more pernicious than all the rest: and he himself has informed us in his second Defense, that when he was appointed by authority to write his Defense of the people against Salmasius, he had almost lost the sight of one eye, and the physicians declared to him, that if he undertook that work, he would also lose the sight of the other: but he was nothing discouraged, and chose rather to lose both his eyes than desert what he thought his duty.

It

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It was the sight of his left eye that he lost first: and at the desire of his friend Leonard Philaras the Duke of Parma's minister at Paris he sent him a particular account of his case, and of the manner of his growing blind, for him to consult Thevenot the physician, who was reckoned famous in cases of the eyes. The letter is the fifteenth of his familiar epistles, and is dated Septemb. 28. 1654: but it does not appear what answer he received; we may presume, none that administered any relief. His blindness however did not disable him entirely from performing the business of his office. An assistant was allowed him, and his salary as secretary still continued to him.

And there was farther occasion for his service besides dictating of letters. For the controversy with Salmasius did not die with him, and there was published at the Hague in 1652 a book intitled the Cry of the King's blood &c, *Regii sanguinis Clamor ad cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos*. The true author of this book was Peter du Moulin the younger, who was afterwards prebendary of Canterbury: and he transmitted his papers to Salmasius; and Salmasius intrusted them to the care of Alexander Morus, a French minister; and Morus published them with a dedication to King Charles II. in the name of Adrian Ulac the printer, from whence he came to be reputed the author of the whole. This Morus was the son of a learned Scotsman, who was president of the college, which the protestants had formerly at Castres in Languedoc; and he is said to have been a man of a most haughty disposition, and immoderately addicted to women, hasty, ambitious,
full

full of himself and his own performances, and satirical upon all others. He was however esteemed one of the most eminent preachers of that age among the protestants; but as Monsieur Bayle observes, his chief talent must have consisted in the gracefulness of his delivery, or in those fallies of imagination and quaint turns and allusions, whereof his sermons are full; for they retain not those charms in reading, which they were said to have formerly in the pulpit. Against this man therefore, as the reputed author of *Regii sanguinis Clamor &c*, Milton published by authority his Second Defense of the people of England, *Defensio Secunda pro populo Anglicano*, in 1654, and treats Morus with such severity as nothing could have excused, if he had not been provoked to it by so much abuse poured upon himself. There is one piece of his wit, which had been published before in the news-papers at London, a distich upon Morus for getting Pontia the maid-servant of his friend Salmasius with child.

Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori
Quis bene moratam morigeramque neget?

Upon this Morus published his *Fides Publica* in answer to Milton, in which he inserted several testimonies of his orthodoxy and morals signed by the consistories, academies, synods, and magistrates of the places where he had lived; and disowned his being the author of the book imputed to him, and appealed to two gentlemen of great credit with the Parliament party, who knew the real author. This brought Du Moulin, who was then in England,
into

into great danger; but the government suffered him to escape with impunity, rather than they would publicly contradict the great patron of their cause. For he still persisted in his accusation, and endeavored to make it good in his Defense of himself, *Autoris pro se Defensio*, which was published in 1655, wherein he opposed to the testimonies in favor of Morus other testimonies against him; and Morus replied no more.

After this controversy was ended, he was at leisure again to pursue his own private studies, which were the History of England before mentioned, and a new Thesaurus of the Latin tongue, intended as an improvement upon that by Robert Stephens; a work, which he had been long collecting from the best and purest Latin authors, and continued at times almost to his dying day: but his papers were left so confused and imperfect, that they could not be fitted for the press, tho' great use was made of them by the compilers of the Cambridge Dictionary printed in 1693. These papers are said to have consisted of three large volumes in folio; and it is a great pity that they are lost, and no account is given what is become of the manuscript. It is commonly said too that at this time he began his famous poem of *Paradise Lost*; and it is certain, that he was glad to be released from those controversies, which detained him so long from following things more agreeable to his natural genius and inclination, tho' he was far from ever repenting of his writings in defense of liberty, but gloried in them to the last.

The only interruption now of his private studies was the business of his office. In 1655 there was published

published in Latin a writing in the name of the Lord Protector, setting forth the reasons of the war with Spain: and this piece is rightly adjudged to our author, both on account of the peculiar elegance of the stile, and because it was his province to write such things as Latin Secretary; and it is printed among his other prose-works in the last edition. And for the same reasons I am inclined to think, that the famous Latin verses to Christina Queen of Sweden in the name of Cromwell were made by our author rather than Andrew Marvel. In those days they had admirable intelligence in the Secretary's office; and Mr. Philips relates a memorable instance or two upon his own knowledge. The Dutch were sending a plenipotentiary to England to treat of peace; but the emissaries of the government had the art to procure a copy of his instructions in Holland, which were delivered by Milton to his kinsman who was then with him, to translate them for the use of the Council, before the said plenipotentiary had taken shipping for England; and an answer to all that he had in charge was prepared, and lay ready for him before he made his public entry into London. Another time a person came to London with a very sumptuous train, pretending himself an agent from the Prince of Conde, who was then in arms against Cardinal Mazarine: but the government suspecting him set their instruments to work so successfully, that in a few days they received intelligence from Paris, that he was a spy employed by Charles II: whereupon the very next morning Milton's kinsman was sent to him with an order of Council, commanding him to depart the kingdom within three days,

days, or expect the punishment of a spy. This kinsman was in all probability Mr. Philips or his brother, who were Milton's nephews, and lived very much with him, and one or both of them were assistant to him in his office. His blindness no doubt was a great hindrance and inconvenience to him in his business, tho' sometimes a political use might be made of it; as men's natural infirmities are often pleaded in excuse for not doing what they have no great inclination to do. Thus when Cromwell, as we may collect from Whitlock, for some reasons delayed artfully to sign the treaty concluded with Sweden, and the Swedish ambassador made frequent complaints of it, it was excused to him, because Mr. Milton on account of his blindness proceeded slower in business, and had not yet put the articles of the treaty into Latin. Upon which the ambassador was greatly surpris'd, that things of such consequence should be intrusted to a blind man, for he must necessarily employ an amanuensis, and that amanuensis might divulge the articles; and said it was very wonderful, that there should be only one man in England who could write Latin, and he a blind one. But his blindness had not diminished, but rather increased the vigor of his mind: and his state-letters will remain as authentic memorials of those times, to be admired equally by critics and politicians; and those particularly about the sufferings of the poor protestants in Piedmont, who can read without sensible emotion? This was a subject that he had very much at heart, as he was an utter enemy to all sorts of persecution; and among his sonnets there is a most excellent one upon the same occasion.

But

But Oliver Cromwell being dead, and the government weak and unsettled in the hands of Richard and the Parliament, he thought it a seasonable time to offer his advice again to the public; and in 1659 published a Treatise of civil power in ecclesiastical causes; and another tract intitled Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church; both addressed to the Parliament of the commonwealth of England. And after the Parliament was dissolved, he wrote a Letter to some Statesman, with whom he had a serious discourse the night before, concerning the ruptures of the commonwealth; and another, as it is supposed, to General Monk, being a brief Delineation of a free commonwealth, easy to be put in practice, and without delay. These two pieces were communicated in manuscript to Mr. Toland by a friend, who a little after Milton's death had them from his nephew; and Mr. Toland gave them to be printed in the edition of our author's prose-works in 1698. But Milton, still finding that affairs were every day tending more and more to the subversion of the commonwealth and the restoration of the royal family, published his Ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth, and the excellence thereof, compared with the inconveniences and dangers of readmitting kingship in this nation. We are informed by Mr. Wood, that he published this piece in February 1659-60; and after this he published Brief notes upon a late sermon intitled, the Fear of God and the King, preached by Dr. Matthew Griffith at Mercers Chapel March 25, 1660: so bold and resolute was he in declaring his sentiments to

the last, thinking that his voice was the voice of expiring liberty.

A little before the King's landing he was discharged from his office of Latin Secretary, and was forced to leave his house in Petty France, where he had lived eight years with great reputation, and had been visited by all foreigners of note, who could not go out of the country without seeing a man who did so much honor to it by his writings, and whose name was as well known and as famous abroad as in his own nation; and by several persons of quality of both sexes, particularly the pious and virtuous Lady Ranelagh, whose son for some time he instructed, the same who was Paymaster of the forces in King William's time; and by many learned and ingenious friends and acquaintance, particularly Andrew Marvel, and young Laurence, son to the President of Oliver's Council, to whom he has inscribed one of his sonnets, and Marchamont Needham the writer of Politicus, and above all Cyriac Skinner, whom he has honored with two sonnets. But now it was not safe for him to appear any longer in public, so that by the advice of some who wished him well and were concerned for his preservation, he fled for shelter to a friend's house in Bartholomew Close near West Smithfield, where he lay concealed till the worst of the storm was blown over. The first notice that we find taken of him was on Saturday the 16th of June 1660, when it was ordered by the House of Commons, that his Majesty should be humbly moved to issue his proclamation for the calling in of Milton's two books, his Defense of the people and Iconoclastes, and also Goodwyn's book

book intituled the Obstructors of justice, written in justification of the murder of the late King, and to order them to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. At the same time it was ordered, that the Attorney General should proceed by way of indictment or information against Milton and Goodwyn in respect of their books, and that they themselves should be sent for in custody of the Serjeant at arms attending the House. On Wednesday June 27th an order of Council was made agreeable to the order of the House of Commons for a proclamation against Milton's and Goodwyn's books; and the proclamation was issued the 13th of August following, wherein it was said that the authors had fled or did abscond: and on Monday August 27th Milton's and Goodwin's books were burnt according to the proclamation at the Old Baily by the hands of the common hangman. On Wednesday August 29th the act of indemnity was passed, which proved more favorable to Milton than could well have been expected; for tho' John Goodwyn Clerk was excepted among the twenty persons, who were to have penalties inflicted upon them, not extending to life, yet Milton was not excepted at all, and consequently was included in the general pardon. We find indeed that afterwards he was in custody of the Serjeant at arms; but the time, when he was taken into custody, is not certain. He was not in custody on the 12th of September, for that day a list of the prisoners in custody of the Serjeant at arms was read in the House, and Milton is not among them; and on the 13th of September the House adjourned to the 6th of November. It is most probable there-

fore, that after the act of indemnity was passed, and after the House had adjourned, he came out of his concealment, and was afterwards taken into custody of the Serjeant at arms by virtue of the former order of the House of Commons: but we cannot find that he was prosecuted by the Attorney General, nor was he continued in custody very long: for on Saturday the 15th of December 1660, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that Mr. Milton now in custody of the Serjeant at arms should be forthwith released, paying his fees; and on Monday the 17th of December, a complaint being made that the Serjeant at arms had demanded excessive fees for his imprisonment, it was referred to the Committee of privileges and elections to examin this business, and to call Mr. Milton and the Serjeant before them, and to determin what was fit to be given to the Serjeant for his fees in this case; so courageous was he at all times in defense of liberty against all the encroachments of power, and tho' a prisoner, would yet be treated like a freeborn Englishman. This appears to be the matter of fact, as it may be collected partly from the Journals of the House of Commons, and partly from Kennet's Historical Register: and the clemency of the government was surely very great towards him, considering the nature of his offenses; for tho' he was not one of the King's judges and murderers, yet he contributed more to murder his character and reputation than any of them all: and to what therefore could it be owing, that he was treated with such lenity, and was so easily pardoned? It is certain, there was not wanting powerful intercession for him both in
Council

Council and in Parliament. It is said that Secretary Morrice and Sir Thomas Clargis greatly favored him, and exerted their interest in his behalf; and his old friend Andrew Marvel, member of Parliament for Hull, formed a considerable party for him in the House of Commons; and neither was Charles the Second (as Toland says) such an enemy to the Muses, as to require his destruction. But the principal instrument in obtaining Milton's pardon was Sir William Davenant, out of gratitude for Milton's having procured his release, when he was taken prisoner in 1650. It was life for life. Davenant had been saved by Milton's interest, and in return Milton was saved at Davenant's intercession. This story Mr. Richardson relates upon the authority of Mr. Pope; and Mr. Pope had it from Betterton the famous actor, who was first brought upon the stage and patronized by Sir William Davenant, and might therefore derive the knowledge of this transaction from the fountain.

Milton having thus obtained his pardon, and being set at liberty again, took a house in Holborn near Red Lion Fields; but he removed soon into Jewen Street near Aldersgate Street: and while he lived there, being in his 53d or 54th year, and blind and infirm, and wanting some body better than servants to tend and look after him, he employed his friend Dr. Paget to choose a proper consort for him; and at his recommendation married his third wife, Elizabeth Minshul, of a gentleman's family in Cheshire, and related to Dr. Paget. It is said that an offer was made to Milton, as well as to Thurloe, of holding the same place of Secretary under the King,

which he had discharged with so much integrity and ability under Cromwell; but he persisted in refusing it, tho' the wife pressed his compliance; "Thou art in the right, says he; you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man." What is more certain is, that in 1661 he published his *Accedence commenced Grammar*, and a tract of Sir Walter Raleigh intitled *Aphorisms of State*; as in 1658 he had published another piece of Sir Walter Raleigh intitled the *Cabinet Council discabinated*, which he printed from a manuscript, that had lain many years in his hands, and was given him for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected several such pieces: an evident sign, that he thought it no mean employment, nor unworthy of a man of genius, to be an editor of the works of great authors. It was while he lived in Jewen Street, that Elwood the quaker (as we learn from the history of his life written by his own hand) was first introduced to read to him; for having wholly lost his sight, he kept always some body or other to perform that office, and usually the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom he took in kindness, that he might at the same time improve him in his learning. Elwood was recommended to him by Dr. Paget, and went to his house every afternoon except Sunday, and read to him such books in the Latin tongue, as Milton thought proper. And Milton told him, that if he would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners either abroad or at home, he must learn the foreign pronunciation;

nunciation; and he instructed him how to read accordingly. And having a curious ear, he understood by my tone, says Elwood, when I understood what I read, and when I did not; and he would stop me, and examin me, and open the most difficult passages to me. But it was not long after his third marriage, that he left Jewen Street, and removed to a house in the Artillery Walk leading to Bunhill Fields: and this was his last stage in this world; he continued longer in this house than he had done in any other, and lived here to his dying day: only when the plague began to rage in London in 1665, he removed to a small house at St. Giles Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, which Elwood had taken for him and his family; and there he remained during that dreadful calamity; but after the sickness was over, and the city was cleansed and made safely habitable again, he returned to his house in London.

His great work of *Paradise Lost* had principally engaged his thoughts for some years past, and was now completed. It is probable, that his first design of writing an epic poem was owing to his conversations at Naples with the Marquis of Villa about Tasso and his famous poem of the delivery of Jerusalem; and in a copy of verses presented to that nobleman before he left Naples, he intimated his intention of fixing upon King Arthur for his hero. And in an eclogue, made soon after his return to England upon the death of his friend and school-fellow Deodati, he proposed the same design and the same subject, and declared his ambition of writing something in his native language, which

I The LIFE of *MILTON*.

which might render his name illustrious in these islands, though he should be obscure and inglorious to the rest of the world. And in other parts of his works, after he had engaged in the controversies of the times, he still promised to produce some noble poem or other at a fitter season; but it doth not appear that he had then determined upon the subject, and King Arthur had another fate, being reserved for the pen of Sir Richard Blackmore. The first hint of *Paradise Lost* is said to have been taken from an Italian tragedy; and it is certain, that he first designed it a tragedy himself, and there are several plans of it in the form of a tragedy still to be seen in the author's own manuscript preserved in the library of Trinity College Cambridge. And it is probable, that he did not barely sketch out the plans, but also wrote some parts of the drama itself. His nephew Philips informs us, that some of the verses at the beginning of Satan's speech, addressed to the sun in the fourth book, were shown to him and some others as designed for the beginning of the tragedy, several years before the poem was begun: and many other passages might be produced, which plainly appear to have been originally intended for the scene, and are not so properly of the epic, as of the tragic strain. It was not till after he was disengaged from the Salmasian controversy, which ended in 1655, that he began to mold the *Paradise Lost* in its present form; but after the Restoration, when he was dismissed from public business, and freed from controversy of every kind, he prosecuted the work with closer application. Mr. Philips relates a very remarkable circumstance in the composition of this poem,

poem, which he says he had reason to remember, as it was told him by Milton himself, that his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal, and that what he attempted at other times was not to his satisfaction, tho' he courted his fancy never so much. Mr. Toland imagins that Philips might be mistaken as to the time, because our author, in his Latin elegy, written in his twentieth year, upon the approach of the spring, seemeth to say just the contrary, as if he could not make any verses to his satisfaction till the spring begun: and he says farther that a judicious friend of Milton's informed him, that he could never compose well but in spring and autumn. But Mr. Richardson cannot comprehend, that either of these accounts is exactly true, or that a man with such a work in his head can suspend it for six months together, or only for one; it may go on more slowly, but it must go on: and this laying it aside is contrary to that eagerness to finish what was begun, which he says was his temper in his epistle to Deodati dated Sept. 2. 1637. After all Mr. Philips, who had the perusal of the poem from the beginning, by twenty or thirty verses at a time, as it was composed, and having not been shown any for a considerable while as the summer came on, inquired of the author the reason of it, could hardly be mistaken with regard to the time: and it is easy to conceive, that the poem might go on much more slowly in summer than in other parts of the year; for notwithstanding all that poets may say of the pleasures of that season, I imagin most persons find by experience, that they can compose better at
any

any other time, with more facility and with more spirit, than during the heat and languor of summer. Whenever the poem was wrote, it was finished in 1665, and as Elwood says was shewn to him that same year at St. Giles Chalfont, whither Milton had retired to avoid the plague, and it was lent to him to peruse it and give his judgment of it: and considering the difficulties which the author lay under, his uneasiness on account of the public affairs and his own, his age and infirmities, his gout and blindness, his not being in circumstances to maintain an amanuensis, but obliged to make use of any hand that came next to write his verses as he made them, it is really wonderful, that he should have the spirit to undertake such a work, and much more, that he should ever bring it to perfection. And after the poem was finished, still new difficulties retarded the publication of it. It was in danger of being suppressed thro' the malice or ignorance of the licencer, who took exception at some passages, and particularly at that noble simile, in the first book, of the sun in an eclipse, in which he fancied that he had discovered treason. It was with difficulty too that the author could sell the copy; and he sold it at last only for five pounds, but was to receive five pounds more after the sale of 1300 of the first impression, and five pounds more after the sale of as many of the second impression, and five more after the sale of as many of the third, and the number of each impression was not to exceed 1500. And what a poor consideration was this for such an inestimable performance! and how much more do others get by the works of great authors, than the

the authors themselves! This original contract with Samuel Simmons the printer is dated April 27. 1667, and is in the hands of Mr. Tonson the bookseller, as is likewise the manuscript of the first book copied fair for the press, with the Impri-matur by Thomas Tomkyns chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury: so that tho' Milton was forced to make use of different hands to write his verses from time to time as he had occasion, yet we may suppose that the copy for the press was written all, or at least each book by the same hand. The first edition in ten books was printed in a small quarto; and before it could be disposed of, had three or more different title pages of the years 1667, 1668, and 1669. The first sort was without the name of Simmons the printer, and began with the poem immediately following the title page, without any argument, or preface, or table of errata: to others was prefixed a short advertisement of the printer to the reader concerning the argument and the reason why the poem rimes not; and then followed the argument of the several books, and the preface concerning the kind of verse, and the table of errata: others again had the argument, and the preface, and the table of errata, without that short advertisement of the printer to the reader: and this was all the difference between them, except now and then of a point or a letter, which were altered as the sheets were printing off. So that, notwithstanding these variations, there was still only one impression in quarto; and two years almost elapsed, before 1300 copies could be sold, or before the author was intitled to his second five pounds, for
which

which his receipt is still in being, and is dated April 26. 1669. And this was probably all that he received; for he lived not to enjoy the benefits of the second edition, which was not published till the year 1674, and that same year he died. The second edition was printed in a small octavo, and was corrected by the author himself, and the number of books was augmented from ten to twelve, with the addition of some few verses: and this alteration was made with great judgment, not for the sake of such a fanciful beauty as resembling the number of books in the *Æneid*, but for the more regular disposition of the poem, because the seventh and tenth books were before too long, and are more fitly divided each into two. The third edition was published in 1678; and it appears that Milton had left his remaining right in the copy to his widow, and she agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands, and her receipt for the money is dated December 21. 1680. But a little before this Simmons had covenanted to assign the whole right of copy to Brabazon Aylmer the bookseller for twenty five pounds; and Aylmer afterwards sold it to old Jacob Tonson at two different times, one half on the 17th of August 1683, and the other half on the 24th of March 1690, with a considerable advance of the price; and except one fourth of it which has been assign'd to several persons, his family have enjoyed the right of copy ever since. By the last assignment it appears, that the book was growing into repute and rising in valuation; and to what perverseness could it be owing that it was not better received at first? We conceive

ceive there were principally two reasons; the prejudices against the author on account of his principles and party; and many no doubt were offended with the novelty of a poem that was not in rime. Rymer, who was a redoubted critic in those days, would not so much as allow it to be a poem on this account; and declared war against Milton as well as against Shakespear; and threatened that he would write reflections upon the *Paradise Lost*, which some (says he *) are pleased to call a poem, and would assert rime against the slender sophistry wherewith the author attacks it. And such a man as Bishop Burnet maketh it a sort of objection to Milton, that he affected to write in blank verse without rime. And the same reason induced Dryden to turn the principal parts of *Paradise Lost* into rime in his Opera called the State of innocence and Fall of man; to tag his lines, as Milton himself expressed it, alluding to the fashion then of wearing tags of metal at the end of their ribbons. We are told indeed by Mr. Richardson, that Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parliament, told him, that Sir John Denham came into the House one morning with a sheet of *Paradise Lost* wet from the press in his hand; and being asked what he had there, said that he had part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language or in any age. However it is certain that the book was unknown till about two years after, when the Earl of Dorset produced it, as Mr. Richardson was informed by Dr. Tancred Robinson the physician, who had heard the story often from Fleetwood Shephard himself, that

* See Rymer's *Tragedies of the last age consider'd.* p. 143.

that the Earl, in company with Mr. Shephard, looking about for books in Little Britain, accidentally met with *Paradise Lost*; and being surprised at some passages in dipping here and there, he bought it. The bookseller begged his Lordship to speak in its favor if he liked it, for the impression lay on his hands as waste paper. The Earl having read it sent it to Dryden, who in a short time returned it with this answer, "This man cuts us all out and the Ancients too." Dryden's epigram upon Milton is too well known to be repeated; and those Latin verses by Dr. Barrow the physician, and the English ones by Andrew Marvel Esq;., usually prefixed to the *Paradise Lost*, were written before the second edition, and were published with it. But still the poem was not generally known and esteemed, nor met with the deserved applause, till after the edition in folio, which was published in 1688 by subscription. The Duke of Buckingham in his Essay on poetry prefers Tasso and Spenser to Milton: and it is related in the life of the witty Earl of Rochester, that he had no notion of a better poet than Cowley. In 1686 or thereabout Sir William Temple published the second part of his *Miscellanies*, and it may surprise any reader, that in his Essay on poetry he taketh no notice at all of Milton; nay he saith expressly that after Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser, he knoweth none of the Moderns who have made any achievements in heroic poetry worth recording. And what can we think, that he had not read or heard of the *Paradise Lost*, or that the author's politics had prejudiced him against his poetry? It was happy that all great men were not of his mind. The
bookseller

bookfeller was advised and encouraged to undertake the folio edition by Mr. Sommers, afterwards Lord Sommers, who not only subscribed himself, but was zealous in promoting the subscription: and in the list of subscribers we find some of the most eminent names of that time, as the Earl of Dorset, Waller, Dryden, Dr. Aldrich, Mr. Atterbury, and among the rest Sir Roger Lestrange, tho' he had formerly written a piece intitled *No blind guides &c* against Milton's Notes upon Dr. Griffith's sermon. There were two editions more in folio, one I think in 1692, the other in 1695 which was the sixth edition; for the poem was now so well received, that notwithstanding the price of it was four times greater than before, the sale increased double the number every year; as the bookfeller, who should best know, has informed us in his dedication of the smaller editions to Lord Sommers. Since that time not only various editions have been printed, but also various notes and translations. The first person who wrote annotations upon *Paradise Lost* was P. H. or Patrick Hume, of whom we know nothing, unless his name may lead us to some knowledge of his country, but he has the merit of being the first (as I say) who wrote notes upon *Paradise Lost*, and his notes were printed at the end of the folio edition in 1695. Mr. Addison's *Spectators* upon the subject contributed not a little to establishing the character, and illustrating the beauties of the poem. In 1732 appeared Dr. Bentley's new edition with notes: and the year following Dr. Pearce published his *Review* of the text, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are considered, and several other emenda-

tions and observations are offered to the public. And the year after that Messieurs Richardson, father and son, published their Explanatory notes and remarks. The poem has also been translated into several languages, Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch; and proposals have been made for translating it into Greek. The Dutch translation is in blank verse, and printed at Harlem. The French have a translation by Mons. Dupré de S. Maur; but nothing sheweth the weakness and imperfection of their language more, than that they have few or no good poetical versions of the greatest poets; they are forced to translate Homer, Virgil, and Milton into prose: and blank verse their language has not harmony and dignity enough to support; their tragedies, and many of their comedies are in rime. Rolli, the famous Italian master here in England, made an Italian translation; and Mr. Richardson the son saw another at Florence in manuscript by the learned Abbè Salvini, the same who translated Addison's *Cato* into Italian. One William Hog or Hogæus translated *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regain'd*, and *Samson Agonistes* into Latin verse in 1690; but this version is very unworthy of the originals. There is a better translation of the *Paradise Lost* by Mr. Thomas Power Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, the first book of which was printed in 1691, and the rest in manuscript is in the library of that College. The learned Dr. Trap has also published a translation into Latin verse; and the world is in expectation of another, that will surpass all the rest, by Mr. William Dobson of New College in Oxford. So that by one means or other *Milton* is now considered

sidered as an English classic; and the *Paradise Lost* is generally esteemed the noblest and most sublime of modern poems, and equal at least to the best of the ancient; the honor of this country, and the envy and admiration of all others!

In 1670 he published his *History of Britain*, that part especially now called *England*. He began it above twenty years before, but was frequently interrupted by other avocations; and he designed to have brought it down to his own times, but stopped at the Norman conquest; for indeed he was not well able to pursue it any farther by reason of his blindness, and he was engaged in other more delightful studies, having a genius turned for poetry rather than history. When his *History* was printed, it was not printed perfect and entire; for the licencer expunged several passages, which reflecting upon the pride and superstition of the Monks in the Saxon times, were understood as a concealed satire upon the Bishops in Charles the second's reign. But the author himself gave a copy of his unlicensed papers to the Earl of Anglesea, who, as well as several of the nobility and gentry, constantly visited him: and in 1681 a considerable passage, which had been suppressed at the beginning of the third book, was published, containing a character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines in 1641, which was inserted in its proper place in the last edition of 1738. Bishop Kennet begins his *Complete History of England* with this work of Milton, as being the best draught, the clearest and most authentic account of those early times: and his style is freer and easier than in most of his other works, more plain

and simple, less figurative and metaphorical, and better suited to the nature of history, has enough of the Latin turn and idiom to give it an air of antiquity, and sometimes rises to a surprising dignity and majesty.

In 1670 likewise his *Paradise Regain'd* and *Samson Agonistes* were licenced together, but were not published till the year following. It is somewhat remarkable, that these two poems were not printed by Simmons, the same who printed the *Paradise Lost*, but by J. M. for one Starkey in Fleetstreet: and what could induce Milton to have recourse to another printer? was it because the former was not enough encouraged by the sale of *Paradise Lost* to become a purchaser of the other copies? The first thought of *Paradise Regain'd* was owing to Elwood the quaker, as he himself relates the occasion in the history of his life. When Milton had lent him the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* at St. Giles Chalfont, as we said before, and he returned it, Milton asked him how he liked it, and what he thought of it: "Which I modestly, but freely told him, says Elwood; and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*? He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Elwood afterwards waited upon him in London, Milton showed him his *Paradise Regain'd*, and in a pleasant tone said to him, "This is owing to You, for You put it into my head by the question You put me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of."

It

It is commonly reported, that Milton himself preferred this poem to the *Paradise Lost*: but all that we can assert upon good authority is, that he could not indure to hear this poem cried down so much as it was, in comparison with the other. For certainly it is very worthy of the author, and contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in *Paradise Regain'd* as well as in *Paradise Lost*; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is not superior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not sometimes rise so high, neither doth it ever sink so low; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has raised as noble a superstructure, as such little room and such scanty materials would allow. The great beauty of it is the contrast between the two characters of the Tempter and our Saviour, the artful sophistry and specious insinuations of the one refuted by the strong sense and manly eloquence of the other. This poem has also been translated into French together with some other pieces of Milton, *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, and the Ode on Christ's nativity: and in 1732 was printed a Critical Dissertation with notes upon *Paradise Regain'd*, pointing out the beauties of it, and written by Mr. Meadowcourt, Canon of Worcester: and the very learned and ingenious Mr. Jortin has added some observations upon this work at the end of his excellent *Remarks upon Spenser*, published in 1734: and indeed this poem of Milton, to be more admired, needs only to be

better known. His *Samson Agonistes* is the only tragedy that he has finished, tho' he has sketched out the plans of several, and proposed the subjects of more, in his manuscript preserved in Trinity College library: and we may suppose that he was determined to the choice of this particular subject by the similitude of his own circumstances to those of Samson blind and among the Philistins. This I conceive to be the last of his poetical pieces; and it is written in the very spirit of the Ancients, and equals, if not exceeds, any of the most perfect tragedies, which were ever exhibited on the Athenian stage, when Greece was in its glory. As this work was never intended for the stage, the division into acts and scenes is omitted. Bishop Atterbury had an intention of getting Mr. Pope to divide it into acts and scenes, and of having it acted by the King's Scholars at Westminster: but his commitment to the Tower put an end to that design. It has since been brought upon the stage in the form of an Oratorio; and Mr. Handel's music is never employed to greater advantage, than when it is adapted to Milton's words. That great artist has done equal justice to our author's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, as if the same spirit possessed both masters, and as if the God of music and of verse was still one and the same.

There are also some other pieces of Milton, for he continued publishing to the last. In 1672 he published *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata*, an Institution of Logic after the method of Petrus Ramus; and the year following, a treatise of true Religion and the best means to prevent the growth of popery, which had
greatly

greatly increased thro' the connivance of the King, and the more open encouragement of the Duke of York; and the same year his poems, which had been printed in 1645, were reprinted with the addition of several others. His familiar epistles and some academical exercises, *Epistolarum familiarium Lib. I. et Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ in Collegio Christi habitæ*, were printed in 1674; as was also his translation out of Latin into English of the Pole's Declaration concerning the election of their king John III, setting forth the virtues and merits of that prince. He wrote also a brief History of Muscovy, collected from the relations of several travelers; but it was not printed till after his death in 1682. He had likewise his state-letters transcribed at the request of the Danish resident, but neither were they printed till after his death in 1676, and were translated into English in 1694; and to that translation a life of Milton was prefixed by his nephew Mr. Edward Philips, and at the end of that life his excellent sonnets to Fairfax, Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane, and Cyriac Skinner on his blindness were first printed. Besides these works which were published, he wrote a system of divinity, which Mr. Toland says was in the hands of his friend Cyriac Skinner, but where at present is uncertain. And Mr. Philips says, that he had prepared for the press an answer to some little scribbling quack in London, who had written a scurrilous libel against him; but whether by the dissuasion of friends, as thinking him a fellow not worth his notice, or for what other cause Mr. Philips knoweth not, this answer was never published. And indeed the best

vindicator of him and his writings hath been Time. Posterity hath universally paid that honor to his merits, which was denied him by great part of his contemporaries.

After a life thus spent in study and labors for the public he died of the gout at his house in Bunhill Row on or about the 10th of November 1674, when he had within a month completed the sixty sixth year of his age. It is not known when he was first attacked by the gout, but he was grievously afflicted with it several of the last years of his life, and was weakened to such a degree, that he died without a groan, and those in the room perceived not when he expired. His body was decently interred near that of his father (who had died very aged about the year 1647) in the chancel of the Church of St. Giles's Cripplegate; and all his great and learned friends in London, not without a friendly concourse of the common people, paid their last respects in attending it to the grave. Mr. Fenton in his short but elegant account of the life of Milton, speaking of our author's having no monument, says that "he desired a friend to inquire at St. Giles's Church; where the sexton showed him a small monument, which he said was supposed to be Milton's; but the inscription had never been legible since he was employed in that office, which he has possessed about forty years. This sure could never have happened in so short a space of time, unless the epitaph had been industriously erased: and that supposition, says Mr. Fenton, carries with it so much inhumanity, that I think we ought to believe it was not erected

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“ to his memory.” It is evident that it was not erected to his memory, and that the sexton was mistaken. For Mr. Toland in his account of the life of Milton says, that he was buried in the chancel of St. Giles’s Church, “ where the piety of his admirers will shortly erect a monument becoming his worth and the encouragement of letters in King William’s reign.” This plainly implies that no monument was erected to him at that time, and this was written in 1698: and Mr. Fenton’s account was first published, I think, in 1725; so that not above twenty seven years intervened from the one account to the other; and consequently the sexton, who it is said had been possessed of his office about forty years, must have been mistaken, and the monument must have been designed for some other person, and not for Milton. A monument indeed has been erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey by Auditor Benson in the year 1737; but the best monument of him is his writings.

In his youth he was esteemed extremely handsome, so that while he was a student at Cambridge, he was called the Lady of Christ’s College. He had a very fine skin and fresh complexion; his hair was of a light brown, and parted on the foretop hung down in curls waving upon his shoulders; his features were exact and regular; his voice agreeable and musical; his habit clean and neat; his deportment erect and manly. He was middle-sized and well proportioned, neither tall nor short, neither too lean nor too corpulent, strong and active in his younger years, and though afflicted with frequent head-akes, blindness, and gout, was yet a comely and

and well-looking man to the last. His eyes were of a light blue color, and from the first are said to have been none of the brightest; but after he lost the sight of them, (which happened about the 43^d year of his age) they still appeared without spot or blemish, and at first view and at a little distance it was not easy to know that he was blind. Mr. Richardson had an account of him from an ancient clergyman in Dorsetshire, Dr. Wright, who found him in a small house, which had (he thinks) but one room on a floor; in that, up one pair of stairs, which was hung with a rusty green, he saw John Milton sitting in an elbow chair, with black clothes, and neat enough, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty, and with chalk stones; among other discourse he expressed himself to this purpose, that was he free from the pain of the gout, his blindness would be tolerable. But there is the less need to be particular in the description of his person, as the idea of his face and countenance is pretty well known from the numerous prints, pictures, busts, medals, and other representations which have been made of him. There are two pictures of greater value than the rest, as they are undoubted originals, and were in the possession of Milton's widow: the first was drawn when he was about twenty one, and is at present in the collection of the Right Honorable Arthur Onslow Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons; the other in crayons was drawn when he was about sixty two, and was in the collection of Mr. Richardson, but has since been purchased by Mr. Tonson. Several prints have been made from both these pictures; and there is a
print

print done, when he was about sixty two or sixty three, after the life by Faithorn, which tho' not so handsome, may yet perhaps be as true a resemblance, as any of them. It is prefixed to some of our author's pieces, and to the folio edition of his prose works in three volumes printed in 1698.

In his way of living he was an example of sobriety and temperance. He was very sparing in the use of wine or strong liquors of any kind. Let meaner poets make use of such expedients to raise their fancy and kindle their imagination. He wanted not any artificial spirits; he had a natural fire, and poetic warmth enough of his own. He was likewise very abstemious in his diet, not fastidiously nice or delicate in the choice of his dishes, but content with any thing that was most in season, or easiest to be procured, eating and drinking, (according to the distinction of the philosopher) that he might live, and not living that he might eat and drink. So that probably his gout descended by inheritance from one or other of his parents; or if it was of his own acquiring, it must have been owing to his studious and sedentary life. And yet he delighted sometimes in walking and using exercise, but we hear nothing of his riding or hunting; and having early learned to fence, he was such a master of his sword, that he was not afraid of resenting an affront from any man; and before he lost his sight, his principal recreation was the exercise of his arms; but after he was confined by age and blindness, he had a machine to swing in for the preservation of his health. In his youth he was accustomed to sit up late at his studies, and seldom went to bed before midnight; but

but afterwards, finding it to be the ruin of his eyes, and looking on this custom as very pernicious to health at any time, he used to go to rest early, seldom later than nine, and would be stirring in the summer at four, and in the winter at five in the morning; but if he was not disposed to rise at his usual hours, he still did not lie sleeping, but had some body or other by his bed side to read to him. At his first rising he had usually a chapter read to him out of the Hebrew Bible, and he commonly studied all the morning till twelve, then used some exercise for an hour, afterwards dined, and after dinner played on the organ, and either sung himself or made his wife sing, who (he said) had a good voice but no ear; and then he went up to study again till six, when his friends came to visit him and sat with him perhaps till eight; then he went down to supper, which was usually olives or some light thing; and after supper he smoked his pipe, and drank a glass of water, and went to bed. He loved the country, and commends it, as poets usually do; but after his return from his travels, he was very little there, except during the time of the plague in London. The civil war might at first detain him in town; and the pleasures of the country were in a great measure lost to him, as they depend mostly upon sight, whereas a blind man wanteth company and conversation, which is to be had better in populous cities. But he was led out sometimes for the benefit of the fresh air, and in warm sunny weather he used to sit at the door of his house near Bunhill Fields, and there as well as in the house received the visits of persons of quality

quality and distinction; for he was no less visited to the last both by his own countrymen and foreigners, than he had been in his flourishing condition before the Restoration.

Some objections indeed have been made to his temper; and I remember there was a tradition in the university of Cambridge, that he and Mr. King (whose death he laments in his *Lycidas*) were competitors for a fellowship, and when they were both equal in point of learning, Mr. King was preferred by the college for his character of good nature, which was wanting in the other; and this was by Milton grievously resented. But the difference of their ages, Milton being at least four years elder, renders this story not very probable; and besides Mr. King was not elected by the college, but was made fellow by a royal mandate, so that there can be no truth in the tradition; but if there was any, it is no sign of Milton's resentment, but a proof of his generosity, that he could live in such friendship with a successful rival, and afterwards so passionately lament his decease. His method of writing controversy is urged as another argument of his want of temper: but some allowance must be made for the customs and manners of the time. Controversy, as well as war, was rougher and more barbarous in those days, than it is in these. And it is to be considered too, that his adversaries first began the attack; they loaded him with much more personal abuse, only they had not the advantage of so much wit to season it. If he had engaged with more candid and ingenuous disputants, he would have preferred civility and fair argument to wit and satire:

“ to

“ to do so was my choice, and to have done thus
“ was my chance,” as he expresses himself in the
conclusion of one of his controversial pieces. All
who have written any accounts of his life agree, that
he was affable and instructive in conversation, of an
equal and chearful temper; and yet I can easily
believe, that he had a sufficient sense of his own
merits, and contempt enough for his adversaries.

His merits indeed were singular; for he was a
man not only of wonderful genius, but of immense
learning and erudition; not only an incomparable
poet, but a great mathematician, logician, historian,
and divine. He was a master not only of the Greek
and Latin, but likewise of the Hebrew, Chaldee,
and Syriac, as well as of the modern languages,
Italian, French, and Spanish. He was particularly
skilled in the Italian, which he always preferred to
the French language, as all the men of letters did at
that time in England; and he not only wrote ele-
gantly in it, but is highly commended for his writ-
ings by the most learned of the Italians themselves,
and especially by the members of that celebrated
academy called della Crusca, which was established
at Florence for the refining and perfecting of the
Tuscan language. He had read almost all authors,
and improved by all, even by romances, of which
he had been fond in his younger years; and as the
bee can extract honey out of weeds, so (to use his
own words in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*)
“ those books, which to many others have been the
“ fuel of wantonness and loose living, proved to
“ him so many incitements to the love and ob-
“ servation of virtue.” His favorite author after
the

the Holy Scriptures was Homer. Homer he could repeat almost all without book; and he was advised to undertake a translation of his works, which no doubt he would have executed to admiration. But (as he says of himself in his postscript to the Judgment of Martin Bucer) "he never could delight in long citations, much less in whole translations." And accordingly there are few things, and those of no great length, which he has ever translated. He was possessed too much of an original genius to be a mere copyer. "Whether it be natural disposition," says he, or education in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God made my own, "and not a translator." And it is somewhat remarkable, that there is scarce any author, who has written so much, and upon such various subjects, and yet quotes so little from his contemporary authors, or so seldom mentions any of them. He praises Selden indeed in more places than one, but for the rest he appears disposed to censure rather than commend. After his severer studies, and after dinner as we observed before, he used to divert and unbend his mind with playing upon the organ or bass-viol, which was a great relief to him after he had lost his sight; for he was a master of music as was his father, and he could perform both vocally and instrumentally, and it is said that he composed very well, tho' nothing of this kind is handed down to us. It is also said that he had some skill in painting as well as in music, and that somewhere or other there is a head of Milton drawn by himself: but he was blessed with so many real excellences, that there is no want of fictitious ones to raise

raise and adorn his character. He had a quick apprehension, a sublime imagination, a strong memory, a piercing judgment, a wit always ready, and facetious or grave as the occasion required: and I know not whether the loss of his sight did not add vigor to the faculties of his mind. He at least thought so, and often comforted himself with that reflection.

But his great parts and learning have scarcely gained him more admirers, than his political principles have raised him enemies. And yet the darling passion of his soul was the love of liberty; this was his constant aim and end, however he might be mistaken in the means. He was indeed very zealous in what was called the good old cause, and with his spirit and his resolution it is somewhat wonderful, that he never ventured his person in the civil war; but tho' he was not in arms, he was not unactive, and thought, I suppose, that he could be of more service to the cause by his pen than by his sword. He was a thorough republican, and in this he thought like a Greek or Roman, as he was very conversant with their writings. And one day Sir Robert Howard, who was a friend to Milton as well as to the liberties of his country, and was one of his constant visitors to the last, inquired of him how he came to side with the republicans. Milton answered among other reasons, because theirs was the most frugal government, for the trappings of a monarchy might set up an ordinary commonwealth. But then his attachment to Cromwell must be condemned, as being neither consistent with his republican principles, nor with his love of liberty.

And

And I know no other way of accounting for his conduct, but by presuming (as I think we may reasonably presume) that he was far from entirely approving of Cromwell's proceedings, but considered him as the only person who could rescue the nation from the tyranny of the Presbyterians, who he saw were erecting a worse dominion of their own upon the ruins of prelatical episcopacy; and of all things he dreaded spiritual slavery, and therefore closed with Cromwell and the Independents, as he expected under them greater liberty of conscience. And tho' he served Cromwell, yet it must be said for him, that he served a great master, and served him ably, and was not wanting from time to time in giving him excellent good advice, especially in his second Defense: and so little being said of him in all Secretary Thurloe's state-papers, it appears that he had no great share in the secrets and intrigues of government; what he dispatched was little more than matters of necessary form, letters and answers to foreign states; and he may be justified for acting in such a station, upon the same principle as Sir Matthew Hale for holding a Judge's commission under the usurper: and in the latter part of his life he frequently expressed to his friends his entire satisfaction of mind, that he had constantly employed his strength and faculties in the defense of liberty, and in opposition to slavery.

In matters of religion too he has given as great offense, or even greater, than by his political principles. But still let not the infidel glory: no such man was ever of that party. He had the advantage of a pious education, and ever expressed the

profoundest reverence of the Deity in his words and actions, was both a Christian and a Protestant, and studied and admired the Holy Scriptures above all other books whatsoever; and in all his writings he plainly sheweth a religious turn of mind, as well in verse as in prose, as well in his works of an earlier date as in those of later composition. When he wrote the Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce, he appears to have been a Calvinist; but afterwards he entertained a more favorable opinion of Arminius. Some have inclined to believe, that he was an Arian; but there are more expresse passages in his works to overthrow this opinion, than any there are to confirm it. For in the conclusion of his treatise of Reformation he thus solemnly invokes the Trinity; “Thou therefore that fittest in light and glory
“unapproachable, Parent of Angels and Men!
“next thee I implore Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou
“didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love!
“And thou the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of
“created things! one Tri-personal Godhead! look
“upon this thy poor, and almost spent and expiring Church &c.” And in his tract of Prelatical Episcopacy he endeavors to prove the spuriousness of some epistles attributed to Ignatius, because they contained in them heresies, one of which heresies is, that “he condemns them for ministers of
“Satan, who say that Christ is God above all.” And a little after in the same tract he objects to the authority of Tertullian, because he went about to
“prove an imparity between God the Father, and
“God

“ God the Son.” And in *Paradise Lost* we shall find nothing upon this head, that is not perfectly agreeable to Scripture. The learned Dr. Trap, who was as likely to cry out upon heresy as any man, asserts that the poem is orthodox in every part of it; or otherwise he would not have been at the pains of translating it. *Neque alienum videtur a studiis viri theologi poema magna ex parte theologicum; omni ex parte (rideant, per me licet, atque ringantur athei et infideles) orthodoxum.* Milton was indeed a dissenter from the Church of England, in which he had been educated, and was by his parents designed for holy orders, as we related before; but he was led away by early prejudices against the doctrine and discipline of the Church; and in his younger years was a favorer of the Presbyterians; in his middle age he was best pleased with the Independents and Anabaptists, as allowing greater liberty of conscience than others, and coming nearest in his opinion to the primitive practice; and in the latter part of his life he was not a professed member of any particular sect of Christians, he frequented no public worship, nor used any religious rite in his family. Whether so many different forms of worship as he had seen, had made him indifferent to all forms; or whether he thought that all Christians had in some things corrupted the purity and simplicity of the Gospel; or whether he disliked their endless and uncharitable disputes, and that love of dominion and inclination to persecution, which he said was a piece of Popery inseparable from all Churches; or whether he believed, that a man might be a good Christian without joining in any

communion ; or whether he did not look upon himself as inspired, as wrapt up in God, and above all forms and ceremonies, it is not easy to determin: *to his own master he standeth or falleth*: but if he was of any denomination, he was a sort of a Quietist, and was full of the interior of religion tho' he so little regarded the exterior ; and it is certain was to the last an enthusiast rather than an infidel. As enthusiasm made Norris a poet, so poetry might make Milton an enthusiast.

His circumstances were never very mean, nor very great ; for he lived above want, and was not intent upon accumulating wealth ; his ambition was more to enrich and adorn his mind. His father supported him in his travels, and for some time after. Then his pupils must have been of some advantage to him, and brought him either a certain stipend or considerable presents at least ; and he had scarcely any other method of improving his fortune, as he was of no profession. When his father died, he inherited an elder son's share of his estate, the principal part of which I believe was his house in Bread street : And not long after, he was appointed Latin Secretary with a salary of 200 *l.* a year ; so that he was now in opulent circumstances for a man, who had always led a frugal and temperate life, and was at little unnecessary expence besides buying of books. Tho' he was of the victorious party, yet he was far from sharing in the spoils of his country. On the contrary (as we learn from his second Defense) he sustained great losses during the civil war, and was not at all favored in the imposition of taxes, but sometimes paid beyond his due proportion.

tion. And upon a turn of affairs he was not only deprived of his place, but also lost 2000 *l.* which he had for security and improvement put into the Excise Office. He lost likewise another considerable sum for want of proper care and management, as persons of Milton's genius are seldom expert in money matters. And in the fire of London his house in Bread street was burnt, before which accident foreigners have gone out of devotion (says Wood) to see the house and chamber where he was born. His gains were inconsiderable in proportion to his losses; for excepting the thousand pounds, which were given him by the government for writing his Defense of the people against Salmasius, we may conclude that he got very little by the copies of his works, when it doth not appear that he received any more than ten pounds for *Paradise Lost*. Some time before he died he sold the greatest part of his library, as his heirs were not qualified to make a proper use of it, and as he thought that he could dispose of it to greater advantage than they could after his decease. And finally by one means or other he died worth one thousand five hundred pounds besides his household goods, which was no incompetent subsistence for him, who was as great a philosopher as a poet.

To this account of Milton it may be proper to add something concerning his family. We said before, that he had a younger brother and a sister. His brother Christopher Milton was a man of totally opposite principles; was a strong royalist, and after the civil war made his composition thro' his brother's interest; had been entered young a student in

the Inner Temple, of which house he lived to be an ancient bencher; and being a professed papist, was in the reign of James II. made a judge and knighted; but soon obtained his quietus by reason of his age and infirmities, and retired to Ipswich, where he lived all the latter part of his life. His sister Anne Milton had a considerable fortune given her by her father in marriage with Mr. Edward Philips (son of Mr. Edward Philips of Shrewsbury) who coming young to London was bred up in the Crown Office in Chancery, and at length became secondary of the office under Mr. Bembo. By him she had, besides other children who died infants, two sons Edward and John, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention before. Among our author's juvenile poems there is a copy of verses on the death of a fair infant, a nephew, or rather niece of his, dying of a cough; and this being written in his 17th year, as it is said in the title, it may naturally be inferred that Mrs. Philips was elder than either of her brothers. She had likewise two daughters, Mary who died very young, and Anne who was living in 1694, by a second husband Mr. Thomas Agar, who succeeded his intimate friend Mr. Philips in his place in the Crown Office, which he enjoyed many years, and left to Mr. Thomas Milton, son of Sir Christopher before mentioned. As for Milton himself he appears to have been no enemy to the fair sex by having had three wives. What fortune he had with any of them is no where said, but they were gentlemen's daughters; and it is remarkable that he married them all maidens, for (as he says in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, which
was

was written before he married at all) he “thought
 “with them, who both in prudence and elegance
 “of spirit would choose a virgin of mean fortunes
 “honestly bred before the wealthiest widow.” But
 yet he seemeth not to have been very happy in any
 of his marriages; for his first wife had justly offended
 him by her long absence and separation from him;
 the second, whose love, sweetness, and goodness he
 commends, lived not a twelvemonth with him; and
 his third wife is said to have been a woman of a
 most violent spirit, and a hard mother in law to his
 children. She died very old, about twenty years
 ago, at Nantwich in Cheshire: and from the ac-
 counts of those who had seen her, I have learned,
 that she confirmed several things which have been
 related before; and particularly that her husband
 used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter, and on
 his waking in a morning would make her write
 down sometimes twenty or thirty verses: and being
 asked whether he did not often read Homer and
 Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him
 for stealing from those authors, and answered with
 eagerness that he stole from no body but the Muse
 who inspired him; and being asked by a lady present
 who the Muse was, replied it was God’s grace, and
 the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly. She was
 likewise asked whom he approved most of our
 English poets, and answered Spenser, Shakespear,
 and Cowley: and being asked what he thought of
 Dryden, she said Dryden used sometimes to visit
 him, but he thought him no poet, but a good
 rimiſt: but this was before Dryden had composed
 his best poems, which made his name so famous

afterwards. She was wont moreover to say, that her husband was applied to by message from the King, and invited to write for the Court, but his answer was, that such a behaviour would be very inconsistent with his former conduct, for he had never yet employed his pen against his conscience. By his first wife he had four children, a son who died an infant, and three daughters who survived him; by his second wife he had only one daughter, who died soon after her mother, who died in childbed; and by his last wife he had no children at all. His daughters were not sent to school, but were instructed by a mistress kept at home for that purpose: and he himself, excusing the eldest on account of an impediment in her speech, taught the two others to read and pronounce Greek and Latin and several other languages, without understanding any but English, for he used to say that one tongue was enough for a woman: but this employment was very irksome to them, and this together with the sharpness and severity of their mother in law made them very uneasy at home; and therefore they were all sent abroad to learn things more proper for them, and particularly imbroidery in gold and silver. As Milton at his death left his affairs very much in the power of his widow, tho' she acknowledged that he died worth one thousand five hundred pounds, yet she allowed but one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters. Anne the eldest was decrepit and deformed, but had a very handsome face; she married a master-builder, and died in childbed of her first child, who died with her. Mary the second lived and died single. Deborah the youngest

youngest in her father's life time went over to Ireland with a lady, and afterwards was married to Mr. Abraham Clarke, a weaver in Spittle Fields, and died in August 1727 in the 76th year of her age. She is said to have been a woman of good understanding and genteel behaviour, though in low circumstances. As she had been often called upon to read Homer and Ovid's *Metamorphosis* to her father, she could have repeated a considerable number of verses from the beginning of both these poets, as Mr. Ward, Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College, relates upon his own knowledge: and another Gentleman has informed me, that he has heard her repeat several verses likewise out of Euripides. Mr. Addison, and the other gentlemen, who had opportunities of seeing her, knew her immediately to be Milton's daughter by the similitude of her countenance to her father's picture: and Mr. Addison made her a handsome present of a purse of guineas with a promise of procuring for her some annual provision for her life; but his death happening soon after, she lost the benefit of his generous design. She received presents likewise from several other gentlemen, and Queen Caroline sent her fifty pounds by the hands of Dr. Freind the physician. She had ten children, seven sons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except one of her sons named Caleb, and one of her daughters named Elizabeth. Caleb went to Fort St. George in the East Indies, where he married, and had two sons, Abraham and Isaac; the elder of whom came to England with the late governor Harrison, but returned upon advice of his father's death, and whether he or his brother

brother be now living is uncertain. Elizabeth, the youngest child of Mrs. Clarke, was married to Mr. Thomas Foster a weaver in Spittle Fields, and had seven children who are all dead; and she herself is aged about sixty, and weak and infirm. She seemeth to be a good plain sensible woman, and has confirmed several particulars related above, and informed me of some others, which she had often heard from her mother: that her grandfather lost two thousand pounds by a money-scrivener, whom he had intrusted with that sum, and likewise an estate at Westminster of sixty pounds a year, which belonged to the Dean and Chapter, and was restored to them at the Restoration: that he was very temperate in his eating and drinking, but what he had he always loved to have of the best: that he seldom went abroad in the latter part of his life, but was visited even then by persons of distinction, both foreigners and others: that he kept his daughters at a great distance, and would not allow them to learn to write, which he thought unnecessary for a woman: that her mother was his greatest favorite, and could read in seven or eight languages, tho' she understood none but English: that her mother inherited his head-akes and disorders, and had such a weakness in her eyes, that she was forced to make use of spectacles from the age of eighteen; and she herself, she says, has not been able to read a chapter in the Bible these twenty years: that she was mistaken in informing Mr. Birch, what he had printed upon her authority, that Milton's father was born in France; and a brother of hers who was then living was very angry with her for it, and like a true-born English-
man

man resented it highly, that the family should be thought to bear any relation to France: that Milton's second wife did not die in childbed, as Mr. Philips and Toland relate, but above three months after of a consumption; and this too Mr. Birch relates upon her authority; but in this particular she must be mistaken as well as in the other, for our author's sonnet on his deceased wife plainly implies, that she did die in childbed. She knows nothing of her aunt Philips or Agar's descendents, but believes that they are all extinct: as is likewise Sir Christopher Milton's family, the last of which, she says, were two maiden sisters, Mrs. Mary and Mrs. Catharine Milton, who lived and died at Highgate; but unknown to her, there is a Mrs. Milton living in Grosvenor street, the granddaughter of Sir Christopher, and the daughter of Mr. Thomas Milton before mentioned: and she herself is the only survivor of Milton's own family, unless there be some in the East Indies, which she very much questions, for she used to hear from them sometimes, but has heard nothing now for several years; so that in all probability Milton's whole family will be extinct with her, and he can live only in his writings. And such is the caprice of fortune, this granddaughter of a man, who will be an everlasting glory to the nation, has now for some years with her husband kept a little chandler's or grocer's shop for their subsistence, lately at the lower Holloway in the road between Highgate and London, and at present, in Cock Lane not far from Shoreditch Church. Another thing let me mention, that is equally to the honor of the present age. Tho' Milton received not above ten pounds at two different payments for the
copy

copy of *Paradise Lost*, yet Mr. Hoyle author of the treatise on the Game of Whist, after having disposed of all the first impression, sold the copy to the bookseller, as I have been informed, for two hundred guineas.

As we have had occasion to mention more than once Milton's manuscripts preserved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, it may not be ungrateful to the reader, if we give a more particular account of them, before we conclude. There are, as we said, two draughts of a letter to a friend who had importuned him to take orders, together with a sonnet on his being arrived to the age of twenty three: and by there being two draughts of this letter with several alterations and additions, it appears to have been written with great care and deliberation; and both the draughts have been published by Mr. Birch in his *Historical and Critical Account of the life and writings of Milton*. There are also several of his poems, *Arcades*, *At a solemn music*, *On time*, *Upon the circumcision*, the *Mask*, *Lycidas*, with five or six of his sonnets, all in his own hand-writing: and there are some others of his sonnets written by different hands, being most of them composed after he had lost his sight. It is curious to see the first thoughts and subsequent corrections of so great a poet as Milton: but it is remarkable in these manuscript poems, that he doth not often make his stops, or begin his lines with great letters. There are likewise in his own hand-writing different plans of *Paradise Lost* in the form of a tragedy: and it is an agreeable amusement to trace the gradual progress and improvement of such a work from its first dawnings in the plan of a tragedy to

its full lustre in an epic poem. And together with the plans of *Paradise Lost* there are the plans or subjects of several other intended tragedies, some taken from the Scripture, others from the British or Scottish histories: and of the latter the last mentioned is *Macbeth*, as if he had an inclination to try his strength with *Shakespear*; and to reduce the play more to the unities, he proposes “beginning at the arrival of “*Malcolm* at *Macduff*; the matter of *Duncan* may “be expressed by the appearing of his ghost.” These manuscripts of *Milton* were found by the learned *Mr. Professor Mason* among some other old papers, which, he says, belonged to *Sir Henry Newton Puckering*, who was a considerable benefactor to the library: and for the better preservation of such truly valuable reliques, they were collected together, and handsomely bound in a thin folio by the care and at the charge of a person, who is now very eminent in his profession, and was always a lover of the Muses, and at that time a fellow of *Trinity College*, *Mr. Clarke*, one of his Majesty’s counsel.

I N
P A R A D I S U M A M I S S A M
S U M M I P O E T Æ
J O H A N N I S M I L T O N I.

QUI legis Amissam Paradisum, grandia magni
Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi cuncta legis?
Res cunctas, & cunctarum primordia rerum,
Et fata, & fines continet iste liber.
Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,
Scribitur & toto quicquid in orbe latet:
Terræque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum,
Sulphureumque Erebi, flammivomumque specus:
Quæque colunt terras, pontumque, & Tartara cæca,
Quæque colunt summi lucida regna poli:
Et quodcunque ullis conclusum est finibus usquam,
Et sine fine Chaos, & sine fine Deus:
Et sine fine magis, si quid magis est sine fine,
In Christo erga homines conciliatus amor.
Hæc qui speraret quis crederet esse futura?
Et tamen hæc hodie terra Britanna legit.
O quantos in bella duces! quæ protulit arma!
Quæ canit, & quanta prælia dira tuba!
Cœlestes acies! atque in certamine cœlum!
Et quæ cœlestes pugna deceret agros!

Quantus

Quantus in æthereis tollit se Lucifer armis !
Atque ipso graditur vix Michael minor !
Quantis, & quam funestis concurritur iris,
Dum ferus hic stellas protegit, ille rapit !
Dum vulfos montes ceu tela reciproca torquent,
Et non mortali desuper igne pluunt :
Stat dubius cui se parti concedat Olympus,
Et metuit pugnæ non superesse suæ.
At simul in cœlis Messia insignia fulgent,
Et currus animæ, armaque digna Deo,
Horrendumque rotæ strident, & sæva rotarum
Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,
Et flammæ vibrant, & vera tonitrua rauco
Admistis flammis insonuere polo :
Excidit attonitis mens omnis, & impetus omnis,
Et cassis dextris irrita tela cadunt ;
Ad pœnas fugiunt, & ceu foret Orcus asylum,
Infernis certant condere se tenebris.
Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii,
Et quos fama recens vel celebravit anus.
Hæc quicunque leget tantùm cecinisse putabit
Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.

SAMUEL BARROW, M. D.

ON

ON PARADISE LOST.

WHEN I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,
In slender book his vast design unfold,
Messiah crown'd, God's reconcil'd decree,
Rebelling Angels, the forbidden tree,
Heav'n, Hell, Earth, Chaos, all; the argument
Held me a while misdoubting his intent,
That he would ruin (for I saw him strong)
The sacred truths to fable and old song,
(So Sampson grop'd the temple's posts in spite)
The world o'erwhelming to revenge his fight.

Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I lik'd his project, the success did fear;
Through that wide field how he his way should find,
O'er which lame faith leads understanding blind;
Lest he perplex'd the things he would explain,
And what was easy he should render vain.

Or if a work so infinite he spann'd,
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill imitating would excel)
Might hence presume the whole creation's day
To change in scenes, and show it in a play.

Pardon

Pardon me, mighty Poet, nor despise
My causeless, yet not impious, surmise.
But I am now convinc'd, and none will dare
Within thy labors to pretend a share.
Thou hast not miss'd one thought that could be fit,
And all that was improper dost omit:
So that no room is here for writers left,
But to detect their ignorance or theft.

That majesty which through thy work doth reign,
Draws the devout, deterring the profane.
And things divine thou treat'st of in such state
As them preserves, and thee, inviolate.
At once delight and horror on us seize,
Thou sing'st with so much gravity and ease;
And above human flight dost soar aloft
With plume so strong, so equal, and so soft.
The bird nam'd from that Paradise you sing
So never flags, but always keeps on wing.

Where couldst thou words of such a compass find?
Whence furnish such a vast expense of mind?
Just Heav'n thee like Tiresias to requite
Rewards with prophecy thy loss of sight.

Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure
With tinkling rime, of thy own sense secure;

While the Town-Bays writes all the while and spells,
And like a pack-horse tires without his bells:
Their fancies like our bushy-points appear,
The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.
I too transported by the mode offend,
And while I meant to Praise thee must Commend.
Thy verse created like thy theme sublime,
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rime.

ANDREW MARVEL.

THE

T H E . V E R S E .

TH E measure is English heroic verse without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin; rime being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame meter; grac'd indeed since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse than else they would have express'd them. Not without cause therefore some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note have rejected rime both in longer and shorter works, as have also long since our best English tragedies, as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight; which consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoided by the learned Ancients both in poetry and all good oratory. This neglect then of rime so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, that it rather is to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem, from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming.

A

CRITIQUE upon the PARADISE LOST.

By Mr. ADDISON.

Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii. Propert.

THERE is nothing in nature more irksome than general discourses, especially when they turn chiefly upon words. For this reason I shall wave the discussion of that point which was started some years since, Whether Milton's Paradise Lost may be called an Heroic Poem? Those who will not give it that title, may call it (if they please) a Divine Poem. It will be sufficient to its perfection, if it has in it all the beauties of the highest kind of poetry; and as for those who allege it is not an heroic poem, they advance no more to the diminution of it, than if they should say Adam is not Æneas, nor Eve Helen.

I shall therefore examine it by the rules of epic poetry, and see whether it falls short of the Iliad or Æneid, in the beauties which are essential to that kind of writing. The first thing to be consider'd in an epic poem, is the fable, which is perfect or imperfect, according as the action which it relates is more or less so. This action should have three qualifications in it. First, It should be but One action. Secondly, It should be an Entire action; and Thirdly, It should be a Great action. To consider the action of the Iliad, Æneid, and

Paradise Lost, in these three several lights. Homer to preserve the unity of his action hastens into the midst of things, as Horace has observed: Had he gone up to Leda's egg, or begun much later, even at the rape of Helen, or the investing of Troy, it is manifest that the story of the poem would have been a series of several actions. He therefore opens his poem with the discord of his princes, and artfully interweaves, in the several succeeding parts of it, an account of every thing material which relates to them, and had passed before this fatal dissension. After the same manner, Æneas makes his first appearance in the Tyrrhene seas, and within sight of Italy, because the action proposed to be celebrated was that of his settling himself in Latium. But because it was necessary for the reader to know what had happened to him in the taking of Troy, and in the preceding parts of his voyage, Virgil makes his hero relate it by way of episode in the second and third books of the Æneid: the contents of both which books come before those of the first book in the thread of the story, tho' for preserving of this unity of action, they follow it in the disposition of the poem. Milton,

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in imitation of these two great poets, opens his *Paradise Lost* with an infernal council plotting the fall of Man, which is the action he proposed to celebrate; and as for those great actions, the battle of the Angels, and the creation of the world, (which preceded in point of time, and which, in my opinion, would have entirely destroyed the unity of his principal action, had he related them in the same order that they happened) he cast them into the fifth, sixth and seventh books, by way of episode to this noble poem.

Aristotle himself allows, that Homer has nothing to boast of as to the unity of his fable, tho' at the same time that great critic and philosopher endeavors to palliate this imperfection in the Greek poet by imputing it in some measure to the very nature of an epic poem. Some have been of opinion, that the *Æneid* also labors in this particular, and has episodes which may be looked upon as excrescencies rather than as parts of the action. On the contrary, the poem, which we have now under our consideration, hath no other episodes than such as naturally arise from the subject, and yet is filled with such a multitude of astonishing incidents, that it gives us at the same time a pleasure of the greatest variety, and of the greatest simplicity; uniform in its nature, tho' diversified in the execution.

I must observe also, that, as Virgil in the poem which was designed to celebrate the original of the Roman empire, has described the birth of its great rival, the Carthaginian common-wealth: Milton, with the

like art in his poem on the fall of Man, has related the fall of those Angels who are his professed enemies. Beside the many other beauties in such an episode, its running parallel with the great action of the poem, hinders it from breaking the unity so much as another episode would have done, that had not so great an affinity with the principal subject. In short, this is the same kind of beauty which the critics admire in the Spanish Fryar, or the Double Discovery, where the two different plots look like counterparts and copies of one another.

The second qualification required in the action of an epic poem is, that it should be an entire action: An action is entire when it is complete in all its parts; or as Aristotle describes it, when it consists of a beginning, a middle, and an end. Nothing should go before it, be intermix'd with it, or follow after it, that is not related to it. As on the contrary, no single step should be omitted in that just and regular progress which it must be supposed to take from its original to its consummation. Thus we see the anger of Achilles in its birth, its continuance, and effects; and *Æneas's* settlement in Italy, carried on through all the oppositions in his way to it both by sea and land. The action in Milton excels (I think) both the former in this particular; we see it contrived in Hell, executed upon Earth, and punished by Heaven. The parts of it are told in the most distinct manner, and grow out of one another in the most natural order.

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The third qualification of an epic poem is its greatness. The anger of Achilles was of such consequence, that it embroiled the kings of Greece, destroyed the heroes of Asia, and engaged all the Gods in factions. Æneas's settlement in Italy produced the Cæsars, and gave birth to the Roman empire. Milton's subject was still greater than either of the former; it does not determin the fate of single persons or nations, but of a whole species. The united Powers of Hell are joined together for the destruction of mankind, which they effected in part, and would have completed, had not Omnipotence itself interposed. The principal actors are Man in his greatest perfection, and Woman in her highest beauty. Their enemies are the fallen Angels: The Messiah their friend, and the Almighty their protector. In short, every thing that is great in the whole circle of being, whether within the verge of nature, or out of it, has a proper part assigned it in this admirable poem.

In poetry, as in architecture, not only the whole, but the principal members, and every part of them, should be great. I will not presume to say, that the book of games in the Æneid, or that in the Iliad, are not of this nature, nor to reprehend Virgil's simile of the top, and many other of the same kind in the Iliad, as liable to any censure in this particular; but I think we may say, without derogating from those wonderful performances, that there is an indisputable and unquestioned magnificence in every part of Paradise Lost, and indeed

a much greater than could have been formed upon any Pagan system.

But Aristotle, by the greatness of the action, does not only mean that it should be great in its nature, but also in its duration; or in other words, that it should have a due length in it, as well as what we properly call greatness. The just measure of this kind of magnitude, he explains by the following similitude. An animal, no bigger than a mite, cannot appear perfect to the eye, because the sight takes it in at once, and has only a confused idea of the whole, and not a distinct idea of all its parts; If on the contrary you should suppose an animal of ten thousand furlongs in length, the eye would be so filled with a single part of it, that it could not give the mind an idea of the whole. What these animals are to the eye, a very short or a very long action would be to the memory. The first would be, as it were, lost and swallowed up by it, and the other difficult to be contained in it. Homer and Virgil have shown their principal art in this particular; the action of the Iliad, and that of the Æneid, were in themselves exceeding short, but are so beautifully extended and diversified by the invention of episodes, and the machinery of Gods, with the like poetical ornaments, that they make up an agreeable story sufficient to employ the memory without overcharging it. Milton's action is enriched with such a variety of circumstances, that I have taken as much pleasure in reading the contents of his books, as in the best invented story I ever met with.

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It is possible, that the traditions, on which the Iliad and Æneid were built, had more circumstances in them than the history of the fall of Man, as it is related in Scripture. Besides it was easier for Homer and Virgil to dash the truth with fiction, as they were in no danger of offending the religion of their country by it. But as for Milton, he had not only a very few circumstances upon which to raise his poem, but was also obliged to proceed with the greatest caution in every thing that he added out of his own invention. And, indeed, notwithstanding all the restraints he was under, he has filled his story with so many surprising incidents, which bear so close analogy with what is delivered in holy Writ, that it is capable of pleasing the most delicate reader, without giving offense to the most scrupulous.

The modern critics have collected from several hints in the Iliad and Æneid the space of time, which is taken up by the action of each of those poems; but as a great part of Milton's story was transacted in regions that lie out of the reach of the sun and the sphere of day, it is impossible to gratify the reader with such a calculation, which indeed would be more curious than instructive; none of the critics, either ancient or modern, having laid down rules to circumscribe the action of an epic poem within any determined number of years, days, or hours.

But of this more particularly hereafter.

HAVING examined the action of Paradise Lost, let us in the next place consider the actors. This is Aristotle's method of considering; first the fable, and secondly the manners, or as we generally call them in English, the fable and the characters.

Homer has excelled all the heroic poets that ever wrote, in the multitude and variety of his characters. Every God that is admitted into his poem, acts a part which would have been suitable to no other Deity. His princes are as much distinguished by their manners as by their dominions; and even those among them, whose characters seem wholly made up of courage, differ from one another as to the particular kinds of courage in which they excel. In short, there is scarce a speech or action in the Iliad, which the reader may not ascribe to the person that speaks or acts, without seeing his name at the head of it.

Homer does not only out-shine all other poets in the variety, but also in the novelty of his characters. He has introduced among his Grecian princes a person, who had lived in three ages of men, and conversed with Theseus, Hercules, Polyphemus, and the first race of heroes. His principal actor is the son of a Goddess, not to mention the offspring of other Deities, who have likewise a place in his poem, and the venerable Trojan prince who was the father of so many kings and heroes. There is in these several characters of Homer, a certain dignity as well as novelty, which adapts them in a more peculiar manner to the nature

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nature of an heroic poem. 'Tho' at the same time, to give them the greater variety, he has described a Vulcan, that is, a buffoon among his Gods, and a Therfites among his mortals.

Virgil falls infinitely short of Homer in the characters of his poem, both as to their variety and novelty. Æneas is indeed a perfect character, but as for Achates, tho' he is stiled the hero's friend, he does nothing in the whole poem which may deserve that title. Gyas, Mnestheus, Sergeftus, and Cloanthus, are all of them men of the same stamp and character,

----fortemque Gyan, fortemque
Cloanthum. Virg.

There are indeed several very natural incidents in the part of Ascanius; as that of Dido cannot be sufficiently admired. I do not see any thing new or particular in Turnus. Pallas and Evander are remote copies of Hector and Priam, as Lausus and Mezentius are almost parallels to Pallas and Evander. The characters of Nisus and Eurialus are beautiful, but common. We must not forget the parts of Sinon, Camilla, and some few others, which are fine improvements on the Greek poet. In short, there is neither that variety nor novelty in the persons of the Æneid, which we meet with in those of the Iliad.

If we look into the characters of Milton, we shall find that he has introduced all the variety his fable was capable of receiving. The whole species of mankind was in two persons at the time to which the subject of his poem is confined. We have, however, four distinct

characters in these two persons. We see Man and Woman in the highest innocence and perfection, and in the most abject state of guilt and infirmity. The two last characters are, indeed, very common and obvious, but the two first are not only more magnificent, but more new than any characters either in Virgil or Homer, or indeed in the whole circle of nature.

Milton was so sensible of this defect in the subject of his poem, and of the few characters it would afford him, that he has brought into it two actors of a shadowy and fictitious nature, in the persons of Sin and Death, by which means he has wrought into the body of his fable a very beautiful and well-invented allegory. But notwithstanding the fineness of this allegory may atone for it in some measure; I cannot think that persons of such a chimerical existence are proper actors in an epic poem; because there is not that measure of probability annexed to them, which is requisite in writings of this kind, as I shall show more at large hereafter.

Virgil has, indeed, admitted Fame as an actress in the Æneid, but the part she acts is very short, and none of the most admired circumstances in that divine work. We find in mock-heroic poems, particularly in the Dispensary and the Lutrin, several allegorical persons of this nature, which are very beautiful in those compositions, and may, perhaps, be used as an argument, that the authors of them were of opinion, such characters might have a place in an epic work. For my own part, I should be glad
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the reader would think so, for the sake of the poem I am now examining, and must further add, that if such empty unsubstantial beings may be ever made use of on this occasion, never were any more nicely imagined, and employed in more proper actions, than those of which I am now speaking.

Another principal actor in this poem is the great enemy of mankind. The part of Ulysses in Homer's *Odyssey* is very much admired by Aristotle, as perplexing that fable with very agreeable plots and intricacies, not only by the many adventures in his voyage, and the subtlety of his behaviour, but by the various concealments and discoveries of his person in several parts of that poem. But the crafty being I have now mentioned, makes a much longer voyage than Ulysses, puts in practice many more wiles and stratagems, and hides himself under a greater variety of shapes and appearances, all of which are severally detected, to the great delight and surprise of the reader.

We may likewise observe with how much art the poet has varied several characters of the persons that speak in his infernal assembly. On the contrary, how has he represented the whole Godhead exerting itself towards Man in its full benevolence under the three-fold distinction of a Creator, a Redeemer, and a Comforter!

Nor must we omit the person of Raphael, who, amidst his tenderness and friendship for Man, shows such a dignity and condescension in all his speech and behaviour, as are suitable to a superior nature. The

Angels are indeed as much diversified in Milton, and distinguished by their proper parts, as the Gods are in Homer or Virgil. The reader will find nothing ascribed to Uriel, Gabriel, Michael, or Raphael, which is not in a particular manner suitable to their respective characters.

There is another circumstance in the principal actors of the *Iliad* and *Æneid*, which gives a peculiar beauty to those two poems, and was therefore contrived with very great judgment. I mean the authors having chosen for their heroes persons who were so nearly related to the people for whom they wrote. Achilles was a Greek, and Æneas the remote founder of Rome. By this means their countrymen (whom they principally proposed to themselves for their readers) were particularly attentive to all the parts of their story, and sympathized with their heroes in all their adventures. A Roman could not but rejoice in the escapes, successes, and victories of Æneas, and be grieved at any defeats, misfortunes, or disappointments that befel him; as a Greek must have had the same regard for Achilles. And it is plain, that each of those poems have lost this great advantage, among those readers to whom their heroes are as strangers, or indifferent persons.

Milton's poem is admirable in this respect, since it is impossible for any of its readers, whatever nation, country or people he may belong to, not to be related to the persons who are the principal actors in it; but what is still infinitely more to its advantage, the principal actors

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actors in this poem are not only our progenitors, but our representatives. We have an actual interest in every thing they do, and no less than our utmost happiness is concerned, and lies at stake in all their behaviour.

I shall subjoin as a corollary to the foregoing remark, an admirable observation out of Aristotle, which hath been very much misrepresented in the quotations of some modern critics. 'If a man of perfect and consummate virtue falls into a misfortune, it raises our pity, but not our terror, because we do not fear that it may be our own case; who do not resemble the suffering person. But as that great philosopher adds, 'If we see a man of virtue, mixt with infirmities, fall into any misfortune, it does not only raise our pity but our terror; because we are afraid that the like misfortunes may happen to ourselves, who resemble the character of the suffering person.'

I shall only remark in this place, that the foregoing observation of Aristotle, tho' it may be true in other occasions, does not hold in this; because in the present case, though the persons who fall into misfortune are of the most perfect and consummate virtue, it is not to be considered as what may possibly be, but what actually is our own case; since we are embark'd with them on the same bottom, and must be partakers of their happiness or misery.

In this, and some other very few instances, Aristotle's rules for epic poetry (which he had drawn from his reflections upon Homer) cannot

be supposed to square exactly with the heroic poems which have been made since his time; since it is evident to every impartial judge his rules would still have been more perfect, could he have perused the *Æneid* which was made some hundred years after his death.

In my next, I shall go through other parts of Milton's poem; and hope that what I shall there advance, as well as what I have already written, will not only serve as a comment upon Milton, but upon Aristotle.

WE have already taken a general survey of the fable and characters in Milton's *Paradise Lost*: The parts which remain to be consider'd, according to Aristotle's method, are the sentiments and the language. Before I enter upon the first of these, I must advertise my reader, that it is my design as soon as I have finished my general reflections on these four several heads, to give particular instances out of the poem now before us of beauties and imperfections which may be observed under each of them, as also of such other particulars as may not properly fall under any of them. This I thought fit to premise, that the reader may not judge too hastily of this piece of criticism, or look upon it as imperfect, before he has seen the whole extent of it.

The sentiments in an epic poem are the thoughts and behaviour which the author ascribes to the persons whom he introduces, and are just when they are conformable to the characters of the several persons. The sentiments have likewise

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wife a relation to things as well as persons, and are then perfect when they are such as are adapted to the subject. If in either of these cases the poet endeavors to argue or explain, to magnify or diminish, to raise love or hatred, pity or terror, or any other passion, we ought to consider whether the sentiments he makes use of are proper for those ends. Homer is censured by the critics for his defect as to this particular in several parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, tho' at the same time those who have treated this great poet with candor, have attributed this defect to the times in which he lived. It was the fault of the age, and not of Homer, if there wants that delicacy in some of his sentiments, which now appears in the works of men of a much inferior genius. Besides, if there are blemishes in any particular thoughts, there is an infinite beauty in the greatest part of them. In short, if there are many poets who would not have fallen into the meanness of some of his sentiments, there are none who could have risen up to the greatness of others. Virgil has excelled all others in the propriety of his sentiments. Milton shines likewise very much in this particular: Nor must we omit one consideration which adds to his honor and reputation. Homer and Virgil introduced persons whose characters are commonly known among men, and such as are to be met with either in history, or in ordinary conversation. Milton's characters, most of them, lie out of nature, and were to be formed purely by his own invention. It shows a greater

genius in Shakespear to have drawn his Caliban, than his Hotspur or Julius Cæsar: The one was to be supplied out of his own imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon tradition, history and observation. It was much easier therefore for Homer to find proper sentiments for an assembly of Grecian generals, than for Milton to diversify his infernal council with proper characters, and inspire them with a variety of sentiments. The loves of Dido and Æneas are only copies of what has passed between other persons. Adam and Eve before the fall, are a different species from that of mankind, who are descended from them; and none but a poet of the most unbounded invention, and the most exquisite judgment, cou'd have filled their conversation and behaviour with so many apt circumstances during their state of innocence.

Nor is it sufficient for an epic poem to be filled with such thoughts as are natural, unless it abound also with such as are sublime. Virgil in this particular falls short of Homer. He has not indeed so many thoughts that are low and vulgar; but at the same time has not so many thoughts that are sublime and noble. The truth of it is, Virgil seldom rises into very astonishing sentiments, where he is not fired by the *Iliad*. He every where charms and pleases us by the force of his own genius; but seldom elevates and transports us where he does not fetch his hints from Homer.

Milton's chief talent, and indeed his distinguishing excellence lies in the sublimity of his thoughts. There
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are others of the Moderns who rival him in every other part of poetry; but in the greatness of his sentiments he triumphs over all the poets both modern and ancient, Homer only excepted. It is impossible for the imagination of man to distend itself with greater ideas, than those which he has laid together in his first, second and sixth books. The seventh, which describes the creation of the world, is likewise wonderfully sublime, tho' not so apt to stir up emotion in the mind of the reader, nor consequently so perfect in the epic way of writing, because it is filled with less action. Let the judicious reader compare what Longinus has observed on several passages in Homer, and he will find parallels for most of them in the *Paradise Lost*.

From what has been said we may infer, that as there are two kinds of sentiments, the natural and the sublime, which are always to be pursued in an heroic poem, there are also two kinds of thoughts which are carefully to be avoided. The first are such as are affected and unnatural; the second such as are mean and vulgar. As for the first kind of thoughts we meet with little or nothing that is like them in Virgil: He has none of those trifling points and puerilities that are so often to be met with in Ovid, none of the epigrammatic turns of Lucan, none of those swelling sentiments which are so frequently in Statius and Claudian, none of those mixed embellishments of Tasso. Every thing is just and natural. His sentiments show that he had a perfect insight

into human nature, and that he knew every thing which was the most proper to affect it.

Mr. Dryden has in some places, which I may hereafter take notice of, misrepresented Virgil's way of thinking as to this particular, in the translation he has given us of the *Æneid*. I do not remember that Homer any where falls into the faults abovementioned, which were indeed the false refinements of later ages. Milton, it must be confessed, has sometimes erred in this respect, as I shall shew more at large in another paper; tho' considering all the poets of the age in which he writ, were infected with this wrong way of thinking, he is rather to be admired that he did not give more into it, than that he did sometimes comply with the vicious taste which still prevails so much among modern writers.

But since several thoughts may be natural which are low and groveling, an epic poet should not only avoid such sentiments as are unnatural or affected, but also such as are mean and vulgar. Homer has opened a great field of rallery to men of more delicacy than greatness of genius, by the homeliness of some of his sentiments. But, as I have before said, these are rather to be imputed to the simplicity of the age in which he lived, to which I may also add, of that which he described, than to any imperfection in that divine poet. Zoilus, among the Ancients, and Monsieur Perrault, among the Moderns, pushed their ridicule very far upon him, on account of some such sentiments. There is no blemish to be observed in Virgil, under

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under this head, and but a very few in Milton.

I shall give but one instance of this impropriety of thought in Homer, and at the same time compare it with an instance of the same nature, both in Virgil and Milton. Sentiments which raise laughter, can very seldom be admitted with any decency into an heroic poem, whose business is to excite passions of a much nobler nature. Homer, however, in his characters of Vulcan and Thersites, in his story of Mars and Venus, in his behaviour of Irus, and in other passages, has been observed to have lapsed into the burlesque character, and to have departed from that serious air which seems essential to the magnificence of an epic poem. I remember but one laugh in the whole *Æneid*, which rises in the fifth book upon Monætes, where he is represented as thrown overboard, and drying himself upon a rock. But this piece of mirth is so well timed, that the severest critic can have nothing to say against it, for it is in the book of games and diversions, where the reader's mind may be supposed to be sufficiently relaxed for such an entertainment. The only piece of pleasantry in *Paradise Lost*, is where the evil spirits are described as rallying the Angels upon the success of their new invented artillery. This passage I look upon to be the most exceptionable in the whole poem, as being nothing else but a string of puns, and those too very indifferent.

— Satan beheld their plight,
And to his mates thus in derision
call'd.

O Friends, why come not on these
victors proud!
Ere while they fierce were coming,
and when we,
To entertain them fair with *open*
front,
And breast, (what could we more)
propounded terms
Of *composition*; strait they chang'd
their minds,
Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,
As they would dance, yet for a
dance they seem'd
Somewhat extravagant and wild,
perhaps
For joy of offer'd peace; but I suppose
If our proposals once again were
heard,
We should compel them to a quick
result.

To whom thus Belial in like
gamesome mood.
Leader, the terms we sent, were
terms of *weight*,
Of *hard contents*, and full of force
urg'd home,
Such as we might perceive amus'd
them all,
And *stumbled* many; who receives
them right,
Had need, from head to foot, well
understand;
Not *understood*, this gift they have
besides,
They show us when our foes *walk*
not upright.

Thus they among themselves in
pleasant vein
Stood scoffing —

HAVING already treated of
the fable, the characters and sentiments in the *Paradise Lost*, we are
in the last place to consider the
language;

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language; and as the learned world is very much divided upon Milton as to this point, I hope they will excuse me if I appear particular in any of my opinions, and incline to those who judge the most advantageously of the author.

It is requisite that the language of an heroic poem should be both perspicuous and sublime. In proportion as either of these two qualities are wanting, the language is imperfect. Perspicuity is the first and most necessary qualification; in so much that a good-natur'd reader sometimes overlooks a little slip even in the grammar or syntax, where it is impossible for him to mistake the poet's sense. Of this kind is that passage in Milton, wherein he speaks of Satan.

—— God and his Son except,
Created thing nought valu'd he
nor shunn'd.

And that in which he describes Adam and Eve.

Adam the goodliest man of men
since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

It is plain, that in the former of these passages, according to the natural syntax, the divine Persons mentioned in the first line are represented as created beings; and that in the other, Adam and Eve are confounded with their sons and daughters. Such little blemishes as these, when the thought is great and natural, we should, with Horace, impute to a pardonable inadvertency, or to the weakness of human nature, which cannot at-

tend to each minute particular, and give the last finishing to every circumstance in so long a work. The ancient critics therefore, who were acted by a spirit of candor, rather than that of cavilling, invented certain figures of speech, on purpose to palliate little errors of this nature in the writings of those authors who had so many greater beauties to atone for them.

If clearness and perspicuity were only to be consulted, the poet would have nothing else to do but to clothe his thoughts in the most plain and natural expressions. But since it often happens that the most obvious phrases, and those which are used in ordinary conversation, become too familiar to the ear, and contract a kind of meanness by passing through the mouths of the vulgar, a poet should take particular care to guard himself against idiomatic ways of speaking. Ovid and Lucan have many poornesses of expression upon this account, as taking up with the first phrases that offered, without putting themselves to the trouble of looking after such as would not only be natural, but also elevated and sublime. Milton has but a few failings in this kind, of which, however, you may meet with some instances, as in the following passages.

Embrio's and idiots, eremites and
friers

*White, black and gray, with all
their trumpery,*

Here pilgrims roam ——

—— A while discourse they hold,
No fear left dinner cool; when thus
began

Our author ——

Who

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Who of all ages to succeed, but
feeling
The evil on him brought by me,
will curse
My head, Ill fare our ancestor
impure,
For this we may thank Adam —

The great masters in composition know very well that many an elegant phrase becomes improper for a poet or an orator, when it has been debased by common use. For this reason the works of ancient authors, which are written in dead languages, have a great advantage over those which are written in languages that are now spoken. Were there any mean phrases or idioms in Virgil and Homer, they would not shock the ear of the most delicate modern reader, so much as they would have done that of an old Greek or Roman, because we never hear them pronounced in our streets, or in ordinary conversation.

It is not therefore sufficient, that the language of an epic poem be perspicuous, unless it be also sublime. To this end it ought to deviate from the common forms and ordinary phrases of speech. The judgment of a poet very much discovers itself in shunning the common roads of expression, without falling into such ways of speech as may seem stiff and unnatural; he must not swell into a false sublime, by endeavoring to avoid the other extreme. Among the Greeks, Æschylus, and sometimes Sophocles were guilty of this fault; among the Latins, Claudian and Statius; and among our own Countrymen, Shakespear and Lee. In

these authors the affectation of greatness often hurts the perspicuity of the stile, as in many others the endeavor after perspicuity prejudices its greatness.

Aristotle has observed, that the idiomatic stile may be avoided, and the sublime formed, by the following methods. First, by the use of metaphors: such are those in Milton.

Imparadis'd in one another's arms.
—— And in his hand a reed
Stood waving *tipt* with fire. ——
The grassy clods now *calv'd*. ——
Spangled with eyes ——

In these and innumerable other instances, the metaphors are very bold but just; I must however observe, that the metaphors are not thick sown in Milton, which always favors too much of wit; that they never clash with one another, which, as Aristotle observes, turns a sentence into a kind of an enigma or riddle; and that he seldom has recourse to them where the proper and natural words will do as well.

Another way of raising the language, and giving it a poetical turn, is to make use of the idioms of other tongues. Virgil is full of the Greek forms of speech, which the critics call Hellenisms, as Horace in his odes abounds with them much more than Virgil. I need not mention the several dialects which Homer has made use of for this end. Milton in conformity with the practice of the ancient poets, and with Aristotle's rule, has infused a great many Latinisms as well as Græcisms, and sometimes Hebraisms, into the language of his poem; as towards the beginning of it,

No

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Nor did they *not* perceive the evil
plight

In which they were, *or* the fierce
pains *not* feel.

Yet *to* their general's voice they
foon obey'd.

—Who shall tempt with wand'ring
feet

The dark unbottom'd infinite a-
byss,

And through the *palpable obscure*
find out

His uncouth way, or spread his
airy flight

Upborne with indefatigable wings
Over the *vast abrupt*!

———— So both ascend
In the visions of God — B. 11.

Under this head may be reckoned the placing the adjective after the substantive, the transposition of words, the turning the adjective into a substantive, with several other foreign modes of speech, which this poet has naturalized to give his verse the greater sound, and throw it out of prose.

The third method mentioned by Aristotle, is what agrees with the genius of the Greek language more than with that of any other tongue, and is therefore more used by Homer than by any other poet. I mean the lengthning of a phrase by the addition of words, which may either be inserted or omitted, as also by the extending or contracting of particular words by the insertion or omission of certain syllables. Milton has put in practice this method of raising his language, as far as the nature of our tongue will permit, as in the passage above-mentioned, *eremite*, for what is *hermite*, in common discourse. If

you observe the measure of his verse, he has with great judgment suppressed a syllable in several words, and shortened those of two syllables into one, by which method, besides the above-mentioned advantage, he has given a greater variety to his numbers. But this practice is more particularly remarkable in the names of persons and of countries, as *Beelzebub*, *Hefsebon*, and in many other particulars, wherein he has either changed the name, or made use of that which is not the most commonly known, that he might the better depart from the language of the vulgar.

The same reason recommended to him several old words, which also makes his poem appear the more venerable, and gives it a greater air of antiquity.

I must likewise take notice, that there are in Milton several words of his own coining, as *Cerberian*, *miscreated*, *Hell-doom'd*, *embryon atoms*, and many others. If the reader is offended at this liberty in our English poet, I would recommend him to a discourse in Plutarch, which shows us how frequently Homer has made use of the same liberty.

Milton by the above-mentioned helps, and by the choice of the noblest words and phrases which our tongue would afford him, has carried our language to a greater height than any of the English poets have ever done before or after him, and made the sublimity of his style equal to that of his sentiments.

I have been the more particular in these observations on Milton's style,

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style, because it is that part of him in which he appears the most singular. The remarks I have here made upon the practice of other poets, with my observations out of Aristotle, will perhaps alleviate the prejudice which some have taken to his poem upon this account; tho' after all, I must confess, that I think his style, tho' admirable in general, is in some places too much stiffened and obscured by the frequent use of those methods, which Aristotle has prescribed for the raising of it.

This redundancy of those several ways of speech which Aristotle calls foreign language, and with which Milton has so very much enriched, and in some places darkened the language of his poem, was the more proper for his use, because his poem is written in blank verse. Rime without any other assistance, throws the language off from prose, and very often makes an indifferent phrase pass unregarded; but where the verse is not built upon rimes, there pomp of sound, and energy of expression, are indispensably necessary to support the style, and keep it from falling into the flatness of prose.

Those who have not a taste for this elevation of style, and are apt to ridicule a poet when he goes out of the common forms of expression, would do well to see how Aristotle has treated an ancient author, called Euclid, for his insipid mirth upon this occasion. Mr. Dryden used to call this sort of men his prose-critics.

I should, under this head of the language, consider Milton's numbers, in which he has made use of

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several elisions, that are not customary among other English poets, as may be particularly observed in his cutting off the letter *V*, when it precedes a vowel. This, and some other innovations in the measure of his verse, has varied his numbers, in such a manner, as makes them incapable of satiating the ear and cloying the reader, which the same uniform measure would certainly have done, and which the perpetual returns of rime never fail to do in long narrative poems. I shall close these reflections upon the language of *Paradise Lost*, with observing that Milton has copied after Homer, rather than Virgil, in the length of his periods, the copiousness of his phrases, and the running of his verses into one another.

I HAVE now consider'd Milton's *Paradise Lost* under those four great heads of the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language; and have shown that he excels, in general, under each of these heads. I hope that I have made several discoveries which may appear new, even to those who are versed in critical learning. Were I indeed to choose my readers, by whose judgment I would stand or fall, they should not be such as are acquainted only with the French and Italian critics, but also with the ancient and modern who have written in either of the learned languages. Above all, I would have them well versed in the Greek and Latin poets, without which a man very often fancies that he understands a critic, when in reality he does not comprehend his meaning.

I

It

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It is in criticism, as in all other sciences and speculations; one who brings with him any implicit notions and observations which he has made in his reading of the poets, will find his own reflections methodized and explained, and perhaps several little hints that had passed in his mind, perfected and improved in the works of a good critic; whereas one who has not these previous lights, is very often an utter stranger to what he reads, and apt to put a wrong interpretation upon it.

Nor is it sufficient, that a man who sets up for a judge in criticism, should have perused the authors above-mentioned, unless he has also a clear and logical head. Without this talent he is perpetually puzzled and perplexed amidst his own blunders, mistakes the sense of those he would confute, or if he chances to think right, does not know how to convey his thoughts to another with clearness and perspicuity. Aristotle, who was the best critic, was also one of the best logicians that ever appeared in the world.

Mr. Lock's Essay on Human Understanding would be thought a very odd book for a man to make himself master of, who would get a reputation by critical writings; tho' at the same time it is very certain, that an author, who has not learned the art of distinguishing between words and things, and of ranging his thoughts, and setting them in proper lights, whatever notions he may have, will lose himself in confusion and obscurity. I might further observe, that there is not a

Greek or Latin critic who has not shown, even in the stile of his criticisms, that he was a master of all the elegance and delicacy of his native tongue.

The truth of it is, there is nothing more absurd than for a man to set up for a critic, without a good insight into all the parts of learning; whereas many of those who have endeavored to signalize themselves by works of this nature among our English writers, are not only defective in the abovementioned particulars, but plainly discover by the phrases which they make use of, and by their confused way of thinking, that they are not acquainted with the most common and ordinary systems of arts and sciences. A few general rules extracted out of the French authors, with a certain cant of words, has sometimes set up an illiterate heavy writer for a most judicious and formidable critic.

One great mark, by which you may discover a critic who has neither taste nor learning, is this, that he seldom ventures to praise any passage in an author which has not been before received and applauded by the public, and that his criticism turns wholly upon little faults and errors. This part of a critic is so very easy to succeed in, that we find every ordinary reader, upon the publishing of a new poem, has wit and ill-nature enough to turn several passages of it into ridicule, and very often in the right place. This Mr. Dryden has very agreeably remarked in those two celebrated lines,

Errors,

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Errors, like straws, upon the surface flow;

He who would search for pearls must dive below.

A true critic ought to dwell rather upon excellencies than imperfections, to discover the concealed beauties of a writer, and communicate to the world such things as are worth their observation. The most exquisite words and finest strokes of an author are those which very often appear the most doubtful and exceptionable to a man who wants a relish for polite learning; and they are these, which a four undistinguishing critic generally attacks with the greatest violence. Tully observes, that it is very easy to brand or fix a mark upon what he calls *verbum ardens*, or, as it may be rendered into English, a glowing bold expression, and to turn it into ridicule by a cold ill-natured criticism. A little wit is equally capable of exposing a beauty, and of aggravating a fault; and though such a treatment of an author naturally produces indignation in the mind of an understanding reader, it has however its effect among the generality of those whose hands it falls into, the rabble of mankind being very apt to think that every thing which is laughed at with any mixture of wit, is ridiculous in itself.

Such a mirth as this, is always unseasonable in a critic, as it rather prejudices the reader than convinces him, and is capable of making a beauty, as well as a blemish, the subject of derision. A man, who cannot write with wit on a proper subject, is dull and stupid,

but one who shows it in an improper place, is as impertinent and absurd. Besides, a man who has the gift of ridicule, is apt to find fault with any thing that gives him an opportunity of exerting his beloved talent, and very often censures a passage, not because there is any fault in it, but because he can be merry upon it. Such kinds of pleasantry are very unfair and disingenuous in works of criticism, in which the greatest masters, both ancient and modern, have always appeared with a serious and instructive air.

As I intend in my next paper to show the defects in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, I thought fit to premise these few particulars, to the end that the reader may know I enter upon it, as on a very ungrateful work, and that I shall just point at the imperfections, without endeavoring to inflame them with ridicule. I must also observe with Longinus, that the productions of a great genius, with many lapses and inadvertencies, are infinitely preferable to the works of an inferior kind of author, which are scrupulously exact and conformable to all the rules of correct writing.

I shall conclude my paper with a story out of Boccacini, which sufficiently shows us the opinion that judicious author entertained of the sort of critics I have been here mentioning. A famous critic, says he, having gathered together all the faults of an eminent poet, made a present of them to Apollo, who received them very graciously, and resolved to make the author a suitable return for the trouble he had been at in collecting them. In

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order to this, he set before him a sack of wheat as it had been just threshed out of the sheaf. He then bid him pick out the chaff from among the corn, and lay it aside by itself. The critic applied himself to the task with great industry and pleasure, and after having made the due separation, was presented by Apollo with the chaff for his pains.

AFTER what I have said, I shall enter on the subject without farther preface, and remark the several defects which appear in the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language of Milton's *Paradise Lost*; not doubting but the reader will pardon me, if I allege at the same time whatever may be said for the extenuation of such defects. The first imperfection which I shall observe in the fable is, that the event of it is unhappy.

The fable of every poem is according to Aristotle's division either simple or implex. It is called simple when there is no change of fortune in it, implex when the fortune of the chief actor changes from bad to good, or from good to bad. The implex fable is thought the most perfect; I suppose, because it is more proper to stir up the passions of the reader, and to surprise him with a greater variety of accidents.

The implex fable is therefore of two kinds: In the first the chief actor makes his way through a long series of dangers and difficulties, till he arrives at honor and prosperity, as we see in the story of Ulysses. In the second, the chief actor in the poem falls from some eminent pitch of honor and prosperity into misery and disgrace. Thus we see

Adam and Eve sinking from a state of innocence and happiness into the most abject condition of sin and sorrow.

The most taking tragedies among the Ancients were built on this last sort of implex fable, particularly the tragedy of *Œdipus*, which proceeds upon a story, if we may believe Aristotle, the most proper for tragedy that could be invented by the wit of man. I have taken some pains in a former paper to show, that this kind of implex fable, wherein the event is unhappy, is more apt to affect an audience than that of the first kind; notwithstanding many excellent pieces among the Ancients, as well as most of those which have been written of late years in our own country, are raised upon contrary plans. I must however own, that I think this kind of fable, which is the most perfect in tragedy, is not so proper for an heroic poem.

Milton seems to have been sensible of this imperfection in his fable, and has therefore endeavored to cure it by several expedients; particularly by the mortification which the great adversary of mankind meets with upon his return to the assembly of infernal Spirits, as it is described in a beautiful passage of the tenth book; and likewise by the vision, wherein Adam at the close of the poem sees his offspring triumphing over his great enemy, and himself restored to a happier Paradise than that from which he fell.

There is another objection against Milton's fable, which is indeed almost the same with the former, tho' placed in a different light, namely,
That

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That the hero in the *Paradise Lost* is unsuccessful, and by no means a match for his enemies. This gave occasion to Mr. Dryden's reflection, that the Devil was in reality Milton's hero. I think I have obviated this objection in my first paper. The *Paradise Lost* is an epic, or a narrative poem, and he that looks for an hero in it, searches for that which Milton never intended; but if he will needs fix the name of an hero upon any person in it, 'tis certainly the Messiah is the hero, both in the principal action, and in the chief episodes. Paganism could not furnish out a real action for a fable greater than that of the *Iliad* or *Æneid*, and therefore an heathen could not form a higher notion of a poem than one of that kind which they call an heroic. Whether Milton's is not of a sublimer nature I will not presume to determine: It is sufficient that I show there is in the *Paradise Lost* all the greatness of plan, regularity of design, and masterly beauties which we discover in Homer and Virgil.

I must in the next place observe, that Milton has interwoven in the texture of his fable some particulars which do not seem to have probability enough for an epic poem, particularly in the actions which he ascribes to Sin and Death, and the picture which he draws of the Limbo of Vanity, with other passages in the second book. Such allegories rather favor of the spirit of Spenser and Ariosto, than of Homer and Virgil.

In the structure of this poem he has likewise admitted of too many digressions. It is finely observed by

Aristotle, that the author of an heroic poem should seldom speak himself, but throw as much of his work as he can into the mouths of those who are his principal actors. Aristotle has given no reason for this precept; but I presume it is because the mind of the reader is more awed and elevated when he hears *Æneas* or *Achilles* speak, than when Virgil or Homer talk in their own persons. Besides that assuming the character of an eminent man is apt to fire the imagination, and raise the ideas of the author. Tully tells us, mentioning his dialogue of old age, in which Cato is the chief speaker, that upon a review of it he was agreeably imposed upon, and fancied that it was Cato, and not he himself, who uttered his thoughts on that subject.

If the reader would be at the pains to see how the story of the *Iliad* and *Æneid* is delivered by those persons who act in it, he will be surprised to find how little in either of these poems proceeds from the authors. Milton has, in the general disposition of his fable, very finely observed this great rule; inasmuch, that there is scarce a third part of it which comes from the poet; the rest is spoken either by Adam and Eve, or by some good or evil Spirit who is engaged either in their destruction or defense.

From what has been here observed, it appears, that digressions are by no means to be allowed of in an epic poem. If the poet, even in the ordinary course of his narration, should speak as little as possible, he should certainly never let his narration sleep for the sake of any reflections of his own. I have

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often observed, with a secret admiration, that the longest reflection in the *Æneid* is in that passage of the tenth book, where Turnus is represented as dressing himself in the spoils of Pallas, whom he had slain. Virgil here lets his fable stand still for the sake of the following remark. "How is the mind of
 "man ignorant of futurity, and
 "unable to bear prosperous fortune with moderation? The time
 "will come when Turnus shall
 "wish that he had left the body of
 "Pallas untouched, and curse the
 "day on which he dressed himself
 "in these spoils." As the great event of the *Æneid*, and the death of Turnus, whom *Æneas* slew, because he saw him adorned with the spoils of Pallas, turns upon this incident, Virgil went out of his way to make this reflection upon it, without which so small a circumstance might possibly have slipped out of his reader's memory. Lucan, who was an injudicious poet, lets drop his story very frequently for the sake of his unnecessary digressions, or his diverticula, as Scaliger calls them. If he gives us an account of the prodigies which preceded the civil war, he declaims upon the occasion, and shows how much happier it would be for man, if he did not feel his evil fortune before it comes to pass, and suffer not only by its real weight, but by the apprehension of it. Milton's complaint of his blindness, his pægyric on marriage, his reflections on Adam and Eve's going naked, of the Angels eating, and several other passages in his poem, are liable to the same exception, tho' I must confess there is so great a

beauty in these very digressions that I would not wish them out of his poem.

I have, in a former paper, spoken of the characters of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and declared my opinion, as to the allegorical persons who are introduced in it.

If we look into the sentiments, I think they are sometimes defective under the following heads; First, as there are several of them too much pointed, and some that degenerate even into puns. Of this last kind, I am afraid is that in the first book, where speaking of the pigmies, he calls them

— the small infantry
 Warr'd on by cranes —

Another blemish that appears in some of his thoughts, is his frequent allusion to heathen fables, which are not certainly of a piece with the divine subject, of which he treats. I do not find fault with these allusions, where the poet himself represents them as fabulous, as he does in some places, but where he mentions them as truths and matters of fact. The limits of my paper will not give me leave to be particular in instances of this kind: The reader will easily remark them in his perusal of the poem.

A third fault in his sentiments, is an unnecessary ostentation of learning, which likewise occurs very frequently. It is certain, that both Homer and Virgil were masters of all the learning of their times, but it shows itself in their works, after an indirect and concealed manner. Milton seems ambitious of letting us know, by his excursions on free-will and predestination,

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destination, and his many glances upon history, astronomy, geography, and the like, as well as by the terms and phrases he sometimes makes use of, that he was acquainted with the whole circle of arts and sciences.

If, in the last place, we consider the language of this great poet, we must allow what I have hinted in a former paper, that it is often too much labored, and sometimes obscured by old words, transpositions, and foreign idioms. Seneca's objection to the style of a great author, *Riget ejus oratio, nihil in ea placidum, nihil lene*, is what many critics make to Milton: As I cannot wholly refute it, so I have already apologized for it in another paper; to which I may further add, that Milton's sentiments and ideas were so wonderfully sublime, that it would have been impossible for him to have represented them in their full strength and beauty, without having recourse to these foreign assistances. Our language sunk under him, and was unequal to that greatness of soul, which furnished him with such glorious conceptions.

A second fault in his language is, that he often affects a kind of jingle in his words, as in the following passages, and many others:

That brought into this world a
world of woe.

— Begirt th' almighty throne
Beseeching or besieging —

This tempted our attempt —
At one slight bound high over-leapt
all bound.

I know there are figures for this kind of speech, that some of the greatest Ancients have been guilty

of it, and that Aristotle himself has given it a place in his Rhetoric among the beauties of that art. But as it is in itself poor and trifling, it is I think at present universally exploded by all the masters of polite writing.

The last fault which I shall take notice of in Milton's style, is the frequent use of what the learned call technical words, or terms of art. It is one of the great beauties of poetry, to make hard things intelligible, and to deliver what is abstruse of itself in such easy language as may be understood by ordinary readers: Besides that the knowledge of a poet should rather seem born with him, or inspired, than drawn from books and systems. I have often wondered, how Mr. Dryden could translate a passage out of Virgil, after the following manner,

Tack to the larboard, and stand
off to sea,
Veer star-board sea and land. —

Milton makes use of *larboard* in the same manner. When he is upon building, he mentions *Doric pillars, pilasters, cornice, freeze, architrave*. When he talks of heavenly bodies, you meet with *ecliptic, and eccentric, the trepidation, stars dropping from the zenith, rays culminating from the equator*. To which might be added many instances of the like kind in several other arts and sciences.

I shall in my next papers give an account of the many particular beauties in Milton, which would have been too long to insert under those general heads I have already treated of, and with which

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I intend to conclude this piece of criticism.

I HAVE seen in the works of a modern philosopher, a map of the spots in the sun. My last paper of the faults and blemishes in Milton's Paradise Lost, may be considered as a piece of the same nature. To pursue the allusion: As it is observed, that among the bright

parts of the luminous body above-mentioned, there are some which glow more intensely, and dart a stronger light than others; so, notwithstanding I have already shown Milton's poem to be very beautiful in general, I shall now proceed to take notice of such beauties as appear to me more exquisite than the rest.



THE

JOHN MILTON

THE

FIRST BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

This first book proposes, first in brief, the whole subject, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was plac'd: Then touches the prime cause of his fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the serpent; who revolting from God, and drawing to his side many legions of Angels, was by the command of God driven out of Heaven with all his crew into the great deep. Which action pass'd over, the poem hastes into the midst of things, presenting Satan with his Angels now fallen into Hell, describ'd here, not in the center (for Heaven and Earth may be suppos'd as yet not made, certainly not yet accus'd) but in a place of utter darkness, fitliest call'd Chaos: Here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunder-struck and astonish'd, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion, calls up him who next in order and dignity lay by him; they confer of their miserable fall. Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then in the same manner confounded; They rise, their numbers, array of battel, their chief leaders nam'd, according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his speech, comforts them with hope yet of regaining Heaven, but tells them lastly of a new world and new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient prophecy or report in Heaven; for that Angels were long before this visible creation, was the opinion of many ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this prophecy, and what to determine thereon he refers to a full council. What his associates thence attempt. Pandemonium the palace of Satan rises, suddenly built out of the deep: The infernal peers there sit in council.



F. Hayman inv. et del.

J. S. Müller sc.

Book 1.

BY RAYMOND L. O'ST

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

OF Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought

1. *Of Mans first disobedience, &c.*] Milton has proposed the subject of his poem in the following verses. These lines are perhaps as plain, simple, and unadorned as any of the whole poem, in which particular the author has conformed himself to the example of Homer and the precept of Horace. His invocation to a work, which turns in a great measure upon the creation of the world, is very properly made to the Muse who inspired Moses in those books from whence our author drew his subject, and to the Holy Spirit who is therein represented as operating after a particular manner in the first production of nature. This whole exordium rises very happily into noble language and sentiment, as I think the transition to the fable is exquisitely beautiful and natural. *Addison.*

Besides the plainness and simplicity of these lines, there is a farther beauty in the variety of the numbers, which of themselves charm every reader without any sublimity of thought or pomp of expression: and this variety of the

numbers consists chiefly in the pause being so artfully varied, that it falls upon a different syllable in almost every line, as it may easily be perceived by distinguishing the verses thus;

Of Man's first disobedience, | and
the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, | whose
mortal taste
Brought death into the world, | and
all our woe,
With loss of Eden, | till one greater
Man
Restore us, | and regain the bliss-
ful seat,
Sing heav'nly Muse, |

Mr. Pope, in a letter to Mr. Walsh containing some critical observations on English versification, remarks that in any smooth English verse of ten syllables, there is naturally a pause at the fourth, fifth, or sixth syllable, and upon the judicious change and management of these depends the variety of versification. But Milton varies the pause according to the sense, and varies it through all the ten syllables,

lables, by which means he is a master of greater harmony than any other English poet: and he is continually varying the pause, and scarce ever suffers it to rest upon the same syllable in more than two, and seldom in so many as two, verses together. Here it is upon the first syllable of the verse,

— others on the grass
Couch'd, | and now fill'd with pasture gazing fat. IV. 351.

— such as in their souls infix'd
Plagues; | they astonish'd all resistance lost. VI. 838.

Upon the second,

— these to their nests
Were slunk, | all but the wakeful nightingale IV. 602.

— Down thither prone in flight
He speeds, | and through the vast ethereal sky V. 267.

Upon the third,

— what in me is dark
Illumin, | what is low raise and support; I. 23.

— as the wakeful bird
Sings darkling, | and in shadiest covert hid III. 39.

Upon the fourth,

— on he led his radiant files,
Dazling the moon; | these to the bow'r direct IV. 798.

— at his right hand victory
Sat eagle-wing'd; | beside him hung his bow, VI. 763.

Upon the fifth,

— bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
Gambol'd before them; | th'unwieldy elephant IV. 345.

— and in the air
Made horrid circles; | two broad
suns their shields VI. 305.

Upon the sixth,

His stature reach'd the sky, | and
on his crest IV. 988.

Girt with omnipotence, | with radiance crown'd VII. 194.

Upon the seventh,

Majestic though in ruin: | sage he
stood II. 305.

Birds on the branches warbling; |
all things smil'd VIII. 265.

Upon the eighth,

Hung on his shoulders like the
moon, | whose orb I. 287.

A fairer person lost not Heav'n; |
he seem'd II. 110.

Upon the ninth,

Jehovah thundring out of Sion, |
thron'd

Between the Cherubim I. 386.
And bush with frizled hair im-
plicit; | last

Rose as in dance the stately trees,
VII. 323.

And here upon the end,

— thou that day
Thy Father's dreadful thunder
didst not spare | III. 393.

Attended with ten thousand thou-
sand saints | VI. 767.

And sometimes to give the greater
variety to the verse, there are two
or more pauses in the same line: as

— on the ground
Outstretch'd he lay, | on the cold
ground, | and oft
Curs'd his creation X. 851.

And

And swims, | or sinks, | or wades
or creeps, | or flies: | II. 950.
Exhausted, | spiritless, | afflicted, |
fall'n. | VI. 852.

But besides this variety of the pauses, there are other excellencies in Milton's versification. The English heroic verse approaches nearest to the Iambic of the Ancients, of which it wants only a foot; but then it is to be measur'd by the tone and accent, as well as by the time and quantity. An Iambic foot is one short and one long syllable $\text{—} \text{—}$, and six such feet constitute an Iambic verse: but the Ancients seldom made use of the pure Iambic, especially in works of any considerable length, but oftner of the mix'd Iambic, that is with a proper intermixture of other measures; and of these perhaps Milton has express'd as happy a variety as any poet whatever, or indeed as the nature of a verse will admit, that consists only of five feet, and ten syllables for the most part. Sometimes he gives us almost pure Iambics, as in l. 314.

Hē cāll'd sō loūd, thāt āll thē hōl-
loū dēep
Ōf Hēll rēfōundēd.

Sometimes he intermixes the Trochee or foot of one long and one short syllable $\text{—} \text{—}$, as in v. 49.

Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to
arms.

Sometimes the Spondee or foot of two long syllables $\text{—} \text{—}$, as in v. 21.

Dove-like satst brooding on the
vast abyss.

Sometimes the Pyrrichius or foot

of two short syllables $\text{—} \text{—}$, as in
v. 64.

Serv'd only tō discover fights of
woe.

Sometimes the Dactyle or foot of one long and two short syllables $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$, as in v. 45.

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th'ē-
thēreal sky.

Sometimes the Anapæst or foot of two short and one long syllable $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$, as in v. 87.

Mȳriāds though bright! If he
whom mutual league

Sometimes the Tribrachus or foot of three short syllables $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$, as in v. 709.

Tō māny a row of pipes the found-
board breathes.

And sometimes there is variety of these measures in the same verse, and seldom or never the same measures in two verses together. And these changes are not only rung for the sake of the greater variety, but are so contriv'd as to make the sound more expressive of the sense. And this is another great art of versification, the adapting of the very sounds, as well as words, to the subject matter, the stile of sound, as Mr. Pope calls it: and in this Milton is excellent as in all the rest, and we shall give several instances of it in the course of these remarks. So that he has abundantly exemplified in his own practice the rules laid down by himself in his preface, his versification having all the requisites of *true musical delight, which as he says consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity*

Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man

Re-

quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another.

1. *Of Man's first disobedience,—*
ΜΗΝΙΝ ΑΙΙΔΕ. Iliad.

ΑΥΔΡΑ ΜΟΙ ΕΥΠΕΤΕ. Odyss.

Arma virumque cano. Æneid.

In all these instances, as in Milton, the subject of the poem is the very first thing offer'd to us, and precedes the verb with which it is connected. It must be confessed that Horace did not regard this, when he translated the first line of the Odyssæy, Dic mihi Musa virum, &c. De Art. Poet. 141. And Lucian, if I remember right, makes a jest of this observation, where he introduces the shade of Homer as expressly declaring that he had no other reason for making the word ΜΗΝΙΝ the first in his poem, but that it was the first which came into his head. However the uniform practice of Homer, Virgil, and Milton in this particular, seems to prove that it was not accidental, but a thing really design'd by them.

4. *With loss of Eden,*] But Eden was not lost, and the last that we read of our first parents is that they were still in Eden,

Through Eden took their solitary way.

With loss of Eden therefore means no more than *with loss of Paradise*, which was planted in Eden, which word *Eden* signifies delight or plea-

sure, and the country is supposed to be the same that was afterwards called Mesopotamia; particularly by our author in IV. 210. &c. Here the whole is put for a part, as sometimes a part for the whole, by a figure called Synecdoche.

4. — *till one greater Man Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,*] As it is a greater Man, so it is a happier Paradise which our Saviour promis'd to the penitent thief, Luke XXIII. 43. *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.* But Milton had a notion that after the conflagration and the general judgment the whole Earth would be made a Paradise, XII. 463.

— for then the Earth
Shall all be Paradise, far happier place
'Than this of Eden, and far happier days.

It should seem that the author, speaking here of *regain'g the blissful seat*, had at this time formed some design of his poem of *Paradise Regain'd*. But however that be, in the beginning of that poem he manifestly alludes to the beginning of this, and there makes Paradise to be regain'd by our Saviour's foiling the tempter in the wilderness.

I who ere-while the happy garden sung,
By one Man's disobedience lost,
now sing

Re-

Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,

5

Sing heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top

Of

Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,
By one Man's firm obedience fully
try'd, —

And Eden rais'd in the waste wil-
derness.

6. — *that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, —*]

Dr. Bentley says that Milton dictat-
ed *sacred top*: his reasons are such
as follow: The ground of Horeb
is said to be *holy*, Exod. III. 5. and
Horeb is called the *mountain of God*,
1 Kings XIX. 8. But it may be an-
swer'd, that tho' that place of Ho-
reb, on which Moses stood, was
holy, it does not follow that the top
of the mountain was then *holy* too:
and by the *mountain of God* (Dr.
Bentley knows) may be meant only,
in the Jewish stile, a very great
mountain: Besides let the moun-
tain be never so *holy*, yet according
to the rules of good poetry, when
Milton speaks of the *top* of the
mountain, he should give us an epi-
thet peculiar to the *top* only, and
not to the whole mountain. Dr.
Bentley says farther that the epithet
secret will not do here, because the
top of this mountain is visible se-
veral leagues off. But Sinai and
Horeb are the same mountain, with
two several eminences, the higher
of them called Sinai: and of Sinai
Josephus in his Jewish Antiquit.
Book 3. Chap. 5. says that *it is so
high, that the top of it cannot be
seen without straining the eyes*. In
this sense therefore (tho' I believe

it is not Milton's sense) the top of
it may be well said to be *secret*. In
Exod. XVII. it is said that the Is-
raelites, when incamp'd at the foot
of Horeb, could find no water;
from whence Dr. Bentley con-
cludes, that Horeb had no clouds
or mists about its *top*; and that
therefore *secret top* cannot be here
meant as *implying that high moun-
tains against rainy weather have their
heads surrounded with mists*. I ne-
ver thought that any reader of Mil-
ton would have understood *secret
top* in this sense. The words of
Horeb or of Sinai imply a doubt of
the poet, which name was pro-
perest to be given to that mountain,
on the top of which Moses receiv'd
his inspiration; because Horeb and
Sinai are used for one another in
Scripture, as may be seen by com-
paring Exod. III. 1. with Acts VII.
30. but by naming Sinai last, he
seems to incline rather to that.
Now it is well known from Exod.
XIX. 16. Ecclus. XLV. 5. and
other places of Scripture, that
when God gave his laws to Moses
on the top of Sinai, it was cover'd
with *clouds, dark clouds, and thick
smoke*; it was therefore *secret* at that
time in a peculiar sense: and the
same thing seems intended by the
epithet which our poet uses upon the
very same occasion in XII. 227.

God from the mount of Sinai, whose
gray top
Shall tremble, he descending, &c.
Dr.

Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
 That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed,
 In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
 Rose out of Chaos: Or if Sion hill
 Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd

Fast

Dr. Bentley shows that *sacred hill* is common among the poets in several languages; from whence I should conclude that *sacred* is a general epithet: whereas *secret*, in the sense which I have given it, is the most peculiar one that can be: and therefore (to use Dr. Bentley's words) *if, as the best poets have adjudg'd, a proper epithet is to be preferr'd to a general one, I have such an esteem for our poet, that which of the two words is the better, That I say (viz. secret) was dictated by Milton.* Pearce.

We have given this excellent note at length, as we have met with several persons who have approved of Dr. Bentley's emendation. It may be too that the poet had a farther meaning in the use of this epithet in this place; for being accustomed to make use of words in the signification that they bear in the learned languages, he may very well be supposed to use the word *secret* in the same sense as the Latin *secretus*, *set apart or separate*, like the *secretosque pios* in Virgil, *Æn.* VIII. 670. and it appears from Scripture, that while Moses was with God in the mount, the people were not to come near it or touch it, till after a signal given, and then they were only to ap-

proach, and not to ascend it, nor pass the bounds set for them upon pain of death. *Exod.* XIX. So that upon all accounts *secret* is the most proper epithet, that could have been chosen.

8. *That shepherd, who first &c.]* For *Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law.* *Exod.* III. 1. And he is very properly said to have first taught the chosen seed, being the most ancient writer among the Jews, and indeed the most ancient that is now extant in the world.

9. *In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth]* Alluding to the first words of *Genesis*.

11. *and Siloa's brook]* Siloa was a small river that flow'd near the temple at Jerusalem. It is mention'd *Isai.* VIII. 6. So that in effect he invokes the heavenly Muse, that inspir'd David and the Prophets on mount Sion, and at Jerusalem, as well as Moses on mount Sinai.

15. *Above th' Aonian mount,]* A poetical expression for soaring to a highth above other poets. The mountains of Bœotia, anciently called Aonia, were the haunt of the Muses, and thus Virgil, *Ecl.* VI. 65.

Fast by the oracle of God; I thence
 Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song,
 That with no middle flight intends to soar
 Above th' Aonian mount, while it pursues
 Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.

15

And

Aonas in montes ut duxerit una fororum,

And again Georg. III. 11.

Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas;

though afterwards, I know not by what fatality, that country was famous for the dulness of its inhabitants.

16. *Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.*] Milton appears to have meant a different thing by *rhime* here, from *rime* in his preface, where it is six times mention'd, and always spell'd without an *b*; whereas in all the editions, till Dr. Bentley's appear'd, *rhime* in this place of the poem was spell'd with an *b*. Milton probably meant a difference in the thing, by making so constant a difference in the spelling; and intended that we should here understand by *rhime*, not the *jingling sound of like endings*, but verse in general; the word being deriv'd from *rythmus*, *ρυθμος*. Ariosto had said

Cosa, non detta in prosa mai, ne in rima,

which is word for word the same with what Milton says here. *Pearce.*

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It is evident enough that by *rhime* in this place is meant verse in general; but I suppose Milton thought it would sound too low and familiar to the ear to say *in prose or verse*, and therefore chose rather to say *in prose or rhime*. When he says *in prose or verse*, he adds an epithet to take off from the commonness of the expression, as in V. 150.

— such prompt eloquence
 Flow'd from their lips, *in prose or numerous verse.*

It is said that Milton took the first hint of this poem from an Italian tragedy called *Il Paradiso perso*; and it is pretended that he has borrow'd largely from Masenius, a German Jesuit, and other modern authors; but it is all a pretence, he made use of all authors, such was his learning; but such is his genius, he is no copyer, his poem is plainly an original, if ever there was one. His subject indeed of the fall of Man together with the principal episodes may be said to be as old as Scripture, but his manner of handling them is entirely new, with new illustrations and new beauties of his own; and he may as justly boast of the novelty of his poem, as any of the ancient poets bestow

K

And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
 Before all temples th'upright heart and pure,
 Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first
 Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread 20
 Dove-like satst brooding on the vast abyss,
 And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark

Illumin,

bestow that recommendation upon
 their works; as Lucretius I. 925.

Avia Pieridum peragro loca, nul-
 lius ante
 Trita solo: &c.

and Virgil Georg. III. 3.

Cætera quæ vacuas tenuissent car-
 mina mentes
 Omnia jam vulgata. ———
 Primus ego in patriam &c.

292. — Juvat ire jugis, quæ nul-
 la priorum
 Castaliæ molli divertitur orbita
 clivo.

17. *And chiefly Thou, O Spirit,*
 &c.] Invoking the Muse is
 commonly a matter of mere form,
 wherein the poets neither mean,
 nor desire to be thought to mean
 any thing seriously. But the Holy
 Ghost here invok'd is too solemn a
 name to be used insignificantly:
 and besides our author, in the be-
 ginning of his next work *Paradise*
Regain'd, scruples not to say to the
 same divine person

——— Inspire,
 As thou art wont, my prompted
 song, else mute.

This address therefore is no more
 formality. Yet some may think
 that he incurs a worse charge of
 enthusiasm, or even profaneness in
 vouching inspiration for his per-
 formance: but the Scriptures re-
 present inspiration as of a much
 larger extent than is commonly ap-
 prehended, teaching that *every good*
gift, in naturals as well as in mor-
al, descendeth from the great Father
of lights, Jam. I. 17. And an ex-
 traordinary skill even in mechani-
 cal arts is there ascribed to the il-
 lumination of the Holy Ghost. It
 is said of Bezaleel who was to
 make the furniture of the taber-
 nacle, that *the Lord had filled him*
with the Spirit of God, in wisdom,
in understanding, and in knowledge,
and in all manner of workmanship,
and to devise curious works, &c.
 Exod. XXXV. 31. Heylin.
 It may be observed too in justifica-
 tion of our author, that other sa-
 cred poems are not without the like
 invocations, and particularly Spen-
 ser's *Hymns of Heavenly Love*
 and *Heavenly Beauty*, as well as
 some modern Latin poems. But I
 conceive that Milton intended
 something more, for I have been
 informed

Illumin, what is low raise and support;
 That to the highth of this great argument
 I may assert eternal Providence, 25
 And justify the ways of God to Men.

Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,
 Nor the deep tract of Hell, say first what cause

Mov'd

informed by those, who had opportunities of conversing with his widow, that she was wont to say that he did really look upon himself as inspir'd, and I think his works are not without a spirit of enthusiasm. In the beginning of his 2d book of *The Reason of Church government*, speaking of his design of writing a poem in the English language, he says, "It was not to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim, with the hallow'd fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases, p. 61. Edit. 1738.

19. *Instruct me, for Thou know'st;*]
 Theocrit. Idyl. XXII. 116.

Εἰπε δὲ α, σὺ γὰρ οἶδ' α.

21. *Dove-like satst brooding*] Alluding to Gen. I. 2. *the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters*; for the word that we translate *moved* signifies properly *brooded*, as a bird doth upon her eggs; and he says like a *dove* rather than any other

bird, because the descent of the Holy Ghost is compared to a dove in Scripture, Luke III. 22. As Milton studied the Scriptures in the original languages, his images and expressions are oftner copied from them, than from our translation.

26. *And justify the ways of God to Men.*] A verse, which Mr. Pope has thought fit to borrow with some little variation, in the beginning of his Essay on Man,

But vindicate the ways of God to Man.

It is not easy to conceive any good reason for Mr. Pope's preferring the word *vindicate*, but Milton makes use of the word *justify*, as it is the Scripture word, *That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings*, Rom. III. 4. And *the ways of God to Men* are justified in the many argumentative discourses throughout the poem, and particularly in the conferences between God the Father and the Son.

27. *Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,*

Nor the deep tract of Hell,--] The poets attribute a kind of omniscience

Mov'd our grand parents, in that happy state,
 Favor'd of Heav'n so highly, to fall off 30
 From their Creator, and transgress his will
 For one restraint, lords of the world besides?
 Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?
 Th' infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile,
 Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd 35
 The mother of mankind, what time his pride
 Had

science to the Muse, and very
 rightly, as it enables them to speak
 of things which could not other-
 wise be supposed to come to their
 knowledge. Thus Homer, Iliad.
 II. 485.

Τῆς γὰρ θεᾶς ἐστὶ παρῆς τῆς
 ἰσῆς τῆς παντῶ.

And Virgil Æn. VII. 645.

Et meministis enim, Divæ, et me-
 morare potestis.

Milton's Muse, being the Holy Spi-
 rit, must of course be omniscient.
 And the mention of *Heaven* and
Hell is very proper in this place, as
 the scene of so great a part of the
 poem is laid sometimes in Hell, and
 sometimes in Heaven.

32. *For one restraint,*] For one
 thing that was restrain'd, every
 thing else being freely indulged to
 them, and only the tree of know-
 ledge forbidden.

33. *Who first seduc'd them to that
 foul revolt?*

Th' infernal Serpent;] An imita-
 tion of Homer, Iliad. I. 8. where
 the question is ask'd, and the an-
 swer return'd much in the same
 manner.

Τὸς τ' ἀρ σφωε θεῶν ἑλπίδι ζῶντων
 κῆμα χεῖρας;
 Ἀντὶς δὲ Διὸς ὕψι.

38. — *by whose aid aspiring
 To set himself in glory above his
 peers,*] Here Dr. Bentley ob-
 jects, that Satan's crime was not,
 his aiming *above his peers*: he was
 in place *high above them* before, as
 the Doctor proves from V. 812.
 But tho' this be true, yet Milton
 may be right here; for the force of
 the words seems, not that Satan
 aspir'd to set himself above his peers,
 but that he aspir'd to set himself in
 glory, &c that is in divine glory,
 in such glory as God and his Son
 were set in. Here was his crime:
 and this is what God charges him
 with in V. 725.

— who

Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his host
 Of rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
 To set himself in glory' above his peers,
 He trusted to have equal'd the most High, 40
 If he oppos'd; and with ambitious aim
 Against the throne and monarchy of God
 Rais'd impious war in Heav'n and battel proud
 With vain attempt. Him the almighty Power
 Hurl'd

—— who intends to' erect his
 throne
 Equal to ours, ——

And in VI. 88. Milton says that the
 rebel Angels hop'd

To win the mount of God, and
 on his throne
 To set the envier of his state, the
 proud
 Aspirer.

See also to the same purpose VII.
 140. &c. From these passages it
 appears that there is no occasion
 for Dr. Bentley's alteration, which
 is this,

—— aspiring
 To place and glory above the Son
 of God. Pearce.

Besides the other methods which
 Milton has employ'd to diversify
 and improve his numbers, he takes
 the same liberties as Shakespear
 and others of our old poets, and in
 imitation of the Greeks and Latins

often cuts off the vowel at the end
 of a word, when the next word
 begins with a vowel; though he
 does not like the Greeks wholly
 drop the vowel, but still retains it
 in writing like the Latins. Ano-
 ther liberty, that he takes likewise
 for the greater improvement and
 variety of his versification, is pro-
 nouncing the same word sometimes
 as two syllables, and sometimes as
 only one syllable or two short ones.
 We have frequent instances in *spi-
 rit, ruin, riot, reason, highest*, and
 several other words. But then these
 excellencies in Milton's verse are
 attended with this inconvenience,
 that his numbers seem embarrass'd
 to such readers, as know not, or
 know not readily, where such eli-
 sion or abbreviation of vowels is
 to take place; and therefore for
 their sakes we shall take care
 throughout this edition, to mark
 such vowels as are to be cut off,
 and such as are to be contracted and
 abbreviated, thus'.

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky, 45
 With hideous ruin and combustion, down
 To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
 In adamantin chains and penal fire,
 Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.
 Nine times the space that measures day and night 50
 To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
 Lay vanquish'd, rolling in the fiery gulf,
 Confounded though immortal: But his doom
 Reserv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought

Both

45. *Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky,*] Hom. Iliad.

I. 591.

Ῥιψε, ποδῶ τελαγῶν, ἀπο βηλῆς
 δεσπείστοιο.

Hurl'd headlong downward from th' ethereal height. Pope.

46. *With hideous ruin and combustion,*] *Ruin* is deriv'd from *ruo*, and includes the idea of falling with violence and precipitation, and *combustion* is more than *flaming* in the foregoing verse, it is burning in a dreadful manner. So that he was not only *hurl'd headlong flaming*, but he was *hurl'd headlong flaming with hideous ruin and combustion*; and what occasion is there then for reading with Dr. Bentley *confusion* instead of *combustion*?

48. *In adamantin chains*] Æschylus Prometh. 6.

Ἀδμαντίναις δεσμοῖν.

50. *Nine times &c.*] The nine days astonishment, in which the Angels lay intranced after their dreadful overthrow and fall from Heaven, before they could recover either the use of thought or speech, is a noble *circumstance*, and very finely imagined. The division of Hell into seas of fire, and into firm ground impregnated with the same furious element, with that particular circumstance of the exclusion of *hope* from those infernal regions, are instances of the same great and fruitful invention.

Addison.

63. — *darkness visible*] Milton seems to have used these words to signify *gloom*: Absolute darkness is

Both of lost happiness and lasting pain 55
 Torments him; round he throws his baleful eyes,
 That witness'd huge affliction and dismay
 Mix'd with obdurate pride and stedfast hate:
 At once, as far as Angels ken, he views
 The dismal situation waste and wild; 60
 A dungeon horrible on all sides round
 As one great furnace flam'd, yet from those flames
 No light, but rather darkness visible
 Serv'd only to discover fights of woe,

Regions

is strictly speaking invisible; but where there is a gloom only, there is so much light remaining as serves to show that there are objects, and yet that those objects cannot be distinctly seen: In this sense Milton seems to use the strong and bold expression, *darkness visible*.

Pearce.

Seneca has a like expression, speaking of the Grotto of Paufilypo, Senec. Epist. LVII. *Nihil illo carcere longius, nihil illis faucibus obscurius, quæ nobis præstant, non ut per tenebras videamus, sed ut ipsas.* And, as Mons. Voltaire observes, Antonio de Solis, in his excellent History of Mexico hath ventur'd on the same thought, when speaking of the place wherein Montezuma was wont to consult his Deities; " 'Twas a large dark " subterraneous vault, says he,

" where some dismal tapers afford
 " just light enough to see
 " the obscurity." See his Essay on Epic Poetry, p. 44. Euripides too expresses himself in the same poetical manner. Bac. 510.

—ως αὐ σκωτιον εισορα νεφας.

There is much the same image in Spenser, but not so bold, Fairy Queen, B. I. Cant. 1. St. 14.

A little glooming light, much like
 a shade.

Or after all, the author might perhaps take the hint from himself in his Il Penseroso,

Where glowing embers through
 the room
 Teach light to counterfeit a
 gloom.

Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace 65
 And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
 That comes to all; but torture without end
 Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
 With ever-burning sulphur unconsum'd:
 Such place eternal Justice had prepar'd 70
 For those rebellious, here their pris'on ordain'd
 In utter darkness, and their portion set
 As far remov'd from God and light of Heaven,
 As from the center thrice to th' utmost pole.

O

72. *In utter darkness,*] Dr. Bentley reads *outer* here and in many other places of this poem, because it is in Scripture, *τὸ σκοτεινὸν τὸ ἔξωτερον*: But my dictionaries tell me that *utter* and *outer* are both the same word, differently spell'd and pronounc'd. Milton, in the argument of this book, says *in a place of utter darkness*, and no where throughout the poem does the poet use *outer*. Pearce.

Spenser justifies the present reading by frequently using the word *utter* for *outer*, as in *Fairy Queen*, B. 2. Cant. 2. St. 34.

And inly grieve, as doth an hidden moth
 The inner garment fret, not *th' utter* touch.

And again, B. 4. Cant. 10. St. 11.

Till to the bridge's *utter* gate I came. *Thyer*.

74. *As from the center thrice to th' utmost pole.*] Thrice as far as it is from the center of the earth (which is the center of the world according to Milton's system, IX. 103. and X. 671.) to the pole of the world; for it is the pole of the universe, far beyond the pole of the earth, which is here call'd the *utmost pole*. It is observable that Homer makes the seat of Hell as far beneath the deepest pit of earth, as the Heaven is above the earth,

Τοσσον ἐνερθ' αἰδέω, ὅσον ἔργαν
 εἰς' ἀπο γαῖης. Iliad. VIII. 16.

Virgil makes it *twice* as far,

— Tum Tartarus ipse

Bis

O how unlike the place from whence they fell! 75
 There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelm'd
 With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
 He soon discerns, and welt'ring by his side
 One next himself in pow'r, and next in crime,
 Long after known in Palestine, and nam'd 80
 Beëlzebub. To whom th' Arch-Enemy,
 And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan, with bold words
 Breaking the horrid silence thus began.

If thou beest he; but O how fall'n! how chang'd

From

*Bis patet in præceptis tantum tenditque sub umbras,
 Quantus ad æthereum cœli suspectus Olympum. Æn. VI. 577.*

And Milton *thrice* as far,

As far remov'd from God and light of Heaven,
 As from the center *thrice* to th' utmost pole:

As if these three great poets had stretched their utmost genius, and vied with each other, who should extend his idea of the depth of Hell farthest. But Milton's whole description of Hell as much exceeds theirs, as in this single circumstance of the depth of it. And how cool and unassuming is the *ταρταρον νεχεν*, the *σιδηραι τε πυλαι* & *χαλκεον* of Homer, and the *lugentes campi*, the

ferrea turris, and *horrisimo stridentes cardine portæ* of Virgil, in comparison with this description by Milton, concluding with that artful contrast,

O how unlike the place from whence they fell!

81. *Beëlzebub.*] The lord of flies, an idol worshipped at Ecron, a city of the Philistines, 2 Kings I. 2. He is called *prince of the Devils*, Mat. XII. 24. therefore deservedly here made second to Satan himself.

Hume.

82. *And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan,*] For the word *Satan* in Hebrew signifies an enemy: he is the enemy by way of eminence, the chief enemy of God and Man.

84. *If thou beest he; &c.*] The thoughts in the first speech and de-

From him, who in the happy realms of light 85
 Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine
 Myriads though bright! If he whom mutual league,
 United thoughts and counsels, equal hope
 And hazard in the glorious enterprise,
 Join'd with me once, now misery hath join'd 90
 In equal ru'in : into what pit thou seest

From

description of Satan, who is one of the principal actors in this poem, are wonderfully proper to give us a full idea of him. His pride, envy and revenge, obstinacy, despair and impenitence, are all of them very artfully interwoven. In short, his first speech is a complication of all those passions, which discover themselves separately in several other of his speeches in the poem. *Addison.*

The change and confusion of these enemies of God is most artfully express'd in the abruptness of the beginning of this speech : If thou art he, that Beëlzebub — He stops, and falls into a bitter reflection on their present condition, compared with that in which they lately were. He attempts again to open his mind ; cannot proceed on what he intends to say, but returns to those sad thoughts ; still doubting whether 'tis really his associate in the revolt, as now in misery and ruin ; by that time he had expatiated on this (his heart was oppress'd with it) he is assured to

whom he speaks, and goes on to declare his proud unrelenting mind. *Richardson.*

84. — but O how fall'n ! how chang'd

From him,] He imitates Isaiah and Virgil at the same time. Isa. XIV. 12. *How art thou fallen, &c.* and Virgil's *Æn.* II. 274.

Hei mihi qualis erat ! quantum mutatus ab illo !

86. *Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine*

Myriads though bright !] Imitated from Homer, *Odyss.* VI. 116. where Diana excels all her nymphs in beauty, though all of them be beautiful.

ῥῆα δ' αἰγρωτὴ πελεται, καλαὶ δὲ τὲ πασαι. *Bentley.*

91. *In equal ruin:]* So it is in all the editions. *And equal ruin* is Dr. Bentley's emendation, which Dr. Pearce allows (and I believe every body must allow) to be just and proper ; it being very easy to mistake one of these

From what highth fall'n, so much the stronger prov'd
 He with his thunder: and till then who knew
 The force of those dire arms? yet not for those,
 Nor what the potent victor in his rage
 Can else inflict, do I repent or change,
 Though chang'd in outward lustre, that fix'd mind,
 And high disdain from sense of injur'd merit,

That

these words for the other; and other instances perhaps may occur in the course of this work. *Equal ruin* hath join'd now, as *equal hope* join'd before; somewhat like that in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, I. 351.

O foror, O conjux, O fœmina sola
 superstes,
 Quam commune mihi genus, et pa-
 truelis origo,
 Deinde torus junxit, nunc ipsa pe-
 ricula jungunt.

In equal ruin cannot answer to *in the glorious enterprise*, because Milton places a comma after *enterprise*, and in construction it follows after *hazard*, and not after *join'd*.

93. *He with his thunder:*] There is an uncommon beauty in this expression. Satan disdains to utter the name of God, tho' he cannot but acknowledge his superiority. So again ver. 257.

---- all but less than he
 Whom thunder hath made greater.

94. — yet not for those,

*Nor what the potent victor in his
 rage
 Can else inflict, do I repent or
 change, &c.]* Milton in this and other passages, where he is describing the fierce and unrelenting spirit of Satan, seems very plainly to have copied after the picture that Æschylus gives of Prometheus. Thus Prometheus speaking of Jupiter. Prom. Vinct. 991.

— ἐπιθεδωμεν αἰθαλῶσα φλοξ,
 λευκοπτερῶ δὲ νιφάδι, καὶ βρο-
 τημασι
 χθονίοις κυκατῶ παντα, καὶ τα-
 ράσσω,
 ἵνα μὴ γὰρ ἔδεν των δέ μ', ὥστε
 καὶ φερασθαι. κ. τ. λ. Thyer.

98. *And high disdain*] This is a favorite expression of Spenser's. Thus in the *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 1. St. 19.

His gall did grate for grief and
 high disdain.

This is the *alto sdegno* of the Italians, from whom no doubt he had it. Thyer.

105. --- what

That with the Mightiest rais'd me to contend,
 And to the fierce contention brought along 100
 Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd,
 That durst dislike his reign, and me preferring,
 His utmost pow'r with adverse pow'r oppos'd
 In dubious battel on the plains of Heaven,
 And shook his throne. What though the field be lost?
 All is not lost; th' unconquerable will, 106
 And study of revenge, immortal hate,
 And courage never to submit or yield,
 And what is else not to be overcome;
 That glory never shall his wrath or might 110
 Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace
 With suppliant knee, and deify his power,

Who

105. — *What though the field be lost?*

All is not lost; &c.] This passage is an excellent improvement upon Satan's speech to the infernal Spirits in Tasso, Cant. 4. St. 15. but seems to be express'd from Fairfax his translation rather than from the original.

We lost the field, yet lost we not our heart.

109. *And what is else not to be overcome;]* Here should be no note of interrogation, but only a semi-colon. The words *And what is else not to be overcome* signify *Et si quid sit aliud quod superari nequeat,*

and if there be any thing else (besides the particulars mention'd) which is not to be overcome.

Pearce.

110. *That glory &c.]* That refers to what went before; his unconquerable will and study of revenge, his immortal hate and courage never to submit or yield, and what besides is not to be overcome; these Satan esteems his glory, and that glory he says God never should extort from him. And then begins a new sentence according to all the best editions, *To bow and sue for grace, &c.* — that were low indeed, &c. that still referring to what went before, and by observing this punctuation, this

Who from the terror of this arm so late
 Doubted his empire; that were low indeed,
 That were an ignominy' and shame beneath 115
 This downfall; since by fate the strength of Gods
 And this empyreal substance cannot fail,
 Since through experience of this great event
 In arms not worse, in foresight much advanc'd,
 We may with more successful hope resolve 120
 To wage by force or guile eternal war,
 Irreconcilable to our grand foe,
 Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy
 Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heaven.

So spake th' apostate Angel, though in pain, 125
 Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair:

And

this whole passage, which has perplex'd and confounded so many readers and writers, is render'd plain and easy to be understood.

116. — *since by fate &c.*] For Satan supposes the Angels to submit by fate and necessity, and he represents them of an *empyreal*, that is a *fiery* substance, as the Scripture itself doth; *He maketh his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.* Psal. CIV. 4. Heb. I. 7. Satan disdains to submit, since the Angels (as he says) are necessarily immortal and cannot be destroy'd, and since too they are now improved in experience, and may hope to carry on the war more

successfully, notwithstanding the present triumph of their adversary in Heaven.

124. — *the tyranny of Heaven.*] The poet speaking in his own person at ver. 42. of the supremacy of the Deity calls it *the throne and monarchy of God*; but here very artfully alters it to *the tyranny of Heaven.* Thyer.

125. *So spake th' apostate Angel, tho' in pain, Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair.*] The sense of the last verse rises finely above that of the former. In the first verse it is only said, that he *spake though in pain*. In the last the poet expresses

And him thus answer'd soon his bold compeer.

O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers,
That led th' imbattel'd Seraphim to war
Under thy conduct, and in dreadful deeds 130
Fearless, indanger'd Heav'n's perpetual king,
And put to proof his high supremacy,
Whether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate;
Too well I see and rue the dire event,
That with sad overthrow and foul defeat 135
Hath lost us Heav'n, and all this mighty host
In horrible destruction laid thus low,
As far as Gods and heav'nly essences
Can perish: for the mind and spi'rit remains
Invincible, and vigor soon returns, 140
Though all our glory' extinct, and happy state

Here

a great deal more; for Satan not only *spake* but he *vaunted aloud*, and yet at the same time he was not only *in pain*, but was *rack'd with deep despair*. Pearce.

The poet had probably in view this passage of Virgil. *Æn.* I. 208.

Talia voce refert; curisque in-
gentibus æger
Spem vultu simulat, premit altum
corde dolorem.

131. — *indanger'd Heav'n's per-
petual king,*] The reader

should remark here the propriety of the word *perpetual*. *Beëlzebub* doth not say *eternal king*, for then he could not have boasted of *indangering* his kingdom: but he endeavors to detract as much as he can from God's everlasting dominion, and calls him only *perpetual king*, king from time immemorial or without interruption, as Ovid says *perpetuum carmen*, *Met.* I. 4.

— *primage ab origine mundi*
Ad mea perpetuum deducite tem-
pora carmen.

What

Here swallow'd up in endless misery.
 But what if he our conqu'ror (whom I now
 Of force believe almighty, since no less
 Than such could have o'er-pow'r'd such force as ours)
 Have left us this our spi'rit and strength entire 146
 Strongly to suffer and support our pains,
 That we may so suffice his vengeful ire,
 Or do him mightier service as his thralls
 By right of war, whate'er his business be 150
 Here in the heart of Hell to work in fire,
 Or do his errands in the gloomy deep;
 What can it then avail, though yet we feel
 Strength undiminish'd, or eternal being
 To undergo eternal punishment? 155
 Whereto with speedy words th' Arch-Fiend reply'd.
 Fall'n

What Beëlzebub means here is expressed more at large afterwards by Satan, ver. 637.

— But he who reigns
 Monarch in Heav'n, till then as
 one secure
 Sat on his throne, upheld by old
 repute,
 Consent or custom, &c.

150. — *whate'er his business be*]
 The business which God hath appointed for us to do. So in II. 70.

His torments are the torments which he hath appointed for us to suffer. Many instances of this way of speaking may be found in this poem. *Pearce.*

156. *Whereto* —] To what he had said last, which had startled Satan, and to which he thinks it proper to make a *speedy* reply. *Speedy words* are better applied here than *επεα πλκγγογία* are always in Homer.

157. — *to*

Fall'n Cherub, to be weak is miserable
 Doing or suffering: but of this be sure,
 To do ought good never will be our task,
 But ever to do ill our sole delight,
 As being the contrary to his high will
 Whom we resist. If then his providence
 Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,

160

Our

157. — *to be weak is miserable
 Doing or suffering:*] Satan having
 in his speech boasted that the
strength of Gods could not fail, ver.
 116. and Beëlzebub having said,
 ver. 146. *if God has left us this our
 strength entire, to suffer pain strongly,
 or to do him mightier service as his
 thralls, what then can our strength
 avail us?* Satan here replies very
 properly, whether we are to *suffer*
 or to *work*, yet still it is some com-
 fort to have our strength undimi-
 nish'd; for it is a *miserable* thing,
 (says he) *to be weak* and without
 strength, whether we are doing or
 suffering. This is the sense of the
 place; and this is farther confirm'd
 by what Belial says in II. 199.

— *To suffer as to do*
 Our *strength* is equal — Pearce.

159. *To do ought good never will
 be our task,*] Dr. Bentley
 would read it thus,

To do ought good *will never* be
 our task,
 as of a smother and stronger ac-
 cent: but I conceive that Milton

intended to vary the accent of *never*
 and *ever* in the next verse.

169. *But see the angry victor hath
 recall'd &c.*] Dr. Bentley
 hath really made a very material
 objection to this and some other
 passages of the poem, wherein the
 good Angels are represented, as
 pursuing the rebel host with fire
 and thunderbolts down through
 Chaos even to the gates of Hell;
 as being contrary to the account,
 which the Angel Raphael gives to
 Adam in the 6th book. And it
 is certain that there the good An-
 gels are order'd to *stand still only*
and behold, and the Messiah alone
 expels them out of Heaven, and
 after he has expelled them, and
 Hell has clos'd upon them, VI. 880.

Sole victor from th'expulsion of
 his foes
 Messiah his triumphal chariot
 turn'd:

To meet him all his Saints, who
 silent stood
 Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,
 With jubilee advanc'd.

These

Our labor must be to pervert that end,
 And out of good still to find means of evil; 165
 Which oft-times may succeed, so as perhaps
 Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb
 His inmost counsels from their destin'd aim.
 But see the angry victor hath recall'd
 His ministers of vengeance and pursuit 170

Back

These accounts are plainly contrary the one to the other: but the author doth not therefore contradict himself, nor is one part of his scheme inconsistent with another. For it should be considered, who are the persons that give these different accounts. In book the 6th the Angel Raphael is the speaker, and therefore his account may be depended upon as the genuine and exact truth of the matter. But in the other passages Satan himself or some of his Angels are the speakers; and they were too proud and obstinate ever to acknowledge the Messiah for their conqueror; as their rebellion was rais'd on his account, they would never own his superiority; they would rather ascribe their defeat to the whole host of Heaven than to *him alone*; or if they did indeed imagin their pursuers to be so many in number, their fears multiplied them, and it serves admirably to express how much they were terrified and confounded. In book the 6th, 830. the noise of his chariot is compar'd to the *sound of a numerous*

host; and perhaps they might think that a numerous host were really pursuing. In one place indeed we have Chaos speaking thus, II. 996.

— and Heav'n gates
 Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
 Pursuing;

But what a condition was Chaos in during the fall of the rebel Angels? See VI. 871.

Nine days they fell; confounded
 Chaos roar'd,
 And felt tenfold confusion in their fall
 Through his wild anarchy, so
 huge a rout
 Incumber'd him with ruin.

We must suppose him therefore to speak according to his own frighted and disturb'd imagination; he might conceive that so much

Ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
 Confusion worse confounded

L

could

Back to the gates of Heav'n: the sulphurous hail
 Shot after us in storm, o'erblown hath laid
 The fiery surge, that from the precipice
 Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling; and the thunder,
 Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage, 175
 Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
 To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.
 Let us not slip th' occasion, whether scorn,
 Or satiate fury yield it from our foe,
 Seest thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild, 180
 The seat of desolation, void of light,
 Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
 Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
 From off the tossing of these fiery waves,

There

could not all be effected by a single hand: and what a sublime idea must it give us of the terrors of the Messiah, that he alone should be as formidable as if the whole host of Heaven were pursuing! So that this seeming contradiction, upon examination, proves rather a beauty than any blemish to the poem.

186. —our afflicted Pow'rs,] The word *afflicted* here is intended to be understood in the Latin sense, routed, ruin'd, utterly broken.

Richardson.

191. *If not what resolution*] *What* reinforcement; to which is return'd *If not*: a vicious syntax: but the poet gave it *If none*.

Bentley.

193. *With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes*

That sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides

Prone on the flood,] Somewhat like those lines in Virgil of two monstrous serpents, *Æn. II. 206.*

Pectora

Book I. PARADISE LOST.

27

There rest, if any rest can harbour there, 185
 And re-assembling our afflicted Powers,
 Consult how we may henceforth most offend
 Our enemy, our own los's how repair,
 How overcome this dire calamity,
 What reinforcement we may gain from hope, 190
 If not what resolution from despair.

Thus Satan talking to his nearest mate
 With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes
 That sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides
 Prone on the flood, extended long and large 195
 Lay floting many a rood, in bulk as huge
 As whom the fables name of monstrous size,
 Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove,

Briareos

Pectora quorum inter fluctus ar-
 recta, jubæque

Sanguineæ exuperant undas; pars
 cætera pontum

Pone legit.

Per tota novem cui jugera corpus
 Porrigitur.

And also that of the old dragon
 in Spenser. Fairy Queen B. 1.
 Cant. 11. St. 8.

That with his largeness measured
 much land.

198. *Titanian, or Earth-born,*]

Genus antiquum terræ, Titania
 pubes. Æn. VI. 580.

L 2

199. *Bria-*

196. *Lay floting many a rood,*]
 A *rood* is the fourth part of an
 acre, so that the bulk of Sa-
 tan is express'd by the same sort
 of measure, as that of one of
 the giants in Virgil, Æn. VI,
 596.

Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
 By ancient Tarsus held, or that sea-beast
 Leviathan, which God of all his works
 Created hugest that swim th' ocean stream:
 Him haply slumb'ring on the Norway foam
 The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff

Deeming

199. *Briareos*] So Milton writes it, that it may be pronounced as *four* syllables; and not *Briareus*, which is pronounced as *three*.

Et centumgeminus Briareus.

Virg. *Æn.* VI. 287.

And Briareus with all his hundred hands. Dryden.

199. — or *Typhon*, whom the den
 By ancient *Tarsus* held,] *Typhon*
 is the same with *Typhoeus*. That
 the den of *Typhoeus* was in *Cili-
 cia*, of which *Tarsus* was a cele-
 brated city, we are told by *Pindar*
 and *Pomponius Mela*. I am much
 mistaken, if *Milton* did not make
 use of *Farnaby's* note on *Ovid*
Met. V. 347. to which I refer the
 reader. He took *ancient Tarsus*
 perhaps from *Nonnus*:

Ταρσος αειδομένη πρωτοπλοῖς

which is quoted in *Lloyd's Dictionary*. *Fortin*.

200. — that sea-beast

Leviathan,] The best critics seem
 now to be agreed, that the author
 of the book of *Job* by the *levia-
 than* meant the *crocodile*; and *Mil-
 ton* describes it in the same man-
 ner partly as a *fish* and partly as a

beast, and attributes *scales* to it:
 and yet by some things one would
 think that he took it rather for
 a *whale* (as was the general opi-
 nion) there being no *crocodiles*
 upon the coasts of *Norway*, and
 what follows being related of the
whale, but never, as I have heard,
 of the *crocodile*.

202. *Created hugest &c.*] This
 verse is found fault with as being
 too rough and absonous, but that
 is not a fault but a beauty here, as
 it better expresses the hugeness
 and unwieldiness of the creature,
 and no doubt was design'd by the
 author.

204. — night-founder'd skiff]
 Some little boat, whose pilot dares
 not proceed in his course for fear
 of the dark night; a metaphor
 taken from a founder'd horse that
 can go no farther.

Hume.
Dr. Bentley reads *nigh-founder'd*;
 but the common reading is better,
 because if (as the Doctor says)
 foundering is sinking by a leaking
 in the ship, it would be of little
 use to the pilot to fix his anchor on
 an island, the skiff would sink not-
 withstanding, if leaky. By *night-
 founder'd* *Milton* means overtaken
 by

Deeming some iland, oft, as sea-men tell, 205
 With fixed anchor in his skaly rind
 Moors by his side under the lee, while night
 Invests the sea, and wished morn delays:
 So stretch'd out huge in length the Ar'ch-Fiend lay
 Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence 210
 Had

by the night, and thence at a loss which way to sail. That the poet speaks of what befel the pilot by night, appears from ver. 207. *while night invests the sea*. Milton, in his poem call'd the Mask, uses the same phrase: the two brothers having lost their way in the wood, one of them says,

— for certain
 Either some one, like us, *night-founder'd* here &c. Pearce.

205. — as sea-men tell,] Words well added to obviate the incredibility of casting anchor in this manner. Hume.

207. *Moors by his side under the lee,*] Anchors by his side under wind. *Mooring* at sea is the laying out of anchors in a proper place for the secure riding of a ship. The *lee* or *lee-shore* is that on which the wind blows, so that to be *under the lee* of the shore is to be close under the weather-shore or under wind. See Chambers's Dict. An instance this among others of our author's affectation in the use of technical terms.

207. — *while night invests the sea,*] A much finer ex-

pression than *umbris nox operit terras* of Virgil *Æn.* IV. 352. But our author in this (as Mr. Thyer remarks) alludes to the figurative description of night used by the poets, particularly Spenser. *Fairy Queen.* B. I. Cant. II. St. 49.

By this the drooping day-light 'gan to fade,
 And yield his room to fad succeeding night,
Who with her sable mantle 'gan to shade
The face of earth.

Milton also in the same taste speaking of the moon, IV. 609.

And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.

209. *So stretch'd out huge in length the Ar'ch-Fiend lay,*] The length of this verse, consisting of so many monosyllables, and pronounced so slowly, is excellently adapted to the subject that it would describe. The tone is upon the first syllable in this line, *the Ar'ch-Fiend lay*; whereas it was upon the last syllable of the word in ver. 156. *th' Arch-Fiend reply'd*; a liberty that Milton sometimes takes to pronounce the same word with

Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will
 And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
 Left him at large to his own dark designs,
 That with reiterated crimes he might
 Heap on himself damnation, while he sought 215
 Evil to others, and enrag'd might see
 How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth
 Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shown
 On Man by him seduc'd, but on himself
 Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd. 220
 Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
 His mighty stature; on each hand the flames
 Driv'n backward slope their pointing spires, and roll'd
 In

a different accent in different places. We shall mark such words as are to be pronounced with an accent different from the common use.

221. *Forthwith upright he rears &c.*] The whole part of this great enemy of mankind is filled with such incidents as are very apt to raise and terrify the reader's imagination. Of this nature is his being the first that awakens out of the general trance, with his posture on the burning lake, his rising from it, and the description of his shield and spear. To which we may add his call to the fallen An-

gels, that lay plung'd and stupified in the sea of fire.

He call'd so loud that all the hollow deep
 Of Hell resounded. —

But there is no single passage in the whole poem worked up to a greater sublimity, than that wherein his person is described in those celebrated lines

— He above the rest
 In shape and gesture proudly eminent
 Stood like a tow'r, &c. *Addison.*

226. — *incumbent on the dusky air
 That felt unusual weight,*] This conceit

In billows, leave i'th' midst a horrid vale.
 Then with expanded wings he steers his flight 225
 Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air
 That felt unusual weight, till on dry land
 He lights, if it were land that ever burn'd
 With solid, as the lake with liquid fire;
 And such appear'd in hue, as when the force 230
 Of subterranean wind transports a hill
 Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side
 Of thund'ring Ætna, whose combustible
 And fuel'd entrails thence conceiving fire,
 Sublim'd with mineral fury, aid the winds, 235
 And leave a sing'd bottom all involv'd

With

conceit of the *air's feeling unusual weight* is borrowed from Spenser, who speaking of the old dragon has these lines, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 18.

Then with his waving wings displayed wide,
 Himself up high he lifted from the ground,
 And with strong flight did forcibly divide
 The yielding air, which nigh too feeble found
 Her sitting parts, and element unsound,
 To bear so great a weight.

Thyer.

229. — *liquid fire*;] Virg. Ecl. VI. 33.
 Et liquidi simul ignis.

231. *Of subterranean wind*] Dr. Pearce conjectures that it should be read *subterranean winds*, because it is said *aid the winds* afterwards, and the conjecture seems probable and ingenious: the *fuel'd entrails*, *sublim'd with mineral fury*, *aid* and increase *the winds* which first blew up the fire.

232. *Pelorus*,] A promontory of Sicily, now Cape di Faro, about a mile and half from Italy, whence Virgil *angusta a sede Pelori*, Æn. III. 687. *blame*.

L 4

238. *Of*

With stench and smoke: Such resting found the sole
 Of unblest feet. Him follow'd his next mate,
 Both glorying to have 'scap'd the Stygian flood
 As Gods, and by their own recover'd strength, 249
 Not by the sufferance of supernal Power.

Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,
 Said then the lost Arch-Angel, this the seat
 That we must change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom
 For that celestial light? Be' it so, since he 245
 Who

238. *Of unblest feet.*] Dr. Bentley to make the accent smoother reads *Of feet unblest*; but Milton could have done the same thing, if he thought proper: On the contrary he chooses almost always to put the epithet before the substantive (excepting at the end of a verse) even tho' the verse be the rougher for it. A plain sign that he thought it poetical to do so.

Pearce.

246. *Souvan*] So Milton spells it after the Italian *Sovrano*. It is not easy to account for the formation of our word *Sovereign*.

247. — *farthest from him is best.*] This is express'd from the Greek proverb *τοππεω Διὶ τε καὶ νεεγυ-
 vs*, Far from Jupiter but far too from thunder. Bentley.

248. *Whom reason hath equal'd,*] *Reason* is to be pronounced here as one syllable, or two short ones, as

it is likewise in VIII. 591. and IX. 559. See the note on ver. 39.

250. — *Hail horrors, hail &c.*] His sentiments are every way answerable to his character, and suitable to a created being of the most exalted and most depraved nature. Such is that in which he takes possession of his place of torments.

— Hail horrors, hail &c.

And afterwards

— Here at least
 We shall be free; &c.

Amidst those impieties which this enraged Spirit utters in other places of the poem, the author has taken care to introduce none that is not big with absurdity, and incapable of shocking a religious reader; his words, as the poet himself describes them, bearing only a *semblance of worth, not substance*. He is likewise with great art described as

owning

Who now is Sovran can dispose and bid
 What shall be right: farthest from him is best,
 Whom reas'on hath equal'd, force hath made supreme
 Above his equals. Farewel happy fields,
 Where joy for ever dwells: Hail horrors, hail 250
 Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell
 Receive thy new possessor; one who brings
 A mind not to be chang'd by place or time.
 The mind is its own place, and in itself

Can

owning his adversary to be almighty. Whatever perverse interpretation he puts on the justice, mercy and other attributes of the Supreme Being, he frequently confesses his omnipotence, that being the perfection he was forced to allow him, and the only consideration which could support his pride under the shame of his defeat. Nor must I omit that beautiful circumstance of his bursting out into tears, upon his survey of those innumerable Spirits whom he had involved in the same guilt and ruin with himself. Addison.

252. *Receive thy new possessor;*] This passage seems to be an improvement upon Sophocles, Ajax 395, where Ajax, before he kills himself, cries out much in the same manner.

Ἰὼ σκοτῶ, ἐμὸν φῶς, σπέρμα
 ὃ πατέρα ὡς ἐμοί,

Ἐλιδ' ἐλεῖδ' οἰκητορά,
 Ἐλεῖδ' ἐμὲ.

253. — *by place or time.*] Milton is excellent in placing his words: invert them only, and say *by time or place*, and if the reader has any ear, he will perceive how much the alteration is for the worse. For the pause falling upon *place* in the first line *by time or place*, and again upon *place* in the next line *The mind is its own place*, would offend the ear, and therefore is artfully varied.

A mind not to be chang'd by place or time.

The mind is its own place.

254. *The mind is its own place,*] These are some of the extravagances of the Stoics, and could not be better ridiculed than they are here by being put in the mouth of Satan in his present situation.

Thyer.

257. — all

Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n. 255
 What matter where, if I be still the same,
 And what I should be, all but less than he
 Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least
 We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built
 Here for his envy, will not drive us hence: 260
 Here we may reign secure, and in my choice
 To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:
 Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.
 But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
 Th' associates and copartners of our loss, 265
 Lie thus astonish'd on th' oblivious pool,
 And

257. — *all but*] I have heard it propos'd to read *albeit*, that is although; but prefer the common reading.

259.—*th' Almighty hath not built Here for his envy,*] This is not a place that God should envy us, or think it too good for us; and in this sense the word *envy* is used in several places of the poem, and particularly in IV. 517. VIII. 494. and IX. 770.

263. *Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.*] This is a wonderfully fine improvement upon Prometheus's answer to Mercury in Æschylus. Prom. Vinc. 965.

Τῆς σὺς λατρίας τὴν ἐμὴν δου-
 πλοχίαν;

Σαφῶς ἐπίστασ', ἐκ ἂν ἀλλάξαι μ'
 ἐγώ·
 Κρείων γὰρ οἶμαι τῇδε λατρεῦ-
 εῖν πέτρᾳ,
 ἢ πατεῖ φοναί Ζηνι πισὸν ἀγέ-
 λον.

It was a memorable saying of Julius Cæsar, that he had rather be the first man in a country-village than the second at Rome. The reader will observe how properly the saying is here applied and accommodated to the speaker. It is here made a sentiment worthy of Satan, and of him only;

— nam te nec sperent Tartara regem,

Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido. Virg. Georg. I. 36.
 Grotius

And call them not to share with us their part
 In this unhappy mansion, or once more
 With rallied arms to try what may be yet
 Regain'd in Heav'n, or what more lost in Hell? 270

So Satan spake, and him Beëlzebub
 Thus answer'd. Leader of those armies bright,
 Which but th' Omnipotent none could have foil'd,
 If once they hear that voice, their liveliest pledge
 Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft 275
 In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge
 Of battel when it rag'd, in all assaults
 Their surest signal, they will soon resume

New

Grotius hath ascribed the same sentiment to Satan in his *Adamus Exul*, a tragedy which our author seems to have imitated in some few places, and has translated the following lines; but how much better is the sense of the two last verses express'd in one by Milton!

— Nam, me iudice,
 Regnare dignum est ambitu, etfi
 in Tartaro;

Alto præesse Tartaro siquidem ju-
 vat,
 Coelis quam in ipsis servi obire
 munia.

276. — *on the perilous edge
 Of battel*] Perhaps he had in
 mind Virgil, *Æn.* IX. 528.

Et mecum ingentes oras evolvite
 belli. *Fortin.*

It has been observ'd to me by a person of very fine taste, that Shakespear has an expression very like this in 2 Hen. IV. Act I.

You knew, he walk'd o'er perils;
 on an edge
 More likely to fall in, than to get
 o'er :

and something like it in 1 Hen. IV.
 Act I.

I'll read you matter, deep and dan-
 gerous;

As full of peril and adventurous
 spirit,

As to o'erwalk a current, roaring
 loud,

On the unstedfast footing of a spear.

Hot. If he fall in, good night,
 or sink or swim.

Or

New courage and revive, though now they lie
 Groveling and prostrate on yon lake of fire, 280
 As we ere while, astounded and amaz'd,
 No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious highth.

He scarce had ceas'd when the superior Fiend
 Was moving tow'ard the shore; his pond'rous shield,
 Ethereal temper, massy, large and round, 285
 Behind him cast; the broad circumference
 Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
 Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views

At

Or after all may not *the edge of battel* be express'd from the Latin *acies*, which signifies both the edge of a weapon, and also an army in battel array? The author himself would incline one to think so by his use of this metaphor in another place, VI. 108.

On the rough edge of battel ere it join'd.

282. — *fall'n such a pernicious highth.*] Dr. Bentley reads *fall'n* from *such* prodigious *highth*: but the epithet *pernicious* is much stronger, and as for the want of a præposition, that is common in this poem; for thus in I. 723.

Stood fix'd her stately highth,
 And in II. 409.

— ere he arrive
 The happy ile?

Pearce.

287. — *like the moon, whose orb &c.*] Homer compares the splendor of Achilles shield to the moon, Iliad. XIX. 373.

— ἀνταρῆπατα σὰν ὁ μέγα
 τε, σίβαρον τε,

Εἰλετο, τὸ δ' ἀπανευθε σελας γέ-
 νετ', ἢ ὕτε μινυς.

but the shield of Satan was large as the moon seen through a telescope, an instrument first applied to celestial observations by Galileo, a native of Tuscany, whom he means here by *the Tuscan artist*, and afterwards mentions by name in V. 262. a testimony of his honor for so great a man, whom he had known and visited in Italy, as himself informs us in his *Arcopagtica*.

289. Fesolè,

At evening from the top of Fesolé,
 Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands, 290
 Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe.
 His spear, to equal which the tallest pine
 Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
 Of some great ammiral, were but a wand,
 He walk'd with to support uneasy steps 295
 Over the burning marle, not like those steps
 On Heaven's azure, and the torrid clime
 Smote on him fore besides, vaulted with fire :

Nath-

289. *Fesolé*,] Is a city in Tuscany; *Valdarno*, or the valley of Arno, a valley there. *Richardson*.

292. *His spear, to equal which the tallest pine &c.*] He walk'd with his spear, in comparison of which the tallest pine was but a wand. For when Homer *Odyss.* IX. 322. makes the club of Polyphemus as big as the mast of a ship,

Ὀσσοῦ δ' ἰσὺν ὕψους —

and Virgil gives him a pine to walk with, *Æn.* III. 659.

Trunca manu pinus regit et vestigia firmat.

and Tasso arms Tancred and Argantes with two spears as big as masts, *Cant.* 6. St. 40.

*Posero in resta, e dirizzaro in alto
 I duo guerrier le noderoſe antenne.*

These sons of Mavors bore (instead of spears)

Two knotty masts which none but they could lift. *Fairfax*.

well might Milton assign a spear so much larger to so superior a being,

293. *Norwegian hills*] The hills of Norway, barren and rocky, but abounding in vast woods, from whence are brought masts of the largest size. *Hume*.

294. — *ammiral*] According to its German extraction *amiral* or *amirael*, says *Hume*; from the Italian *ammiraglio*, says *Richardson* more probably. Our author made choice of this, as thinking it of a better sound than *admiral*: and in Latin he writes *ammiralatus curia*, the court of admiralty.

299. *Nath-*

Nathless he so indur'd, till on the beach
 Of that inflamed sea he stood, and call'd 300
 His legions, Angel forms, who lay intranc'd
 Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
 In Vallombrosa, where th' Etrurian shades
 High over-arch'd imbow'r; or scatter'd sedge
 Aflote, when with fierce winds Orion arm'd 305
 Hath

299. *Nathless*] Nevertheless, of which it seems to be a contracted diminutive.

Hume. This word is frequently used by Spenser, and the old poets.

302. *Thick as autumnal leaves*] Virg. *Æn.* VI. 309.

Quam multa in sylvis autumni frigore primo
 Lapſa cadunt folia.

Thick as the leaves in autumn strow the woods. Dryden.

But Milton's comparison is by far the exactest; for it not only expresses a multitude, but also the posture and situation of the Angels. Their lying confusedly in heaps, covering the lake, is finely represented by this image of the leaves in the brooks. And besides the propriety of the application, if we compare the similes themselves, Milton's is by far superior to the other, as it exhibits a real landscape. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 23.

303. *Vallombrosa*,] A famous valley in Etruria or Tuscany, so

named of *Vallis* and *Umbra*, remarkable for the continual cool shades, which the vast number of trees that overspread it afford.

Hume.

305. — *when with fierce winds Orion arm'd &c.*] Orion is a constellation represented in the figure of an armed man, and supposed to be attended with stormy weather, *assurgens fluctu nimboſus Orion.* Virg. *Æn.* I. 539. And the Red-Sea abounds so much with sedge, that in the Hebrew Scripture it is called the *Sedgy Sea*. And he says *bath vex'd the Red-Sea coast* particularly, because the wind usually drives the sedge in great quantities towards the shore.

306. — *whose waves o'erthrew Buziris and his Memphian chivalry,*]

Dr. Bentley throws out six lines here, as the Editor's, not Milton's: His chief reason is, That that single event of Moses's passing the Red-Sea has no relation to a constant quality of it, that in stormy weather it is strow'd with sedge. But it is very usual with Homer and Virgil

Hath vex'd the Red-Sea coast, whose waves o'erthrew
 Busris and his Memphian chivalry,
 While with perfidious hatred they pursued
 The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
 From the safe shore their floating carcases 310
 And broken chariot wheels: so thick bestrown
 Abject and lost lay these, covering the flood,

Under

Virgil (and therefore may be allow'd to Milton) in a comparison, after they have shown the resemblance, to go off from the main purpose and finish with some other image, which was occasion'd by the comparison, but is itself very different from it. Milton has done thus in almost all his similitudes; and therefore what he does so frequently, cannot be allow'd to be an objection to the genuineness of this passage before us. As to Milton's making Pharaoh to be *Busris* (which is another of the Doctor's objections to the passage) there is authority enough for to justify a poet in doing so, tho' not an historian: It has been suppos'd by some, and therefore Milton might follow that opinion. *Chivalry* for *cavalry*, and *cavalry* (says Dr. Bentley) for *chariotry*, is twice wrong. But it is rather *twice right*: for *chivalry* (from the French *chevalerie*) signifies not only *knighthood*, but those who use horses in fight, both such as ride on horses and such as ride in chariots drawn by them:

In the sense of riding and fighting on horseback this word *chivalry* is used in ver. 765. and in many places of Fairfax's Tasso, as in Cant. 5. St. 9. Cant 8. St. 67. Cant. 20. St. 61. In the sense of riding and fighting in chariots drawn by horses, Milton uses the word *chivalry* in Parad. Reg. III. ver. 343. compar'd with ver. 328. *Pearce.*

308. — *perfidious hatred*] Because Pharaoh, after leave given to the Israelites to depart, follow'd after them like fugitives. *Hume.*

310. *From the safe shore their floating carcases &c.*] Much has been said of the long similitudes of Homer, Virgil, and our author, wherein they fetch a compass as it were to draw in new images, besides those in which the direct point of likeness consists. I think they have been sufficiently justify'd in the general: but in this before us, while the poet is digressing, he raises a new similitude from the floating carcases of the Egyptians. *Heylin.*

328. — *with*

Under amazement of their hideous change.
 He call'd so loud, that all the hollow deep
 Of Hell resounded. Princes, Potentates, 315
 Warriors, the flow'r of Heav'n, once yours, now lost,
 If such astonishment as this can seize
 Eternal Spi'rits; or have ye chos'n this place
 After the toil of battel to repose
 Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find 320
 To slumber here, as in the vales of Heaven?
 Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
 To' adore the conqueror? who now beholds
 Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood
 With scatter'd arms and ensigns, till anon 325
 His swift pursuers from Heav'n gates discern
 Th' advantage, and descending tread us down
 Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts
 Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.
 Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n. 330

They heard, and were abash'd, and up they sprung
 Upon

328. — *with linked thunderbolts*
Transfix us to the bottom of this
gulf.] This alludes to the
 fate of Ajax Oileus,

Turbine corripuit, scopuloque in-
 fixit acuto.
 Virg. Æn. I. 44, 45.

Illum expirantem transfixo pectore
flammas

Who pleaseth to read the Devil's
 speech to his damned assembly in
 Tasso, Cant. 4. from Stanza 9 to
 Stanza

Upon the wing, as when Men wont to watch
On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.

Nor did they not perceive the evil plight 335

In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;

Yet to their general's voice they soon obey'd

Innumerable. As when the potent rod

Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,

Wav'd round the coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud 340

Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,

That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung

Like night, and darken'd all the land of Nile:

So numberless were those bad Angels seen

Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell 345

'Twixt upper, nether, and furrounding fires;

Till, as a signal giv'n, th' up-lifted spear

Of their great Sultan waving to direct

Their course, in even balance down they light

On the firm brimstone, and fill all the plain; 350

A

Stanza 18, will find our author has *upon the land, and the east-wind*
seen him, tho' borrow'd little of *brought the locusts: and the locusts*
him. *Hume. went up over all the land of Egypt—*

338. *As when the potent rod &c.] so that the land was darken'd.*
See Exod. X. 13. *Moses stretched* 341.—*warping]* Working them-
forth his rod over the land of Egypt, selves forward, a sea term.
and the Lord brought an east-wind *Hume and Richardson.*

A multitude, like which the populous north
 Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to pass
 Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
 Came like a deluge on the south, and spread
 Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian sands. 355
 Forthwith from every squadron and each band
 The heads and leaders thither haste where stood
 Their great commander; Godlike shapes and forms
 Excelling human, princely Dignities,
 And Pow'rs that erst in Heaven sat on thrones; 360
 Though of their names in heav'nly records now
 Be

351. *A multitude, like which &c.*] This comparison doth not fall below the rest, as some have imagin'd. They were *thick* as the *leaves*, and *numberless* as the *locusts*, but such a multitude the north *never* pour'd forth; and we may observe that the subject of this comparison rises very much above the others, *leaves* and *locusts*. The *populous north*, as the northern parts of the world are observed to be more fruitful of people, than the hotter countries: Sir William Temple calls it *the northern hive*. *Pour'd never*, a very proper word to express the inundations of these northern nations. *From her frozen loins*, it is the Scripture expression of children and descendents *coming out of the loins*, as Gen. XXXV. 11. *Kings shall come out of thy loins*; and these are call'd *frozen loins* only on ac-

count of the coldness of the climate. *To pass Rhene or the Danaw*, He might have said consistently with his verse *The Rhine or Danube*, but he chose the more uncommon names *Rhene* of the Latin, and *Danaw* of the German, both which words are used too in Spenser. *When her barbarous sons &c.* They were truly *barbarous*; for besides exercising several cruelties, they destroy'd all the monuments of learning and politeness wherever they came. *Came like a deluge*. Spenser describing the same people has the same simile. *Fairy Queen*. B. 2. Cant. 10. St. 15.

And overflow'd all countries far
 away,

Like Noye's great flood with their
 importune sway.

They were the Goths, and Huns,
 and

Be no memorial, blotted out and ras'd
 By their rebellion from the books of life.
 Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve 364
 Got them new names, till wand'ring o'er the earth,
 Through God's high sufferance for the tri'al of man,
 By falsities and lies the greatest part
 Of mankind they corrupted to forsake
 God their Creator, and th' invifible
 Glory of him that made them to transform 370
 Oft to the image of a brute, adorn'd
 With gay religions full of pomp and gold,

And

and Vandals, who overrun all the southern provinces of Europe, and crossing the Mediterranean *beneath Gibraltar* landed in Africa, and spread themselves as far as the sandy country of Libya. *Beneath Gibraltar* that is more southward, the north being uppermost in the globe.

363.—*the books of life.*] Dr. Bentley reads *the book of life*, that being the Scripture expression. And Shakespear says likewise *blotted from the book of life*, Richard II. Act I.

My name be blotted from the
book of life.

But the author might write *books* in the plural as well as *records* just before; and the plural agrees better with the idea that he would give of the great number of Angels.

367. *By falsities and lies*] That

is, as Mr. Upton observes, by false idols, under a corporeal representation, *belying* the true God. The poet plainly alludes to Rom. I. 22, &c. *When they knew God, they glorified him not as God — and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image — who changed the truth of God into a lie.* So Amos II. 4. *Their lies caused them to err.* Jerem. XVI. 19. *Surely our fathers have inherited lies &c.*

369. — and th' invifible
 Glory of him that made them to
 transform

Oft to the image of a brute,] Alluding to Rom. I. 23. *And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.*

372. *With gay religions full of
 pomp and gold,*] By religions
 M 2 Milton

And Devils to adore for Deities:

Then were they known to men by various names,
 And various idols through the Heathen world. 375
 Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last,
 Rous'd from the slumber, on that fiery couch,
 At their great emper'or's call, as next in worth
 Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
 While the promiscuous croud stood yet aloof. 380
 The chief were those who from the pit of Hell
 Roaming to seek their prey on earth, durst fix
 Their

Milton means *religious rites*, as Cicero uses the word, when he joins *religiones et ceremonias*. De Legib. lib. I. c. 15. and elsewhere.

Pearce.

376. *Say, Muse, &c.*] The catalogue of evil Spirits has abundance of learning in it, and a very agreeable turn of poetry, which rises in a great measure from its describing the places where they were worshipped, by those beautiful marks of rivers, so frequent among the ancient poets. The author had doubtless in this place Homer's catalogue of ships, and Virgil's list of warriors in his view.

Addison.

Dr. Bentley says that this is not the finest part of the poem: but I think it is, in the design and drawing, if not in the coloring; for the Paradise Lost being a religious epic, nothing could be more artful than thus deducing the original of

superstition. This gives it a great advantage over the catalogues he has imitated, for Milton's becomes thereby a necessary part of the work, as the original of superstition, an essential part of a religious epic, could not have been shown without it. Had Virgil's or Homer's been omitted, their poems would not have suffered materially, because in their relations of the following actions we find the soldiers, who were before catalogued: but by no following history of superstition that Milton could have brought in, could we find out these Devils agency, it was therefore necessary he should inform us of the fact.

Warburton.

Say, Muse, &c. Homer at the beginning of his catalogue invokes his Muse afresh in a very pompous manner. Virgil does the like, and Milton follows both so far as to make a fresh invocation, though short;

Their seats long after next the seat of God,
 Their altars by his altar, Gods ador'd
 Among the nations round, and durst abide 385
 Jehovah thund'ring out of Sion, thron'd
 Between the Cherubim; yea, often plac'd
 Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,
 Abominations; and with cursed things
 His holy rites and solemn feasts profan'd, 390
 And with their darkness durst affront his light.
 First Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
 Of

short; because he had already made
 a large and solemn address in this
 very book, at the beginning of his
 poem.

376. — *their names then known,*
 When they had got them new
 names. Milton finely consider'd
 that the names he was obliged to
 apply to these evil Angels carry a
 bad signification, and therefore
 could not be those they had in their
 state of innocence and glory; he
 has therefore said their former
 names are now lost, ras'd from
 amongst those of their old asso-
 ciates who retain their purity and
 happiness. *Richardson.*

376. — *who first, who last,*
 Quem telo primum, quem postre-
 mum &c. Virg. Æn. XI. 664.

386. — *thron'd*
Between the Cherubim; This re-
 lates to the ark being placed be-
 tween the two golden Cherubim,

1 Kings VI. 23. 1 Kings VIII. 6
 and 7. See also 2 Kings XIX. 15.
*O Lord God of Israel which dwellest
 between the Cherubim.* Hezekiah's
 prayer. *Hume.*

387. — *yea, often plac'd*
Within his sanctuary itself their
shrines,

Abominations; This is com-
 plain'd of by the prophet Jere-
 miah VII. 30. *For the children of*
Judah have done evil in my sight,
saieth the Lord; they have set their
abominations in the house which is
called by my name, to pollute it.
 And we read of Manasseh, 2 Kings
 XXI. 4 and 5. that *He built altars*
in the house of the Lord, of which
the Lord said, In Jerusalem will I
put my name: And he built altars for
all the host of Heaven, in the two
courts of the house of the Lord. See
 also Ezek. VII. 20. and VIII. 5, 6.

392. *First Moloch, horrid king,*
First after Satan and Beëlzebub.

Of human sacrifice, and parents tears,
 Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud
 Their childrens cries unheard, that pass'd through fire
 To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite 396
 Worshipt in Rabba and her watry plain,
 In Argob and in Basan, to the stream
 Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such

Audacious

The name *Moloch* signifies *king*, and he is call'd *horrid king*, because of the human sacrifices which were made to him. This idol is supposed by some to be the same as Saturn, to whom the Heathens sacrificed their children, and by others to be the Sun. It is said in Scripture that the children *passed through the fire to Moloch*, and our author employs the same expression, by which we must understand not that they always actually burnt their children in honor of this idol, but sometimes made them only leap over the flames, or pass nimbly between two fires, to purify them by that lustration, and consecrate them to this false deity. The Rabbins assure us that the idol *Moloch* was of brass, sitting on a throne of the same metal and wearing a royal crown, having the head of a calf and his arms extended to receive the miserable victims which were to be consumed in the flames; and therefore is very probably stiled here *his grim idol*. He was the God of the *Ammonites*, and is called *the abomination of the children of*

Ammon, 1 Kings XI. 7. and was worshipped in *Rabba*, the capital city of the Ammonites, which David conquer'd, and took from thence the crown of their God *Milcom* as some render the words 2 Sam. XII. 30. and this *Rabba* being called *the city of waters*, 2 Sam. XII. 27. it is here said *Rabba and her watry plain*: and likewise in *Argob and in Basan*, neighbouring countries to *Rabba* and subject to the *Ammonites*, as far as *to the stream of utmost Arnon*, which river was the boundary of their country on the south. *Solomon* built a temple to *Moloch* on the mount of Olives, 1 Kings XI. 7. therefore called *that opprobrious hill*; and high places and sacrifices were made to him in *the pleasant valley of Hinnom*, Jer. VII. 31. which lay south-east of Jerusalem, and was called likewise *Tophet* from the Hebrew *Toph* a drum, drums and such like noisy instruments being used to drown the cries of the miserable children who were offer'd to this idol, and *Gehenna* or *the valley of Hinnom* is in several places of the New

Audacious neighbourhood, the wisest heart 400
 Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
 His temple right against the temple' of God
 On that opprobrious hill, and made his grove
 The pleasant valley' of Hinnom, Tophet thence
 And black Gehenna call'd, the type of Hell. 405
 Next Chemos, th' obscene dread of Moab's sons,

From

New Testament, and by our Saviour himself made *the name and type of Hell*, by reason of the fire that was kept up there to *Moloch*, and of the horrid groans and outcries of human sacrifices. We might enlarge much more upon each of these idols, and produce a heap of learned authorities and quotations; but we endeavor to be as short as we can, and say no more than may serve as a sufficient commentary to explain and illustrate our author.

406. *Next Chemos, &c.*] He is rightly mention'd next after *Moloch*, as their names are join'd together in Scripture 1 Kings XI. 7. and it was a natural transition from the God of the Ammonites to the God of their neighbours the Moabites. St. Jerom and several learned men assert *Chemos* and *Baal Peor* to be only different names for the same idol, and suppose him to be the same with Priapus or the idol of turpitude, and therefore called here *th' obscene dread of Moab's sons*, from *Aroar*, a city upon the river Arnon, the bound-

dary of their country to the north, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Gad, to *Nebo*, a city eastward, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Reuben, and the wild of southmost *Abarim*, a ridge of mountains the boundary of their country to the south; in *Hesebon* or *Heshbon*, and *Horonaim*, *Seon's realm*, two cities of the Moabites, taken from them by Sihon king of the Amorites, Numb. XXI. 26. beyond the flow'ry dale of *Sibma* clad with vines, a place famous for vineyards, as appears from Jer. XLVIII. 32. O vine of *Sibmah* I will weep for thee, and *Eleale*, another city of the Moabites not far from Heshbon, to th' *Asphaltic pool*, the Dead Sea so call'd from the *Asphaltus* or bitumen abounding in it; the river Jordan empties itself into it, and that river and this sea were the boundary of the Moabites to the west. It was this God under the name of *Baal Peor*, that the Israelites were induced to worship in *Sittim*, and committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab, for which there died of the plague

From Aroar to Nebo, and the wild
 Of southmost Abarim; in Hesebon
 And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
 The flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines, 410
 And Eleälé to th' Asphaltic pool.
 Peor his other name, when he entic'd
 Israel in Sittim on their march from Nile
 To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
 Yet thence his lustful orgies he enlarg'd 415
 Ev'n to that hill of scandal, by the grove

Of

twenty and four thousand, as we read in Numb. XXV. His high places were adjoining to those of *Moloch* on the mount of Olives, therefore called here *that hill of scandal* as before *that opprobrious hill*, for Solomon did build an high place for *Chemosh* the abomination of Moab in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for *Moloch* the abomination of the children of Ammon, 1 Kings XI. 7. But good *Josiah* brake in pieces their images, and cut down their groves. See 2 Kings XXIII. 13, 14.

415. *orgies*] Wild frantic rites; generally by *orgies* are understood the feasts of Bacchus because they were such, but any other mad ceremonies may be so call'd, as here the lewd ones of Chemos or Peor.

Richardson.

417. — *lust hard by bate*;] What

a fine moral sentiment has our author here introduc'd, and couch'd in half a verse! He might perhaps have in view Spenser's *Mask of Cupid*, where Anger, Strife &c are represented as immediately following Cupid in the procession. See *Fairy Queen*. B. 3. Cant. 12.

Thyer.

419. — *from the bord'ring flood*

Of old Euphrates &c.] It is rightly called *old*, being mention'd by the oldest historian in the earliest accounts of time, Gen. II. 14. And it is likewise called *the bord'ring flood*, being the utmost limit or border eastward of the promis'd land, according to Gen. XV. 18. *Unto thy seed have I given this land from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates*: and the Psalmist speaking of the *wine that was brought out of Egypt* says Psal. LXXX. 11. *she sent out her*

Of Moloch homicide, lust hard by hate;
 Till good Josiah drove them thence to Hell.
 With these came they, who from the bord'ring flood
 Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts 420
 Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
 Of Baälim and Ashtaroth, those male,
 These feminine. For Spirits when they please
 Can either sex assume, or both; so soft
 And uncompound'd is their essence pure, 425
 Not ty'd or manacled with joint or limb,

Nor

her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river, that is from the Mediterranean to the river Euphrates: to the brook that parts Egypt from Syrian ground, most probably the brook Besor mention'd in Scripture, near Rhinocolura, which city is assign'd sometimes to Syria and sometimes to Egypt.

422. *Baälim and Ashtaroth,*] These are properly named together, as they frequently are in Scripture; and there were many *Baälim* and many *Ashtaroth*; they were the general names of the Gods and Goddesses of Syria, Palestine, and the neighbouring countries. It is supposed that by them is meant the sun and the host of Heaven.

423. *For Spirits when they please &c.*] These notions about Spirits seem to have been borrow'd from Michael Psellus his dialogue

about the operation of Demons, where a story is related of a Demon's appearing in the shape of a woman; and upon this a doubt is rais'd whether some Demons are males, and others females; and it is asserted that they can assume either sex, and take what shape and color they please, and contract or dilate themselves at pleasure, as they are of an aery nature, *διο και εκασθ γε αυτω, τοτε σωμα προς ο αν αεριτο χημα μετατυπωσας, και χρωμαθ την ειδοθ προ το τε σωμαθ εξα- νιχων περας, ποτε μεν ως ανηρ εμφανιζεται, ποτε δε προς γυναικ μεταβαλλει μορφην &c.* See *Μιχαηλς τε Ψελλς περ ενεργειας δαιμονων διαλογθ.* p. 70.—77. Edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. Such an extraordinary scholar was Milton, and such use he made of all sorts of authors.

437. *With*

Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
 Like cumbrous flesh; but in what shape they choose
 Dilated or condens'd, bright or obscure,
 Can execute their aery purposes, 430
 And works of love or enmity fulfil.
 For those the race of Israel oft forsook
 Their living strength, and unfrequented left
 His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
 To bestial Gods; for which their heads as low 435
 Bow'd down in battel, sunk before the spear

Of

437. *With these in troop &c.*] *Astoreth* or *Astarte* was the Goddess of the *Phœnicians*, and the moon was adored under this name. She is rightly said to *come in troop* with *Ashtaroth*, as she was one of them, the moon with the stars. Sometimes she is called *queen of Heaven*, Jer. VII. 18. and XLIV. 17, 18. She is likewise called *the Goddess of the Zidonians*, 1 Kings XI. 5. and *the abomination of the Zidonians*, 2 Kings XXIII. 13. as she was worshipped very much in *Zidon* or *Sidon*, a famous city of the *Phœnicians*, situated upon the Mediterranean. Solomon, who had many wives that were foreigners, was prevail'd upon by them to introduce the worship of this Goddess into Israel, 1 Kings XI. 5. and built her temple on the mount of Olives, which on account of this and other idols is called *the*

mountain of corruption, 2 Kings XXIII. 13. as here by the poet *th' offensive mountain*, and before *that opprobrious hill*, and *that bill of scandal*.

446. *Thammuz came next &c.*] The account of *Thammuz* is finely romantic, and suitable to what we read among the Ancients of the worship which was paid to that idol. The reader will pardon me, if I insert as a note on this beautiful passage, the account given us by the late ingenious Mr. Maundrel of this ancient piece of worship, and probably the first occasion of such a superstition. "We came to a fair large river — doubtless the ancient river Adonis, so famous for the idolatrous rites performed here in lamentation of Adonis. We had the fortune to see what may be supposed to be the occasion of that opinion

Of despicable foes. With these in troop
 Came Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians call'd
 Astartè, queen of Heav'n, with crescent horns;
 To whose bright image nightly by the moon 440
 Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs,
 In Sion also not unsung, where stood
 Her temple on th' offensive mountain, built
 By that uxorious king, whose heart though large,
 Beguil'd by fair idolatresses, fell 445
 To idols foul. Thammuz came next behind,

Whose

" opinion which Lucian relates, according to the traditions died
 " viz. that this stream at certain every year and reviv'd again. He
 " seasons of the year, especially was slain by a wild boar in mount
 " about the feast of Adonis, is of *Lebanon*, from whence the river
 " a bloody color; which the Hea- Adonis descends: and when this
 " thens looked upon as proceed- river began to be of a reddish
 " ing from a kind of sympathy in hue, as it did at a certain season
 " the river for the death of Adonis, of the year, this was their signal
 " who was kill'd by a wild boar for celebrating their Adonia or
 " in the mountains, out of which feasts of Adonis, and the women
 " this stream rises. Something made loud lamentations for him,
 " like this we saw actually come supposing the river was discolor'd
 " to pass; for the water was stain'd with his blood. The like idola-
 " to a surprising redness; and as trous rites were transferred to Jeru-
 " we observed in traveling, had salem, where Ezekiel saw the wo-
 " discolor'd the sea a great way men lamenting *Tammuz*, Ezek.
 " into a reddish hue, occasion'd VIII. 13, 14. *He said also unto me,*
 " doubtless by a sort of minium *Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt*
 " or red earth, wash'd into the *see greater abominations that they do.*
 " river by the violence of the rain, *Then he brought me to the door of*
 " and not by any stain from Ado- *the gate of the Lord's house, which*
 " nis's blood." *Addison.* *was towards the north, and behold*
Thammuz was the God of the Sy- *there sat women weeping for Tam-*
 rians, the same with Adonis, who *muz.* Dr. Pemberton in his Ob-
 servations

Whose annual wound in Lebanon allur'd
 The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
 In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
 While smooth Adonis from his native rock 450
 Ran purple to the sea, suppos'd with blood
 Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale
 Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,
 Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
 Ezekiel saw, when by the vision led 455
 His eye survey'd the dark idolatries
 Of alienated Judah. Next came one

Who

servations upon poetry quotes some
 of these verses upon *Thammuz* as
 distinguishably melodious; and they
 are observed to be not unlike those
 beautiful lines in *Shakespeare* 1 *Hen.*
IV. Act III. and particularly in the
 sweetness of the numbers;

As sweet as ditties highly penn'd,
 Sung by a fair queen in a sum-
 mer's bower,
 With ravishing division to her
 lute.

457. — Next came one
 Who mourn'd in earnest, &c.] The
 lamentations for Adonis were with-
 out reason, but there was real oc-
 casion for *Dagon's* mourning, when
 the ark of God was taken by the
 Philistines, and being placed in the
 temple of *Dagon*, the next morn-
 ing behold *Dagon* was fallen upon

his face to the ground before the ark
 of the Lord; and the head of *Dagon*
 and both the palms of his hands were
 cut off upon the threshold (upon the
 grunsel or groundfil edge, as *Milton*
 expresses it, on the edge of the
 footpost of his temple gate) only the
 stump of *Dagon* was left to him as
 we read 1 *Sam.* V. 4. Learned
 men are by no means agreed in
 their accounts of this idol. Some
 derive the name from *Dagan* which
 signifies corn, as if he was the in-
 ventor of it; others from *Dag*,
 which signifies a fish, and represent
 him accordingly with the upper
 part of a man, and the lower part
 of a fish. Our author follows the
 latter opinion, which is that com-
 monly receiv'd, and has besides the
 authority of the learned *Selden*.
 This *Dagon* is called in Scripture
 the

Who mourn'd in earnest, when the captive ark
 Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopt off
 In his own temple, on the grunfel edge, 460
 Where he fell flat, and sham'd his worshippers:
 Dagon his name, sea monster, upward man
 And downward fish: yet had his temple high
 Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
 Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon, 465
 And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.
 Him follow'd Rimmon, whose delightful feat
 Was fair Damascus, on the fertil banks

Of

the God of the Philistines, and was worshipped in the five principal cities of the Philistines, mention'd 1 Sam. VI. 17. *Azotus* or *Alhdod* where he had a temple as we read in 1 Sam. V. *Gath*, and *Ascalon*, and *Accaron*, or *Ekrón*, and *Gaza* where they had sacrifices and feasting in honor of him. Judg. XVI. *Gaza's frontier bounds*, says the poet, as it was the southern extremity of the promis'd land toward Egypt. It is mention'd by Moses as the southern point of the land of Canaan. Gen. X. 19.

467. *Him follow'd Rimmon, &c.*] *Rimmon* was a God of the Syrians, but it is not certain what he was, or why so call'd. We only know that he had a temple at *Damascus*, 2 Kings V. 18. the most celebrated city of Syria, *on the banks of Ab-*

bana and Pharphar, rivers of Damascus, as they are called 2 Kings V. 12. *A leper once he lost*, Naaman the Syrian who was cur'd of his leprosy by Elisha, and who for that reason resolv'd thenceforth to offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice to any other God, but unto the Lord, 2 Kings V. 17. *And gain'd a king*, *Ahaz his sottish conqu'ror*, who with the assistance of the king of Assyria having taken Damascus, saw there an altar, and sent a pattern of it to Jerusalem to have another made by it, directly contrary to the command of God, who had appointed what kind of altar he would have (Exod. XXVII. 1, 2, &c.) and had order'd that no other should be made of any matter or figure whatsoever. Ahaz however upon his return remov'd the altar
 of

Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.
 He also' against the house of God was bold: 470
 A leper once he lost, and gain'd a king,
 Ahaz his sottish conqu'ror, whom he drew
 God's altar to disparage and displace
 For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
 His odious offerings, and adore the Gods 475
 Whom he had vanquish'd. After these appear'd
 A crew who under names of old renown,
 Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train,

With

of the Lord from its place, and set up this new altar in its stead, *and offer'd thereon*, 2 Kings XVI. 10. &c. and thenceforth gave himself up to idolatry, and instead of the God of Israel *he sacrific'd unto the Gods of Damascus*, 2 Chron. XXVIII. 23. whom he had subdued.

478. *Osiris, Iris, Orus, and their train, &c.*] *Osiris* and *Isis* were the principal deities of the Egyptians, by which it is most probable they originally meant the sun and moon. *Orus* was the son of *Osiris* and *Isis*, frequently confounded with *Apollo*: and these and the other Gods of the Egyptians were worshipped *in monstrous shapes*, bulls, cats, dogs, &c. and the reason alleged for this monstrous worship is deriv'd from the fabulous tradition, that when the giants invaded Heaven, the Gods were so affrighted that they

fled into Egypt, and there concealed themselves in the shapes of various animals; and the Egyptians afterwards out of gratitude worshipp'd the creatures, whose shapes the Gods had assum'd. *Ovid Met. V. 319. &c.* where is an account of their transformations: and therefore Milton here calls them

*Their wand'ring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms
 Rather than human.*

482. — *Nor did Israel 'scape
 Th' infection, &c.*] The Israelites by dwelling so long in Egypt were infected with the superstitions of the Egyptians, and in all probability made the golden calf, or ox (for so it is differently call'd, *Psal. CVI. 19, 20.*) in imitation of that which represented *Osiris*, and out of the golden earrings, which it is most likely they borrow'd of the Egyptians,

With monstrous shapes and forceries abus'd
 Fanatic Egypt and her priests, to seek 480
 Their wand'ring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms
 Rather than human. Nor did Israel 'scape
 Th' infection, when their borrow'd gold compos'd
 The calf in Oreb; and the rebel king
 Doubled that sin in Bethel and in Dan, 485
 Likening his Maker to the grazed ox,
 Jehovah, who in one night when he pass'd
 From Egypt marching, equal'd with one stroke

Both

Egyptians, *Exod. XII. 35. The calf in Oreb, and so the Psalmist, They made a calf in Horeb, Psal. CVI. 19. while Moses was upon the mount with God. And the rebel king, Jeroboam made king by the Israelites who rebelled against Rehoboam, 1 Kings XII. doubled that sin by making two golden calves, probably in imitation of the Egyptians with whom he had conversed, who had a couple of oxen which they worshipped, one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other Mnevis at Hierapolis the chief city of the lower Egypt: and he set them up in Bethel and in Dan, the two extremities of the kingdom of Israel, the former in the south, the latter in the north. Likening his Maker to the grazed ox, alluding to Psal. CVI. 20. Thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox* *that eateth grass: Jehovah, who in one night when he pass'd from Egypt marching, for the children of Israel not only pass'd from Egypt, but march'd in a warlike manner, and the Lord brought them out, the Lord went before them: equal'd with one stroke both her first-born and all her bleating Gods, for the Lord slew all the first-born in the land of Egypt both man and beast, and upon their Gods also the Lord executed judgments. Exod. XII. 12. Numb. XXXIII. 4. and Milton means all their Gods in general, tho' he says bleating Gods in particular, borrowing the metaphor from sheep, and using it for the cry of any sort of beasts. Dr. Bentley says indeed that the Egyptians did not worship sheep, they only abstain'd from eating them: but (as Dr. Pearce replies) was not Jupiter Ammon worshipp'd under a*
 ram,

Both her first-born and all her bleating Gods.
 Belial came last, than whom a Spi'rit more lewd 490
 Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
 Vice for itself: to him no temple stood
 Or altar smok'd; yet who more oft than he
 In temples and at altars, when the priest
 Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons, who fill'd 495
 With lust and violence the house of God?

In

ram, hence *corniger Ammon*? Clemens Alexandrinus tells us that the people of Sais and Thebes worshipped sheep; and R. Jarchi upon Gen. XLVI. 34. says that a shepherd was therefore an abomination to the Egyptians, because the Egyptians worshipped sheep as Gods. We may farther add, that Onkelos, Jonathan, and several others are of the same opinion, and say that shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, because they had no greater regard to those creatures which the Egyptians worshipped, than to breed them up to be eaten. These authorities are sufficient to justify our poet for calling them *bleating Gods*; he might make use of that epithet as one of the most insignificant and contemptible, with the same air of disdain as Virgil says *Æn. VIII. 698.*

Omnigenūmque deūm monstra &
 latrator Anubis;

and so returns to his subject, and

ends the passage as he began it, with the Gods of Egypt.

490. *Belial came last, &c.*] The characters of *Moloch* and *Belial* prepare the reader's mind for their respective speeches and behaviour in the second and sixth book.

Addison.

And they are very properly made, one the first, and the other the last, in this catalogue, as they both make so great a figure afterwards in the poem. *Moloch* the first, as he was *the fiercest Spirit that fought in Heaven, II. 44.* and *Belial* the last, as he is represented as the most *timorous and slothful, II. 117.* It doth not appear that he was ever worshipped; but lewd profligate fellows, such as regard neither God nor Man, are called in Scripture *the children of Belial, Deut. XIII. 13.* So the sons of Eli are call'd *1 Sam. II. 12. Now the sons of Eli were sons of Belial, they knew not the Lord.* So the men of Gibeah, who abus'd the Levite's wife, *Judg. XIX.*

In courts and palaces he also reigns
 And in luxurious cities, where the noise
 Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
 And injury and outrage: And when night 500
 Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
 Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.
 Witness the streets of Sodom, and that night
 In Gibeah, when the hospitable door

Expos'd

XIX. 22. are called likewise *sons of Belial*; which are the particular instances here given by our author.

502. — *flown with insolence and wine.*] I have heard a conjecture of some body proposing to read *blown* instead of *flown*, blown with insolence and wine; as there is in Virgil *inflatus Iaccho*, Ecl. VI. 15.

Inflatum hesternò venas, ut semper, Iaccho.

But *flown* I conceive is a participle from the verb *fly*, and the meaning is that they were raised and heightened with insolence and wine, insolence and wine made them *fly out* into these extravagances. Or as others think, it may be a participle from the verb *flow*, as *overflowed* is sometimes used for *overflow'd*. And the meaning is the same as *flush'd* with insolence and wine. An expression very common from the verb *fluo*. In the same sense we use *flush'd* with success, as Mr. Thyer observes.

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504. — *when the hospitable door Expos'd a matron to avoid worse rape.*] So Milton caus'd it to be printed in the second edition; the first ran thus,

—when hospitable doors
 Yielded their matrons to prevent
 worse rape.

And Milton did well in altering the passage: for it was not true of Sodom, that any *matron* was yielded there; the women *had not known man*, Gen. XIX. 8. and as they were only offer'd not accepted, it is not proper to say that they were *yielded*. But observe that Milton in the second edition changed *yielded* into *expos'd*, because in what was done at Gibeah, Judg. XIX. 25. the Levite's wife was not only *yielded*, but put out of doors and *expos'd* to the mens lewdness. Why then does Dr. Bentley prefer Milton's first reading to his second, when he alter'd the passage to make it more agreeable to the Scriptural story?

Pearce.

N

506. *These*

Expos'd a matron to avoid worse rape. 505
 These were the prime in order and in might;
 The rest were long to tell, though far renown'd,
 Th' Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue held
 Gods, yet confess'd later than Heav'n and Earth,
 Their boasted parents: Titan Heav'n's first-born, 510
 With his enormous brood, and birthright seisd
 By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove
 His own and Rhea's son like measure found;
 So Jove usurping reign'd: these first in Crete
 And Ida known, thence on the snowy top 515

Of

506. *These were the prime*] It is observed by Macrobius and others, in commendation of Homer's catalogue of ships and warriors, that he hath therein mention'd every body who doth, and no body who doth not afterwards make his appearance in the poem: whereas it is otherwise in Virgil; some have a place in the list, who are never heard of in the battels, and others make a figure in the battels, who are not taken notice of in the list. Neither hath Milton in this respect attain'd Homer's excellence and beauty; but then it should be consider'd what was his intent and purpose in this catalogue. It was not possible for him to exhibit as complete a catalogue of the fallen Angels, as Homer hath given us of the Grecian and Trojan com-

manders; and as it was not possible or indeed proper, so neither was it at all his intention. He propos'd only to mention the chief, and such who were known in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, and had encroach'd upon the worship of the God of Israel: and what he propos'd he hath executed with wonderful learning and judgment. He hath enlarg'd very much upon each of these idols, as he drew most of his materials from Scripture: *The rest were long to tell*, the rest he slightly passes over, as our knowledge of them is deriv'd only from fabulous antiquity.

508. *Th' Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue held*

Gods, &c.] *Javan*, the fourth son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah,

Of cold Olympus rul'd the middle air,
 Their highest Heav'n; or on the Delphian cliff,
 Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
 Of Doric land; or who with Saturn old
 Fled over Adria to th' Hesperian fields, 520
 And o'er the Celtic roam'd the utmost iles.

All these and more came flocking; but with looks
 Down cast and damp, yet such wherein appear'd
 Obscure some glimpse of joy, to' have found their chief
 Not in despair, to' have found themselves not lost 525
 In loss itself; which on his count'nance cast

Like

Noah, is supposed to have settled in the south-west part of Asia Minor, about *Ionis*, which contains the radical letters of his name. His descendents were the *Ionians* and *Grecians*; and the principal of their Gods were Heaven and Earth; *Titan* was their eldest son, he was father of the giants, and his empire was seized by his younger brother *Saturn*, as *Saturn's* was by *Jupiter* son of *Saturn* and *Rhea*. These first were known in the island *Crete*, now *Candia*, in which is mount *Ida*, where *Jupiter* is said to have been born; thence passed over into *Greece*, and resided on mount *Olympus* in *Thessaly*; the snowy top of cold *Olympus*, as *Homer* calls it, *Ολυμπόν αἰαννιφόν*, *Iliad*. I. 420. and XVIII. 615. *Οὐλύμπου νιφότερος*. which mountain af-

terwards became the name of Heaven among their worshippers; or on the *Delphian cliff*, *Parnassus*, whereon was seated the city *Delphi* famous for the temple and oracle of *Apollo*; or in *Dodona*, a city and wood adjoining sacred to *Jupiter*; and through all the bounds of *Doric land*, that is of *Greece*, *Doris* being a part of *Greece*; or fled over *Adria*, the *Adriatic*, to th' *Hesperian fields*, to *Italy*; and o'er the *Celtic*, *France* and the other countries overrun by the *Celtes*, roam'd the utmost iles, *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, the *Orkneys*, *Thule* or *Iceland*, *Ultima Thule*, as it is call'd, the utmost boundary of the world. Such explications are needless to those who are conversant with the classic authors; they are written for those who are not.

Like doubtful hue: but he his wonted pride
 Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
 Semblance of worth not substance, gently rais'd
 Their fainting courage, and dispell'd their fears. 530
 Then strait commands that at the warlike sound
 Of trumpets loud and clarions be uprear'd
 His mighty standard: that proud honor clam'd
 Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall;
 Who forthwith from the glittering staff unfurl'd 535
 Th' imperial ensign, which full high advanc'd
 Shone

529. *Semblance of worth not substance,*] An expression of Spenser's Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 9. St. 2.

Full lively is the *semblant*, though the *substance* dead. *Tkyer.*

530. *Their fainting courage,*] In the first edition he gave it *Their fainted courage*, if that be not an error of the press.

532. *Of trumpets loud and clarions*] A clarion is a small shrill treble trumpet, a *claro quem edit sono.*

Hume.

So Fairfax mentions and distinguishes them; Cant. I. St. 71.

When trumpets loud and clarions shrill were heard.

533. — *that proud honor clam'd Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall;*] *Azazel* is not the *scape-goat*, as it is commonly call'd, but signifies some

Demon, as the learned Dr. Spencer hath abundantly proved in his dissertation *De birco emissario*. He shows that this name is used for some Demon or Devil by several ancient authors Jewish and Christian, and derives it from two Hebrew words, *Az* and *Azel* signifying *brave in retreating*, a proper appellation for the standard-bearer to the fall'n Angels. We see Milton gives *Azazel* a right to be standard-bearer on account of his stature; he had no notion of a dapper ensign who can hardly carry his colors.

535. *Who forthwith &c.*] There are several other strokes in the first book wonderfully poetical, and instances of that sublime genius so peculiar to the author. Such is the description of *Azazel's* stature, and of the infernal standard which he unfurls;

Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind,
 With gems and golden lustre rich imblaz'd,
 Seraphic arms and trophies; all the while
 Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds: 540
 At which the universal host up sent
 A shout, that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
 Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.
 All in a moment through the gloom were seen
 Ten thousand banners rise into the air 545
 With orient colors waving: with them rose

A

unfurls; as also of that ghastly light, by which the fiends appear to one another in their place of torments: the shout of the whole host of fallen Angels when drawn up in battel array: the review which the leader makes of his infernal army: the flash of light which appear'd upon the drawing of their swords: the sudden production of the Pandemonium: and the artificial illuminations made in it. *Addison.*

543. *Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.*] *Reign* is used like the Latin *regnum* for kingdom: and so in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 21.

That strait did lead to Pluto's grisly reign.

545. *Ten thousand banners rise into the air*

With orient colors waving: with them rose

A forest huge of spears;] So Tasso describing the Christian and Pagan Armies preparing to engage, Cant. 20. St. 28.

Sparse al vento on deggiando ir le bandiere,

E ventolar su i gran cimier le penne:

Habiti, fregi, imprese, arme, e colori,

D'oro, e di ferro al sol, lampi, e fulgori.

29.

Sembra d'alberi densi alta foresta
 L'un campo, e l'altro, di tant' haste abonda.

28.

Loose in the wind waved their ensigns light,

Trembled the plumes that on their crests were set;

N 3

Their

A forest huge of spears; and thronging helms
 Appear'd, and ferried shields in thick array
 Of depth immeasurable: anon they move
 In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood 550
 Of flutes and soft recorders; such as rais'd
 To highth of noblest temper heroes old
 Arming to battel, and instead of rage
 Deliberate valor breath'd, firm and unmov'd
 With dread of death to flight or foul retreat; 555
 Nor wanting pow'r to mitigate and swage
 With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and chase
 Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow' and pain
 From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they
 Breathing united force with fixed thought 560
 Mov'd

Their arms, impresses, colors, gold
 and stone,
 'Gainst the sun beams smil'd, flam'd,
 sparkled, shone.

29.

Of dry topt oaks they seem'd two
 forests thick;
 So did each host with spears and
 pikes abound. Fairfax.

Thyer.

548. — *ferried shields*] Lock'd
 one within another, link'd and
 clasp'd together, from the French
ferver, to lock, to shut close.

Hume.

550. — *to the Dorian mood &c.*] All accounts of the music of the Ancients are very uncertain and confus'd. There seem to have been three principal modes, or measures among them, the *Lydian*, the *Phrygian*, and the *Dorian*. The *Lydian* was the most doleful, the *Phrygian* the most sprightly, and the *Dorian* the most grave and majestic. And Milton in another part of his works uses *grave* and *Doric* almost as synonymous terms. "If we think
 "to regulate printing, thereby to
 "rectify manners, we must regu-
 "late all recreations and pastimes,
 "all

Mov'd on in silence to soft pipes, that charm'd
 Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil; and now
 Advanc'd in view they stand, a horrid front
 Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise
 Of warriors old with order'd spear and shield; 565
 Awaiting what command their mighty chief
 Had to impose: He through the armed files
 Darts his experienc'd eye, and soon traverse
 The whole battalion views, their order due,
 Their visages and stature as of Gods, 570
 Their number last he sums. And now his heart
 Distends with pride, and hard'ning in his strength
 Glories: for never since created man,
 Met such imbodied force, as nam'd with these
 Could

"all that is delightful to man.
 "No music must be heard, no song
 "be set or sung, but what is *grave*
 "*and Doric.*" (See his Speech for
 the liberty of unlicenc'd Printing.
 Vol. I. p. 149. Edit. 1738.) This
 therefore was the measure best
 adapted to the fall'n Angels at this
 juncture; and their instruments were
flutes and pipes and soft recorders, for
 the same reason that Thucydides
 and other ancient historians assign
 for the Lacedemonians making use
 of these instruments, because they
 inspir'd them with a more cool and
 deliberate courage, whereas trum-

pets and other martial music in-
 cited and inflam'd them more to
 rage. See Aulus Gellius, Lib. I.
 cap. 11. and Thucyd. L. 5.

560. *Breathing united force with
fixed thought*

Mov'd on in silence] Thus Homer
 makes the Grecians march on in
 silence breathing force, Iliad. III. 8.

Οἱ δ' ἀρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μῦρα πνεύον-
 τες Ἀχαιοί,
 Ἐν θυμῷ κ. τ. λ.

567. — *He through the armed files
Darts his experienc'd eye, —*] Not
 N 4. unlike

Could merit more than that small infantry 575
 Warr'd on by cranes; though all the giant brood
 Of Phlegra with th' heroic race were join'd
 That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side
 Mix'd with auxiliar Gods; and what resounds
 In fable or romance of Uther's son 580
 Birgirt with British and Armoric knights;
 And all who since, baptiz'd or infidel,
 Jousted in Aspramont or Montalban,
 Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebifond,
 Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore, 585
 When

unlike that in Shakespear, Anth.
 & Cleop. Act I.

— those his goodly eyes
 That o'er the files and musters of
 the war
 Have glow'd like plated Mars.

575. — *that small infantry*
Warr'd on by cranes;] All the he-
 roes and armies that ever were af-
 sembled were no more than pyg-
 mies in comparison with these An-
 gels; *though all the giant brood of*
Phlegra, a city of Macedonia,
 where the giants fought with the
 Gods, *with th' heroic race were*
join'd that fought at Thebes, a city
 in Bœotia, famous for the war be-
 tween the sons of Œdipus, cele-
 brated by Statius in his Thebaid,
and Ilium made still more famous
 by Homer's Iliad, where *on each*

side the heroes were assisted by the
 Gods, therefore call'd *auxiliar Gods*;
and what resounds even in fable or
romance of Uther's son, king Arthur,
 son of Uther Pendragon, whose
 exploits are romantically extoll'd by
 Geoffry of Monmouth, *begirt with*
British and Armoric knights, for he
 was often in alliance with the king
 of Armorica, since called Bretagne,
 of the Britons who settled there;
and all who since jousted in Aspra-
mont or Montalban, romantic names
 of places mention'd in Orlando Fu-
 rioso, the latter perhaps Montau-
 ban in France, *Damasco or Marocco*,
 Damascus or Morocco, but he calls
 them as they are call'd in romances,
 or *Trebifond*, a city of Cappadocia
 in the lesser Asia, all these places
 are famous in romances, for joust-
 ings between the *baptiz'd and infi-*
del;

When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
 By Fontarabbia. Thus far these beyond
 Compare of mortal prowess, yet observ'd
 Their dread commander: he above the rest
 In shape and gesture proudly eminent 590
 Stood like a tow'r; his form had yet not lost
 All her original brightness, nor appear'd
 Less than Arch-Angel ruin'd, and th' excess
 Of glory' obscur'd; as when the sun new risen
 Looks through the horizontal misty air 595
 Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon

In

dels; or whom Biserta, formerly call'd Utica, sent from Afric shore, that is the Saracens who pass'd from Biserta in Africa to Spain, when Charlemain with all his peerage fell by Fontarabbia, Charlemain king of France and emperor of Germany about the year 800 undertook a war against the Saracens in Spain, and Mariana and the Spanish historians are Milton's authors for saying that he and his army were routed in this manner at Fontarabbia (which is a strong town in Biscay at the very entrance into Spain, and esteem'd the key of the kingdom): but Mezeray and the French writers give a quite different and more probable account of him, that he was at last victorious over his enemies and died in peace. And tho' we

cannot agree with Dr. Bentley in rejecting some of these lines as spurious, yet it is much to be wish'd that our poet had not so far indulged his taste for romances, of which he professes himself to have been fond in his younger years, and had not been ostentatious of such reading, as perhaps had better never have been read.

589. — *he above the rest &c.*] What a noble description is here of Satan's person! and how different from the common and ridiculous representations of him, with horns and a tail and cloven feet! and yet Tasso hath so describ'd him, Cant. IV. The greatest masters in painting had not such sublime ideas as Milton, and among all their Devils have drawn no portrait comparable to this; as every body

In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
 On half the nations, and with fear of change
 Perplexes monarchs. Darken'd so, yet shone
 Above them all th' Arch-Angel: but his face 600
 Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd, and care
 Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
 Of dauntless courage, and confiderate pride
 Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast
 Signs of remorse and passion to behold 605
 The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
 (Far other once beheld in bliss) condemn'd
 For ever now to have their lot in pain,

Millions

body must allow who hath seen the pictures or the prints of Michael and the Devil by Raphael, and of the same by Guido, and of the last judgment by Michael Angelo.

598. — *and with fear of change Perplexes monarchs.*] It is said that this noble poem was in danger of being suppress'd by the Licencer on account of this simile, as if it contain'd some latent treason in it: but it is saying little more than poets have said under the most absolute monarchies; as Virgil Georg. I. 464.

—Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
 Sæpe monet, fraudemque, et opera-
 ta tumescere bella.

600. — *his face Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd,*] Had cut into, had made trenches there, of the French *trencher* to cut. Shakespear uses the same word speaking of a scar, *It was this very sword intrench'd it.* All's well that ends well, Act II.

609. — *amerc'd*] This word is not used here in its proper law-sense, of mulct'd, fin'd, &c. but as Mr. Hume rightly observes has a strange affinity with the Greek *αμερδω*, to deprive, to take away, as Homer has used it much to our purpose.

Οφθαλμων μεν αμερσε, διδ'ε
 δ' ηδ' εαν αοιδην.

The Muse amerc'd him of his eyes,
 but

Millions of Spirits for his fault amerc'd
 Of Heav'n, and from eternal splendors flung 610
 For his revolt, yet faithful how they stood,
 Their glory wither'd: as when Heaven's fire
 Hath scath'd the forest oaks, or mountain pines,
 With singed top their stately growth though bare
 Stands on the blasted heath. He now prepar'd 615
 To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
 From wing to wing, and half inclose him round
 With all his peers: attention held them mute.
 Thrice he assay'd, and thrice in spite of scorn
 Tears, such as Angels weep, burst forth: at last 620

Words

but gave him the faculty of singeing sweetly. Odyss. VIII. 64. And I very well remember to have read the word used in the same sense somewhere in Spenser, but cannot at present turn to the place.

611.—*yet faithful how they stood,*] To see the true construction of this we must go back to ver. 605 for the verb. The sense then is this, to behold the fellows of his crime, condemned &c, yet how they stood faithful. Richardson.

612. — *as when Heaven's fire Had scath'd &c.*] Hath hurt, hath damag'd; a word frequently used in Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespear, and our old writers. This is a very beautiful and close simile; it represents the majestic stature, and

wither'd glory of the Angels; and the last with great propriety, since their lustre was impair'd by thunder, as well as that of the trees in the simile: and besides, the blasted heath gives us some idea of that singed burning soil, on which the Angels were standing. Homer and Virgil frequently use comparisons from trees, to express the stature or falling of a hero, but none of them are apply'd with such variety and propriety of circumstances, as this of Milton. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 24.

619. *Thrice he assay'd, and thrice—Tears burst forth*] He had Ovid in his thought, Metam. XI. 419.

Ter

Words interwove with sighs found out their way.

O Myriads of immortal Spi'rits, O Powers
Matchless, but with th' Almighty, and that strife
Was not inglorious, though th' event was dire,
As this place testifies, and this dire change 625
Hateful to utter: but what pow'r of mind
Foreseeing or presaging, from the depth
Of knowledge past or present, could have fear'd,
How such united force of Gods, how such
As stood like these, could ever know repulse? 630
For who can yet believe, though after loss,
That all these puissant legions, whose exíle
Hath emptied Heav'n, shall fail to re-ascend
Self-rais'd, and repossess their native seat?
For me be witness all the host of Heaven, 635
If

Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora
rigavit. Bentley.

Tears such as Angels weep, Like Homer's Ichor of the Gods which was different from the blood of mortals. This weeping of Satan on surveying his numerous host, and the thoughts of their wretched state, puts one in mind of the story of Xerxes weeping on seeing his vast army, and reflecting that they were mortal, at the time that he was hast'ning them to their fate,

and to the intended destruction of the greatest people in the world, to gratify his own vain glory.

623. — and that strife
Was not inglorious,] Ovid. Met.
IX. 6.

— nec tam
Turpe fuit vinci, quam contem-
disse decorum est.

633. *Hath emptied Heav'n,*] It is conceiv'd that a third part of the Angels fell with Satan, according to Rev. XII. 4. *And his tail drew*
the

If counsels different, or danger shunn'd
 By me, have lost our hopes. But he who reigns
 Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one secure
 Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
 Consent or custom, and his regal state 640
 Put forth at full, but still his strength conceal'd,
 Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.
 Henceforth his might we know, and know our own,
 So as not either to provoke, or dread
 New war, provok'd; our better part remains 645
 To work in close design, by fraud or guile,
 What force effected not: that he no less
 At length from us may find, who overcomes
 By force, hath overcome but half his foe.
 Space may produce new worlds; whereof so rife 650

There

the third part of the stars of Heaven, and cast them to the earth; and this opinion Milton hath express'd in several places, II. 692. V. 710. VI. 156: but Satan here talks big and magnifies their number, as if their exile had emptied Heaven.

642. *Which tempted our attempt,*] Words tho' well chosen and significative enough, yet of jingling and unpleasant sound, and like marriages between persons too near of kin, to be avoided. *Hume.* This kind of jingle was undoubted-

ly thought an elegance by Milton; and many instances of it may be shown not only in his works, but I believe in all the best poets both ancient and modern, tho' the latter I am afraid have been sometimes too liberal of them.

647. — *that he no less &c.*] Satan had own'd just before, ver. 642. that they had been deceiv'd by God's concealing his strength; He now says, He also shall find himself mistaken in his turn; He shall find our cunning such as that tho'

There went a fame in Heav'n that he ere long
 Intended to create, and therein plant
 A generation, whom his choice regard
 Should favor equal to the sons of Heaven:
 Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps 655
 Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere:
 For this infernal pit shall never hold
 Celestial Spi'rits in bondage, nor th' abyss
 Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts
 Full counsel must mature: Peace is despair'd, 660
 For who can think submission? War then, War
 Open or understood must be resolv'd.

He

tho' we have been overpower'd,
 we are not more than half subdued.

Richardson.

662. *understood*] Not express'd,
 not openly declar'd, and yet im-
 ply'd: as when we say that a sub-
 stantive or verb is *understood* in a
 sentence. Pearce.

664. — *drawn from the thighs*] It
 may be observed here that Milton,
 to keep up the dignity of language,
 has purposely avoided the trite
 phrase *drawn from the sides*, and
 adopted the Greek way of expres-
 sing it. Thus Homer, Iliad. I. 190.

Ἡ δὲ γὰρ πασγανὸν ὄξυ ἐρυσσάμενος
 παρὰ μῆκος. Thyer.

667. — *with grasped arms*] The
 known custom of the Roman sol-

diers, when they applauded a speech
 of their general, was to smite their
 shields with their swords. Bentley.
 And the epithet *grasped*, join'd to
arms, determines the expression to
 mean *swords* only, which were spo-
 ken of a little before, ver. 664.

Pearce.

669. *Hurling defiance tow'ard the
 vault of Heaven.*] Dr. Bent-
 ley reads *the walls of Heaven*, Hea-
 ven the habitation of God and
 Angels being never described as
vaulted; and Dr. Pearce approves
 the emendation; and without doubt
 the *wall* or *walls* of Heaven is a
 common expression with our au-
 thor. But may we not by *the vault
 of Heaven* understand *cæli convexa*,
 our visible Heaven, which is often
 described as vaulted, the sphere of
 the

He spake: and to confirm his words, out-flew
 Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
 Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze 665
 Far round illumin'd Hell: highly they rag'd
 Against the High'est, and fierce with grasped arms
 Clash'd on their sounding shields the din of war,
 Hurling defiance tow'ard the vault of Heaven.

There stood a hill not far, whose grisly top 670
 Belch'd fire and rolling smoke; the rest entire
 Shone with a glossy scurf, undoubted sign
 That in his womb was hid metallic ore,
 The work of sulphur. Thither wing'd with speed

A

the fixed stars above which God and Angels inhabit? Hurling defiance toward the *visible* Heaven is in effect hurling defiance toward the *invisible* Heaven, the seat of God and Angels.

671. *Belch'd*] So Virgil, *Æn.* III. 576. says *eructans* of *Ætna*, from which, or from mount Vesuvius, or the like, our poet took the idea of this mountain.

673. *That in his womb*] A very great man was observing one day a little inaccuracy of expression in the poet's making this mountain a person and a male person, and at the same time attributing a *womb* to it: And perhaps it would have been better if he had written *its womb*; but *womb* is used in as large a sense as the Latin *uterus*, which

Virgil applies to a stag, *Æn.* VII. 490.

Ille manum patiens, mensæque affuetus herili,

but afterwards Ascanius wounds him, ver. 499.

Perque uterum sonitu, perque ilia venit arundo.

Virgil makes use of the same word again in speaking of a wolf, *Æn.* XI. 809.

Ac velut ille —

Occiso pastore lupus —

— caudamque remulcens

Subjecit pavitantem utero, sylvasque petivit.

674. *The work of sulphur.*] For metals are supposed to consist of two

A numerous brigad hasten'd: as when bands 675
 Of pioneers with spade and pickax arm'd
 Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,
 Or cast a rampart. Mammon led them on,
 Mammon, the least erected Spi'rit that fell
 From Heav'n, for e'en in Heav'n his looks and thoughts
 Were always downward bent, admiring more 681
 The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodden gold,
 Than ought divine or holy else enjoy'd
 In vision beatific: by him first
 Men also, and by his suggestion taught, 685
 Ranack'd

two essential parts or principles; mercury, as the basis or metallic matter; and sulphur as the binder or cement, which fixes the fluid mercury into a coherent malleable mass. See Chambers's Dict. of Sulphur. And so Johnson in the Alchemist, Act 2. Sc. 3.

It turns to sulphur, or to quick-silver,
 Who are the parents of all other metals.

678. *Mammon*] This name is Syriac, and signifies riches. *Ye cannot serve God and Mammon*, says our Saviour, Mat. VI. 24. and bids us *make to ourselves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness*, Luke XVI. 9. and ver. 11. *If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous Mammon, who will commit to your trust the*

true? Some look upon *Mammon* as the God of riches, and *Mammon* is accordingly made a person by our poet, and was so by Spenser before him, whose description of *Mammon* and his cave our poet seems to have had his eye upon in several places.

682. *The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodden gold,*] So Homer speaks of the pavement of Heaven, as if it was of gold, χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ, Iliad. IV. 2. And so the heavenly Jerusalem is described by St. John, Rev. XXI. 21. *and the street of the city is pure gold.*

684. — *by him first Men also, and by his suggestion taught,*] Dr. Bentley says, the poet assigns as two causes *him* and *his suggestion*, which are one and

Ranſack'd the center, and with impious hands
 Rifled the bowels of their mother earth
 For treaſures better hid. Soon had his crew
 Open'd into the hill a ſpacious wound,
 And digg'd out ribs of gold. Let none admire 690
 That riches grow in Hell; that ſoil may beſt
 Deſerve the precious bane. And here let thoſe
 Who boaſt in mortal things, and wond'ring tell
 Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,
 Learn how their greateſt monuments of fame, 695
 And ſtrength and art are eaſily out-done

By

and the ſame thing. This obſervation has the appearance of accuracy. But Milton is exact, and alludes in a beautiful manner to a ſuperſtitious opinion, generally believed amongſt the miners: That there are a ſort of Devils which conſerve much in minerals, where they are frequently ſeen to buſy and employ themſelves in all the operations of the workmen; they will dig, cleanſe, melt, and ſeparate the metals. See G. Agricola de Animantibus ſubterraneis. So that Milton poetically ſuppoſes Mammon and his clan to have taught the ſons of earth by example and practical inſtruction, as well as precept and mental ſuggeſtion.

Warburton.

687. *Rifled the bowels of their mother earth]*

Vol. I.

—Itum eſt in viſcera terræ,
 Quasque recondiderat, Stygiisque
 admoverat umbris,
 Effodiuntur opes.

Ov. Met. I. 138, &c.
 Hume.

688. *For treaſures better hid.]*
 Hor. Od. III. III. 49.

Aurum irreperitum, et ſic melius
 ſitum.

694. —*and the works of Mem-
 phian kings,]* He ſeems to
 allude particularly to the famous
 Pyramids of Egypt, which were
 near Memphis.

Barbara Pyramidum fileat miracu-
 la Memphis. Mart.

695. *Learn how their greateſt mo-
 numents of fame,
 And ſtrength and art &c.]* This
 O paſſage

By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour
 What in an age they with incessant toil
 And hands innumerable scarce perform.
 Nigh on the plain in many cells prepar'd, 700
 That underneath had veins of liquid fire
 Sluc'd from the lake, a second multitude
 With wondrous art founded the massy ore,
 Severing each kind, and scumm'd the bullion dross:
 A third as soon had form'd within the ground 705
 A

passage has been misunderstood by Dr. Bentley and others. *Strength and art* are not to be construed in the genitive case with *fame*, but in the nominative with *monuments*. And then the meaning is plainly thus, *Learn how their greatest monuments of fame, and how their strength and art are easily outdone &c.*

699. *And hands innumerable*] There were 360000 men employ'd for near twenty years upon one of the Pyramids, according to Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 1. and Pliny Lib. 36. cap. 12.

702. — *a second multitude* *With wondrous art founded the massy ore,*] The first band dug the metal out of the mountain, a second multitude on the plain hard by founded or melted it; for *founded* it should be read as in the first edition, and not *found out* as it is in the subsequent ones; *founded* from *fundere*, to melt, to cast metal.

704. — *and scumm'd the bullion dross:*] Dr. Bentley says that *bullion dross* is a strange blunder to pass thro' all editions: He supposes that the author gave it, *and scumm'd from bullion dross*. But I believe that the common reading may be defended. The word *bullion* does not signify *purify'd ore*, as the Doctor says; but ore boiled or boiling; and when the dross is taken off, then it is *purify'd ore*. Agreeably to this Milton in his tract called *Of the Reformation of England*, says — *to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the drossy bullion of the people's sins*. And Milton makes *bullion* an adjective here, tho' commonly it is a substantive; just as in V. 140. we have *ocean brim*, and in III. 284. *virgin seed*. And so *bullion dross* may signify *the dross that came from the metal*, as Spenser expresses it, or the dross that swam on the surface of the boiling ore. The sense of the passage is this; *They founded or*

A various mold, and from the boiling cells
 By strange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook,
 As in an organ from one blast of wind
 To many a row of pipes the found-board breathes.

Anon out of the earth a fabric huge

710

Rose like an exhalation, with the found
 Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet,
 Built like a temple, where pilasters round
 Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid

With

or melted the *ore* that was in the *mass*, by separating or *severing* each kind, that is, the sulphur, earth, &c. from the metal; and after that, they *scumm'd* the *drofs* that floated on the top of the boiling ore.

Pearce.

Bullion drofs, as one would say gold-drofs or silver-drofs, the drofs which arose from the melted metal in refining it. Richardson.

708. *As in an organ &c.*] This simile is as exact, as it is new. And we may observe, that our author frequently fetches his images from music more than any other English poet, as he was very fond of it, and was himself a performer upon the organ and other instruments.

[711. *Rose like an exhalation,*] The sudden rising of Pandemonium is supposed, and with great probability, to be a hint taken from some of the moving scenes and machines invented for the stage by the famous Inigo Jones.

712. *Of dulcet symphonies*] This word is used likewise by Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II.

Uttering such *dulcet* and harmonious breath.

713. — *where pilasters round &c.*] One of the greatest faults of Milton is his affectation of showing his learning and knowledge upon every occasion. He could not so much as describe this structure without bringing in I know not how many terms of architecture, which it will be proper for the sake of many readers to explain. *Pilasters round*, pillars jutting out of the wall, *were set, and Doric pillars*, pillars of the Doric order; as their music was to the Dorian mood, ver. 550, so their architecture was of the Doric order; *overlaid with golden architrave*, that part of a column above the capital; *nor did there want cornice*, the uppermost member of the

With golden architrave; nor did there want 715
 Cornice or freeze, with bossy sculptures graven;
 The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon,
 Nor great Alcairo such magnificence
 Equal'd in all their glories, to inshrine
 Belus or Serapis their Gods, or seat 720
 Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove
 In wealth and luxury. Th' ascending pile
 Stood fix'd her stately highth, and strait the doors

Opening

intablature of the column, or freeze, that part of the intablature of columns between the architrave and cornice, so denominated of the Latin *phrygio* an imbroiderer, because it is commonly adorn'd with sculptures in basso relievo, imitating imbroidery, and therefore the poet adds, *with bossy sculptures graven; the roof was fretted gold*, fret-work is fillets interwoven at parallel distances. This kind of work has usually flowers in the spaces, and must glitter much especially by lamp-light, as Mr. Richardson observes.

717. *Not Babylon, &c.*] It must be confess'd there is some weight in Dr. Bentley's objection, that in this same narration the author had challeng'd Babylon and Memphis, ver. 694. Babylon the capital of Assyria, and Memphis of old Egypt; and now as quite forgetful he reiterates it, *Babylon and Alcairo*:

and this latter the worse; because Alcairo is the modern name of Memphis, and not so fit to join with *Belus or Serapis*. But tho' these lines may possibly be faulty, yet that is not authority sufficient for an editor to reject them as spurious.

720. *Belus or Serapis*] *Belus* the son of Nimrod, second king of Babylon, and the first man worshipped for a God, by the Chaldeans stiled Bel, by the Phœnicians Baal. *Serapis* the same with Apis the God of the Egyptians. *Hume.*

Dr. Bentley objects, that *Serapis* has the accent upon the first syllable, whereas he quotes authorities to show that it should have it upon the second, as Martial,

Vincebat nec quæ turba Serápin amat,

and another from Callimachus. But there

Opening their brazen folds discover wide
 Within, her ample spaces, o'er the smooth 725
 And level pavement: from the arched roof
 Pendent by subtle magic many a row
 Of starry lamps and blazing cressets fed
 With Naphtha and Asphaltus yielded light
 As from a sky. The hasty multitude 730
 Admiring enter'd, and the work some praise
 And some the architect: his hand was known

In

there are other authorities, which may serve to justify Milton; for we read in Martianus Capella, *Te Seräpin Nilus* &c. and in Prudentius *Isis enim et Seräpis* &c. Pearce.

725. *Within,*] An adverb here and not a præposition: and therefore Milton puts a comma after it, that it may not be join'd in construction with *her ample spaces*. So Virgil *Æn.* II. 483.

Apparet domus intus, et atria longa patefcunt.

725.—*her ample spaces,*] A beautiful Latinism this. So Seneca describing Hercules's descent into Hell. *Herc. Fur.* III. 673.

Hinc ampla vacuis spatia laxantur locis. Thyer.

726.—*from the arched roof, &c.*] How much superior is this to that in Virgil *Æn.* I. 726.

— dependent *lychni laquearibus aureis*
Incensi, et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.

From gilded roofs depending lamps display
 Nocturnal beams, that emulate the day. Dryden.

728. — *and blazing cressets fed With Naphtha and Asphaltus*] A *cresset* is any great blazing light, as a beacon. *Naphtha* is of so unctuous and fiery a nature, that it kindles at approaching the fire, or the sunbeams. *Asphaltus* or bitumen, another pitchy substance. Richardson. And the word *cresset* I find used likewise in Shakespear, 1 Hen. IV. Act III. Glendower speaks,

— at my nativity
 The front of Heav'n was full of fiery shapes,
 Of burning cressets.

In Heav'n by many a towred structure high,
 Where scepter'd Angels held their residence,
 And sat as princes, whom the supreme King 735
 Exalted to such pow'r, and gave to rule,
 Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.
 Nor was his name unheard or unador'd
 In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land
 Men call'd him Mulciber; and how he fell 740

From

738. *Nor was his name unheard &c.*]
 Dr. Bentley says, "This is care-
 lessly express'd. Why does he not
 tell his name in Greece, as well
 as his Latin name? and *Mulciber*
 was not so common a name as
Vulcan." I think it is very ex-
 actly express'd. Milton is here
 speaking of a Devil exercising the
 founder's art: and says he was not
 unknown in Greece and Italy. The
 poet has his choice of three names
 to tell us what they called him in
 the classic world, *Hephestos*, *Vulcan*,
 and *Mulciber*, the last only of which
 designing the office of a founder, he
 has very judiciously chosen that.

Warburton.

740. — and how he fell
From Heav'n, &c.] Alluding to
 these lines in Homer's *Iliad*. I. 590.

Ἦδ' ἢ γὰρ με καὶ ἄλλοι' ἀλέξεμε-
 ναι μεμῶτα,

ῥίψε, ποδὶ τ' ἐταγών, ἀποβί-
 λε δ' ἐπεσιόιο.

Πάν δ' ἡμὰρ φερόμεν, ἅμα δ' ἡε-
 λῖος καταδύει
 Καππέσον ἐν Ἀημεν' ὀλίγῳ δ' ἐ-
 τί θυμὸς ἐννέει
 Ἐνθα μὲ Σινθίης ἀνδρες ἀφάρ κο-
 μισάντο πρὸς ὄψα.

Once in your cause I felt his match-
 less might,
 Hurl'd headlong downward, from
 th' ethereal height,
 Toft all the day in rapid circles
 round;
 Nor till the sun descended, touch'd
 the ground:
 Breathless I fell, in giddy motion
 lost;

The Sinthians rais'd me on the
 Lemnian coast. Pope.

It is worth observing how Milton
 lengthens out the time of *Vulcan*'s
 fall. He not only says with Ho-
 mer, that it was all day long, but
 we are led through the parts of the
 day,

From Heav'n, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
 Sheer o'er the crystal battlements; from morn
 To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
 A summer's day; and with the setting sun
 Dropt from the zenith like a falling star, 745
 On Lemnos th' Æ'gean ile: thus they relate,
 Erring; for he with this rebellious rout
 Fell long before; nor ought avail'd him now

T'have

day, *from morn to noon, from noon to evening, and this a summer's day.* There is a similar passage in the *Odyssey*, where Ulysses describes his sleeping twenty four hours together, and to make the time seem the longer, divides it into several parts, and points them out distinctly to us, *Odysf. VII. 288.*

Εὐδὸν παννυχίῳ, καὶ ἐπ' ἡν,
 καὶ μεσσηνίῳ,
 Δυσέτο τ' ἡελίῳ, καὶ με γλυ-
 κὺς ὕπνῳ ἀνῆκεν.

746. *On Lemnos: th' Ægean ile:]* Dr. Bentley reads, *On Lemnos thence his ile*, and calls it a scandalous fault, to write *Æ'gean* with a wrong accent for *Ægean*. But Milton in the same manner pronounces *Thyē-jean* for *Thyestēan* in X. 688. and in *Paradise Regain'd*, IV. 238, we read in the first edition, which Dr. Bentley pronounces to be without faults,

Where on the Æ'gean shore a city stands.

And Fairfax led the way to this manner of pronouncing the word, or rather to this poetical liberty; for in his translation of Tasso, C. 1. St. 60. he says

O'er Æ'gean seas thro' many a Greekish hold;

and in C. 12. St. 63.

As Ægean seas &c. *Pearce.*

748. — nor ought avail'd him now &c.] *Hom. Iliad. V. 53.*

Ἄλλ' οἱ τότε γὰρ χεῖραμ' ἀρ-
 τεμῖς ἰσχεύεσθαι,
 οὐδ' ἐκὼς ἔλκεσθαι.

Virg. Æn. XI. 843.

Nec tibi desertæ in dumis coluisse
 Dianam
 Profuit.

O 4

750. B

T'have built in Heav'n high tow'rs; nor did he 'scape
 By all his engins, but was headlong sent 750
 With his industrious crew to build in Hell.

Mean while the winged heralds by command
 Of sovran pow'r, with awful ceremony
 And trumpet's found, throughout the host proclame
 A solemn council forthwith to be held 755
 At Pandemonium, the high capital
 Of Satan and his peers: their summons call'd
 From every band and squared regiment

By

750. *By all his engins,*] An ingenious gentleman observes that this word in the old English was often used for devices, wit, contrivance; so in the glossary to Chaucer, and in the Statute of Mortmain, 7 Edw. I. the words *aut alio quovis modo, arte, vel ingenio,* are English'd in our statute books, or by any other craft or *engin*.

752. *the winged heralds*] He has given them wings not only as Angels, but to express their speed.

Hume.

Herald is spelt like the French *herault*, the Danish *herold*, and the Spanish *heraldo*, but Milton spells it *harald* after the Italian *araldo*.

763. *Though like a cover'd field,*] *Cover'd* here signifies inclos'd; *Champ clos*; the field for combat, the lists. The hall of Pandemonium, one room only is like a field

for martial exercises on horseback. Richardson.

764. — *and at the Soldan's chair* &c.] Milton frequently affects the use of uncommon words, when the common ones would suit the measure of the verse as well, believing I suppose that it added to the dignity of his language. So here he says *the Soldan's chair* instead of the Sultan's chair, and *Panim chivalry* instead of Pagan chivalry; as before he said *Rhene* or *the Danaw*, ver. 353. when he might have said *the Rhine* or *Danube*. Spenser likewise uses the words *Soldan* and *Panim*. See *Fairy Queen*, B. 5. C. 8. St. 26. and other places.

768. *As bees* &c.] An imitation of Homer, who compares the Grecians crouding to a swarm of bees, *Iliad*. II. 87.

HUTS

By place or choice the worthiest; they anon
 With hundreds and with thousands trooping came
 Attended: all access was throng'd, the gates 761
 And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall
 (Though like a cover'd field, where champions bold
 Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldan's chair
 Defy'd the best of Panim chivalry 765
 To mortal combat, or career with lance)
 Thick swarm'd, both on the ground and in the air
 Brush'd with the hiss of rustling wings. As bees

In

Ἡύτε ἐθνεα ἔσι μελισσῶν ἀδι-
 νῶν,

Πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰε γέον ἐρ-
 χομβῶν,

Βοτρυδὸν δὲ πετονῆαι ἐπ' ἀνθεσιν
 μακροσίν,

Ἄι μὲν' ἐνθα ἄλῃς πεποτηταί,
 αἱ δὲ τε ἐνθα.

Milton has very well express'd the
 force of *βοτρυδὸν* by *in clusters*, as
 Pope has done by *clust'ring*, tho' in
 the rest of his translation he has by
 no means equal'd the beauties of
 the original.

As from some rocky clift the shep-
 herd fees.

Clust'ring in heaps on heaps the
 driving bees,

Rolling, and black'ning, swarms
 succeeding swarms,

With deeper murmurs and more
 hoarse alarms;

Dusky they spread, a close im-
 body'd croud,

And o'er the vale descends the
 living cloud.

There are such similes likewise in
 Virgil, *Æn.* I. 430.

*Qualis apes æstate novâ per florea
 rura*

*Exercet sub sole labor; cum gen-
 tis adultos*

Educunt fœtus, &c.

Such is their toil, and such their
 busy pains,

As exercise the bees in flow'ry
 plains;

When winter past, and summer
 scarce begun

Invites them forth to labor in the
 sun:

Some lead their youth abroad, &c.
 Dryden.

And

In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides,
 Pour forth their populous youth about the hive 770
 In clusters; they among fresh dews and flowers
 Fly to and fro, or on the smoothed plank,
 The suburb of their straw-built citadel,

New

And again, Æn. VI. 707.

Ac veluti in pratis, ubi apes æstate
 ferena
 Floribus insidunt variis &c.

But our poet carries the similitude farther than either of his great masters, and mentions the bees *confering their state affairs*, as he is going to give an account of the consultations of the Devils.

769. *In spring time, when the sun
 with Taurus rides,]*

Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum

Taurus. Georg. I. 217. In April.
Eume.

Dr. Bentley reads *in Taurus rides*, and says, Does *Taurus* ride too, a constellation fix'd? Yes, or else Ovid is wrong throughout his whole *Fasti*, where he describes the rising and setting of the signs of the zodiac: See what he says of the rising of *Taurus*, V. 603. and our author in X. 663, speaking of the fix'd stars, says, *Which of them rising with the sun or falling, &c.* Pearce.

770. *Pour forth their populous youth about the hive]*
 Virg. Georg. IV. 21.

— Cum prima novi ducent examina reges

Vere suo, ludetque favis emissâ
 juvenus.

777. *Behold a wonder! &c.*] The passage in the catalogue, explaining the manner how Spirits transform themselves by contractions or enlargement of their dimensions, is introduced with great judgment, to make way for several surprising accidents in the sequel of the poem. There follows one, at the very end of the first book, which is what the French critics call *marvelous*, but at the same time *probable* by reason of the passage last mention'd. As soon as the infernal palace is finish'd, we are told the multitude and rabble of Spirits immediately shrink themselves into a small compass, that there might be room for such a numberless assembly in this capacious hall. But it is the poet's refinement upon this thought which I most admire, and which is indeed very noble in itself. For he tells us, that notwithstanding the vulgar, among the fallen Spirits, contracted their forms, those of the first rank and dignity still preserved their natural dimensions.

Addison.

Monfieur Voltaire is of a different opinion

New rubb'd with balm, expatiate and confer
 Their state affairs. So thick the aery croud 775
 Swarm'd and were straiten'd; till the signal given,
 Behold a wonder! they but now who seem'd
 In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons,

Now

opinion with regard to the contrivance of Pandemonium and the transformation of the Devils into dwarfs; and possibly more may concur with him than with Mr. Addison. I dare affirm, says he, that the contrivance of the Pandemonium would have been entirely disapproved of by critics like Boileau, Racine, &c. That feat built for the parliament of the Devils seems very preposterous; since Satan hath summon'd them altogether, and harangu'd them just before in an ample field. The council was necessary; but where it was to be held, 'twas very indifferent.

— But when afterwards the Devils turn dwarfs to fill their places in the house, as if it was impracticable to build a room large enough to contain them in their natural size; it is an idle story, which would match the most extravagant tales. And to crown all, Satan and the chief Lords preserving their own monstrous forms, while the rabble of the Devils shrink into pygmies, heightens the ridicule of the whole contrivance to an unexpressible degree. Methinks the true criterion for discerning what is really ridiculous in an epic poem, is to examine if the same

thing would not fit exactly the mock-heroic. Then I dare say that nothing is so adapted to that ludicrous way of writing, as the metamorphosis is of the Devils into dwarfs. See his Essay on epic poetry, p. 113, 114. I have been favored with a letter from William Duncombe Esq; justifying Milton against Monsieur Voltaire's objections. As to the contrivance of Pandemonium, he thinks it agreeable to the rules of decency and decorum to provide a saloon for his Satanic majesty and his mighty compeers (the progeny of Heaven) in some measure adapted to the dignity of their characters; and the description is not inferior to any thing in Homer or Virgil of the like kind. We may farther add, that as Satan had his palace in Heaven, it was more likely that he should have one in Hell likewise; and as he had before harangued the fallen Angels in the open field, it was proper for the sake of variety as well as for other reasons that the council should be held in Pandemonium. As to the fallen Angels contracting their shapes while their chiefs preserved their natural dimensions, Mr. Duncombe observes with Mr. Addison, that

Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
 Throng numberless, like that pygmean race 780
 Beyond the Indian mount, or faery elves,
 Whose midnight revels by a forest side
 Or fountain some belated peasant sees,

Or

that Milton had artfully prepared the reader for this incident by marking their power to contract or enlarge their substance; and Milton seems to have intended hereby to distinguish and aggrandize the idea of the chieftains, and to describe in a more probable manner the numberless myriads of fallen Angels contain'd in one capacious hall. If Milton had represented the whole host in their enormous sizes, crouded in one room, the fiction would have been more shocking and more unnatural than as it stands at present. These arguments seem to carry some weight with them, and upon these we must rest Milton's defense, and leave the determination to the reader.

780.—*like that pygmean race &c.*] There are also several noble similes and allusions in the first book of Paradise Lost. And here I must observe, that when Milton alludes either to things or persons, he never quits his simile till it rises to some very great idea, which is often foreign to the occasion that gave birth to it. The resemblance does not, perhaps, last above a line or two, but the poet runs on with

the hint till he has raised out of it some glorious image or sentiment, proper to inflame the mind of the reader, and to give it that sublime kind of entertainment, which is suitable to the nature of an heroic poem. Those, who are acquainted with Homer's and Virgil's way of writing, cannot but be pleased with this kind of structure in Milton's similitudes. I am the more particular on this head, because ignorant readers, who have formed their taste upon the quaint similes and little turns of wit, which are so much in vogue among modern poets, cannot relish these beauties which are of a much higher nature, and are therefore apt to censure Milton's comparisons in which they do not see any surprising points of likeness. Monsieur Per-rault was a man of this vitiated relish, and for that very reason has endeavor'd to turn into ridicule several of Homer's similitudes, which he calls *comparaisons a longue queue, long-tail'd comparisons*. I shall conclude this paper on the first book of Milton with the answer, which Monsieur Boileau makes to Per-rault on this occasion. "Comparisons, says he, in odes and epic poems,

Or dreams he sees, while over-head the moon
 Sits arbitress, and nearer to the earth 785
 Wheels her pale course, they on their mirth and dance
 Intent, with jocond music charm his ear ;
 At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.

Thus

“ poems, are not introduced only
 “ to illustrate and embellish the
 “ discourse, but to amuse and re-
 “ lax the mind of the reader, by
 “ frequently disengaging him from
 “ too painful an attention to the
 “ principal subject, and by leading
 “ him into other agreeable images.
 “ Homer, says he, excell’d in this
 “ particular, whose comparisons
 “ abound with such images of na-
 “ ture as are proper to relieve
 “ and diversify his subjects. He
 “ continually instructs the reader,
 “ and makes him take notice,
 “ even in objects which are every
 “ day before our eyes, of such cir-
 “ cumstances as we should not
 “ otherwise have observed.” To
 this he adds as a maxim univer-
 sally acknowledged, “ That it is
 “ not necessary in poetry for the
 “ points of the comparison to cor-
 “ respond with one another ex-
 “ actly, but that a general resem-
 “ blance is sufficient, and that too
 “ much nicety in this particular
 “ favors of the rhetorician and
 “ epigrammatist.” In short, if we
 look into the conduct of Homer,
 Virgil, and Milton, as the great
 fable is the soul of each poem, so
 to give their works an agreeable

variety, their episodes are so many
 short fables, and their similes so
 many short episodes ; to which you
 may add, if you please, that their
 metaphors are so many short si-
 miles. If the reader considers the
 comparisons in the first book of
 Milton, of the sun in an eclipse,
 of the sleeping leviathan, of the
 bees swarming about their hive, of
 the faery dance, in the view where-
 in I have here placed them, he
 will easily discover the great beau-
 ties that are in each of those pas-
 sages. Addison.

783. ——— sees,
 Or dreams he sees,] Virg. Æn. VI.
 454.

Aut videt, aut vidisse putat —

785. Sits arbitress,] Arbitress
 here signifies witness, spectatress.
 So Hor. Epod. V. 49.

O rebus meis
 Non infideles arbitrae
 Nox et Diana. Heylin.

785. ——— and nearer to the earth]
 This is said in allusion to the super-
 stitious notion of witches and fae-
 ries having great power over the
 moon.

Car-

Thus incorporeal Spi'rits to smallest forms
 Reduc'd their shapes immense, and were at large, 790
 Though without number still amidst the hall
 Of that infernal court. But far within,
 And in their own dimensions like themselves,
 The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
 In close recess and secret conclave sat 795
 A thousand Demi-gods on golden seats,
 Frequent and full. After short silence then
 And summons read, the great consult began.

Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere
 lunam. Virg. Ecl. VIII. 69.

790. *Reduc'd their shapes immense,
 and were at large, &c.*] Tho'
 numberless they had so contracted
 their dimensions, as to have room
 enough to be *Au large* (French)
A largo (Italian) and be yet in the
 hall. So XI. 626.

Ere long to swim at large.

Richardson.

795. *In close recess and secret con-
 clave sat*] It is not impro-

bable that the poet might allude
 here to what is strictly and properly
 call'd *the conclave*; for it is cer-
 tain that he had not a much better
 opinion of the one than of the
 other of these assemblies.

797. *Frequent and full.*] So we
 have in Latin *frequens senatus*, 'a
 full house.' And he makes use of
 the same expression in English prose,
 "The assembly was *full and fre-*
quent according to summons." See
 his History of England in the reign
 of Edward the Confessor.

The end of the First Book.

THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

The consultation begun, Satan debates whether another battel be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven: some advise it, others dissuade: A third proposal is preferr'd, mention'd before by Satan, to search the truth of that prophecy or tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature equal or not much inferior to themselves, about this time to be created: Their doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search: Satan their chief undertakes alone the voyage, is honor'd and applauded. The council thus ended, the rest betake them several ways, and to several employments, as their inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till Satan return. He passes on his journey to Hell gates, finds them shut, and who sat there to guard them, by whom at length they are open'd, and discover to him the great gulf between Hell and Heaven; with what difficulty he passes through, directed by Chaos, the Power of that place, to the sight of this new world which he sought.



J. Hayman inv. et del.

J. S. Müller sc.

Book 2.

THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL NAVY

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONIES

TO THE PRESENT TIME

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE FIRST VOLUME

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL NAVY FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONIES

TO THE PRESENT TIME

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND VOLUME

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL NAVY FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONIES

TO THE PRESENT TIME

IN TWO VOLUMES

PARADISE LOST.

B O O K II.

HIGH on a throne of royal state, which far
 Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
 Or where the gorgeous east with richest hand
 Show'rs

1. *High on a throne &c.*] I have before observed in general, that the persons, whom Milton introduces into his poem, always discover such sentiments and behaviour, as are in a peculiar manner conformable to their respective characters. Every circumstance in their speeches and actions is with great justness and delicacy adapted to the persons who speak and act. As the poet very much excels in this consistency of his characters, I shall beg leave to consider several passages of the second book in this light. That superior greatness and mock-majesty, which is ascribed to the prince of the fallen Angels, is admirably preserved in the beginning of this book. His opening and closing the debate; his taking on himself that great enterprise at the thought of which the whole infernal assembly trembled; his encountering the hideous phantom, who guarded the gates of Hell and appeared to him in all his terrors, are instances of that proud and daring mind, which could not brook

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submission even to omnipotence. The same boldness and intrepidity of behaviour discovers itself in the several adventures which he meets with during his passage through the regions of unformed matter, and particularly in his address to those tremendous Powers who are described as presiding over it.

Addison.

2. — *the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,*] That is diamonds, a principal part of the wealth of *India* where they are found, and of the island *Ormuz* (in the Persian gulf) which is the mart for them.

Pearce.

3. *Or where the gorgeous east &c.*] Not that *Ormuz* and *Ind* were in the west, but the sense is that the throne of Satan outshone diamonds, or pearl and gold, the choicest whereof are produced in the east. Spenser expresses the same thought thus, *Fairy Queen*, B. 3. C. 4. St. 23.

— that it did pass
 The wealth of th' east, and pomp
 of Persian kings.

P

And

Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
 Satan exalted fat, by merit rais'd 5
 To that bad eminence; and from despair
 Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
 Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue
 Vain war with Heav'n, and by success untaught
 His proud imaginations thus display'd. 10

Pow'rs and Dominions, Deities of Heaven,
 For since no deep within her gulf can hold
 Immortal vigor, though oppress'd and fall'n,
 I give not Heav'n for lost. From this descent
 Celestial virtues rising, will appear 15
 More glorious and more dread than from no fall,
 And trust themselves to fear no second fate.

Me

And the east is said to *show'r them with richest hand* by an excellent metaphor to express the great plenty and abundance of them, and to show'r them *on her kings*, because there the kings have the principal share of property; or this might be said, as Dr. Pearce conceives, in allusion to the custom us'd at the coronation of some kings in the east, of show'ring gold and precious stones upon their heads. And the same sort of metaphor is used in Shakespear, *Ant. and Cleop. Act II.*

I'll set thee in a show'r of gold,
 and hail

Rich pearls upon thee.

And this pearl and gold is called *barbaric pearl and gold*, after the manner of the Greeks and Romans, who accounted all other nations barbarous; as Virgil said, *Æn. II. 504.*

Barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi.

and *Æn. VIII. 685.*

Hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis

Victor ab auroræ populis

Tasso also (as Mr. Thyer farther adds)

Me though just right, and the fix'd laws of Heaven
 Did first create your leader, next free choice,
 With what besides, in counsel or in fight, 20
 Hath been achiev'd of merit, yet this loss
 Thus far at least recover'd, hath much more
 Establish'd in a safe unenvied throne
 Yielded with full consent. The happier state
 In Heav'n, which follows dignity, might draw 25
 Envy from each inferior; but who here
 Will envy whom the highest place exposes
 Foremost to stand against the Thund'rer's aim
 Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share
 Of endless pain? where there is then no good 30
 For which to strive, no strife can grow up there

From

adds) adopts this word into the Italian language in a description similar to this, Cant. 17. St. 10.

E ricco di barbarico ornamento,
 In habito regal splendor si vede.

11. *Pow'rs and Dominions,*] As St. Paul calls the Angels, *Thrones* or *Dominions* or *Principalities* or *Powers*, Col. I. 16.

18. *Me though just right, &c.*] *Me* is rightly placed first in the sentence, being the emphatical word and the accusative case govern'd by the two verbs which follow, *create* and *establish'd*. *Me though just right, &c.* did first create your

leader, yet this loss hath much more establish'd in a safe unenvied throne.

21. — *achiev'd*] We spell it as we pronounce it *atchiev'd*; but Milton writes it *achiev'd*, like the French *achever*, from whence it is deriv'd.

24. — *The happier state*
In Heav'n, which follows dignity,
 &c.] He means that the higher in dignity any being was in Heaven, the happier his state was; and that therefore inferiors might there envy superiors, because they were happier too. *Pearce.*

From faction; for none sure will clame in Hell
 Precedence, none, whose portion is so small
 Of present pain, that with ambitious mind
 Will covet more. With this advantage then 35
 To union, and firm faith, and firm accord,
 More than can be in Heav'n, we now return
 To clame our just inheritance of old,
 Surer to prosper than prosperity
 Could have assur'd us; and by what best way, 40
 Whether of open war or covert guile,
 We now debate; who can advise, may speak.

He ceas'd; and next him Moloch, scepter'd king,
 Stood

33. — *none, whose portion, &c.*] Here seems to be some obscurity and difficulty in the syntax. Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin would read and point the passage thus:

—for none sure will clame in Hell
 Precedence, none. Whose portion
 is so small
 Of present pain, that with ambi-
 tious mind
 He'll covet more?

40. — *and by what best way,*] Smoother and more emphatical thus,

— *and by what way best.*

Bentley.

43. — *next him Moloch,*] The part of *Moloch* is likewise in all its circumstances full of that fire and

fury which distinguish this Spirit from the rest of the fallen Angels: He is describ'd in the first book, as besmeared with the blood of human sacrifices, and delighted with the tears of parents and the cries of children. In the second book he is marked out as the fiercest Spirit that fought in Heaven: and if we consider the figure he makes in the sixth book, where the battel of Angels is described, we find it every way answerable to the same furious enraged character. It may be worth while to observe, that Milton has represented this violent impetuous Spirit, who is hurried on by such precipitate passions, as the *first* that rises in that assembly, to give his opinion upon their present posture of affairs. Accordingly he declares

Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit
 That fought in Heav'n, now fiercer by despair: 45
 His trust was with th' Eternal to be deem'd
 Equal in strength, and rather than be less
 Car'd not to be at all; with that care lost
 Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse
 He reck'd not, and these words thereafter spake. 50

My sentence is for open war: of wiles,
 More unexpert, I boast not: them let those
 Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.
 For while they sit contriving, shall the rest,
 Millions that stand in arms, and longing wait 55
 The

declares himself abruptly for war, and appears incensed at his companions, for losing so much time as even to deliberate upon it. All his sentiments are rash, audacious and desperate. Such is that of arming themselves with their tortures, and turning their punishments upon him who inflicted them. His preferring annihilation to shame or misery is also highly suitable to his character; as the comfort he draws from their disturbing the peace of Heaven, that if it be not victory it is revenge, is a sentiment truly diabolical, and becoming the bitterness of this implacable Spirit. Addison.

43. — *scepter'd king,*] As Homer says Σκηπτρῷ βασιλεὺς. Iliad. I. 279.

47. — *and rather than be less Car'd not to be at all;*] Dr. Bentley reads *He rather than* &c. because at present the construction is *and* his trust *car'd not* &c. But such small faults are not only to be pardon'd but overlook'd in great geniuses. Fabius VIII. 3. says of Cicero, In vitium sæpe incidit securus tam parvæ observationis: and in X. 1. Neque id statim legenti persuasum sit omnia, quæ magni auctores dixerint, esse perfecta; nam et labuntur aliquando, et oneri cedunt &c. Pearce.

50. *He reck'd not,*] He made no account of. To *reck* much the same as to reckon. *And spake thereafter,* that is accordingly, as one who made no account of God or Hell or any thing.

The signal to ascend, sit ling'ring here
 Heav'n's fugitives, and for their dwelling place
 Accept this dark opprobrious den of shame,
 The prison of his tyranny who reigns
 By our delay? no, let us rather choose, 60
 Arm'd with Hell flames and fury, all at once
 O'er Heav'n's high tow'rs to force resistless way,
 Turning our tortures into horrid arms
 Against the torturer; when to meet the noise
 Of his almighty engin he shall hear 65
 Infernal thunder, and for lightning see
 Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
 Among his Angels, and his throne itself
 Mix'd with Tartarean sulphur, and strange fire,
 His own invented torments. But perhaps 70
 The way seems difficult and steep to scale
 With upright wing against a higher foe.

Let

56. — *fit ling'ring here*] Dr. Bentley reads *stay ling'ring here*, because we have before *stand in arms*: but *stand* does not always signify the posture; see an instance of this in John I. 26. To *stand in arms* is no more than to *be in arms*. So in XI. 1. it is said of Adam and Eve that they *stood repentant*, that is

were repentant; for a little before it is said that they *prostrate fell*. That *fit* is right here, may appear from ver. 164, 420, 475. *Pearce*. *Sit ling'ring* to answer *fit contriving* before. While they *fit contriving*, shall the rest *fit ling'ring*?

69. *Mix'd with Tartarean sulphur,*] *Mix'd*

Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench
 Of that forgetful lake benumm not still,
 That in our proper motion we ascend 75
 Up to our native seat: descent and fall
 To us is adverse. Who but felt of late,
 When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear
 Insulting, and pursued us through the deep,
 With what compulsion and laborious flight 80
 We sunk thus low? Th' ascent is easy then;
 Th' event is fear'd; should we again provoke
 Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find
 To our destruction; if there be in Hell
 Fear to be worse destroy'd: what can be worse 85
 Than to dwell here, driv'n out from bliss, condemn'd
 In this abhorred deep to utter woe;
 Where pain of unextinguishable fire
 Must exercise us without hope of end

The

Mix'd signifies *fill'd with*; it is an imitation of what Virgil says in *Æn.* II. 487.

At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu

Miscetur. Pearce.

89. *Must exercise us*] He uses

the word like the Latin *exerceo*, which signifies to vex and trouble as well as to practice and employ: as in *Virg. Georg. IV.* 453.

Non te nullius exercent numinis iræ.

P 4

90. The

The vassals of his anger, when the scourge 90
 Inexorably, and the torturing hour
 Calls us to penance? More destroy'd than thus
 We should be quite abolish'd and expire.
 What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
 His utmost ire? which to the highth enrag'd, 95
 Will either quite consume us, and reduce
 To nothing this essential, happier far
 Than miserable to have eternal being:
 Or if our substance be indeed divine,

And

90. *The vassals of his anger,*] The Devils are the *vassals* of the Almighty, thence Mammon says, II. 252, *Our state of splendid vassalage.* And *the vassals of anger* is an expression confirm'd by Spenser in his *Tears of the Muses*,

Ah, wretched world, and all that
 are therein,
 The *vassals* of God's wrath, and
 slaves of sin.

But yet when I remember St. Paul's words, Rom. IX. 22. *The vessels of wrath fitted to destruction*, *Σκευη οργης*, I suspect that Milton here, as perpetually, kept close to the Scripture stile, and leave it to the reader's choice, *vassals* or *vessels*.

Bentley.

91. *Inexorably,*] In the first editions it is *Inexorably*, in others *Inexorable*: and it may be either,

the scourge inexorable or inexorably calls.

92. *Calls us to penance?*] To punishment. Our poet here supposes the sufferings of the damned Spirits not to be always alike intense, but that they have some intermissions.

Hume.

97. — *happier far*
Than miserable to have eternal
being:] That it is better not to be than to be eternally miserable, our Saviour himself hath determin'd, Matth. XXVI. 24. Mark XIV. 21.

100. — *we are at worst*] We are in the worst condition we can be.

104. — *his fatal throne:*] That is *upheld by fate*, as he elsewhere expresses it, I. 133.

108. *To less than Gods.*] He gave it *To less than God*. For it was dangerous to the Angels.

Bentley.
 This emendation appears very probable

And cannot cease to be, we are at worst 100
 On this side nothing; and by proof we feel
 Our pow'r sufficient to disturb his Heaven,
 And with perpetual inroads to alarm,
 Though inaccessible, his fatal throne :
 Which if not victory is yet revenge. 105

He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd
 Desp'rate revenge, and battel dangerous
 To less than Gods. On th' other side up rose
 Belial, in act more graceful and humane;

A

bable at first view: but the Angels though often called *Gods*, yet sometimes are only compar'd or said to be *like the Gods*, as in I. 570.

Their visages and stature *as of Gods*:

and of the two chief, Michael and Satan, it is said VI. 301, that

— *likest Gods they seem'd*:

and of two others we read, VI. 366.

Two potent Thrones, that to be *less than Gods*
 Disdain'd :

and in another place a manifest distinction is made between Gods and Angels who are called Demi-Gods, IX. 937.

But to be Gods, or Angels Demi-Gods :

and therefore the present reading *To less than Gods* may be justify'd.

109. *Belial, in act more graceful and humane;*] *Belial* is described in the first book as the idol of the lewd and luxurious. He is in the second book, pursuant to that description, characterized as timorous and slothful; and if we look into the sixth book, we find him celebrated in the battel of Angels for nothing but that scoffing speech which he makes to Satan, on their supposed advantage over the enemy. As his appearance is uniform and of a piece in these three several views, we find his sentiments in the infernal assembly every way conformable to his character. Such are his apprehensions of a second battel, his horrors of annihilation, his preferring to be miserable rather than *not to be*. I need not observe, that the

A fairer person lost not Heav'n; he seem'd 110
 For dignity compos'd and high exploit:
 But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
 Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear
 The better reason, to perplex and dash
 Maturest counsels: for his thoughts were low; 115
 To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
 Timorous and slothful: yet he pleas'd the ear,
 And with persuasive accent thus began.

I should be much for open war, O Peers,
 As not behind in hate; if what was urg'd 120
 Main reason to persuade immediate war,
 Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
 Ominous conjecture on the whole success:
 When he who most excels in fact of arms,
 In what he counsels and in what excels 125
 Mistrustful,

the contrast of thought in this speech, and that which precedes, gives an agreeable variety to the debate.

Addison.

The fine contrast, which Mr. Addison observes there is betwixt the characters of Moloch and Belial, might probably be first suggested to our poet by a contrast of the same kind betwixt Argantes and Aletes in the second Canto of Tasso's Jerusalem. *Thyer.*

113. *Dropt Manna,*] The same expression, but apply'd differently, in Shakespear. Merchant of Venice, Act V.

Fair ladies, you drop Manna in the way
 Of starved people.

113. — *and could make the worse appear*

The better reason,] Word for word, from

Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair
And utter dissolution, as the scope
Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.

First, what revenge? the tow'rs of Heav'n are fill'd
With armed watch, that render all access 130

Impregnable; oft on the bord'ring deep
Incamp their legions, or with obscure wing
Scout far and wide into the realm of night,
Scorning surprise. Or could we break our way
By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise 135
With blackest insurrection, to confound

Heav'n's purest light, yet our great enemy
All incorruptible would on his throne
Sit unpolluted, and th' ethereal mold
Incapable of stain would soon expel 140
Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire

Victorious.

from the known profession of the
ancient Sophists, *Τον λόγον τον
ηττω κρείττω ποιειν.* Bentley.

124.—*in fact of arms,*] Dr. Hey-
lin says it is from the Italian *Fatto
d'arme* a battel; or else we should
read here *feats of arms*, as in ver.
537.

— with *feats of arms*
From either end of Heav'n the
welkin burns.

Or possibly the author might have
given it *in facts of arms*, such ex-
rors of the press being very com-
mon and easy.

138. — *would on his throne
Sit unpolluted,*] 'Tis a reply to
that part of Moloch's speech, where
he had threaten'd to mix the throne
itself of God with infernal sulphur
and strange fire.

151. *Devoid*

Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope
 Is flat despair : we must exasperate
 Th' almighty victor to spend all his rage,
 And that must end us, that must be our cure, 145
 To be no more; sad cure; for who would lose,
 Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
 Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
 To perish rather, swallow'd up and lost
 In the wide womb of uncreated night, 150
 Devoid of sense and motion? and who knows,
 Let this be good, whether our angry foe
 Can give it, or will ever? how he can
 Is doubtful; that he never will is sure.
 Will he, so wise, let loose at once his ire, 155
 Belike through impotence, or unaware,
 To give his enemies their wish, and end
 Them

151. *Devoid of sense and motion?*] all *motion*, not only of all the intellectual but of all vital functions.
 Dr. Bentley reads *Devoid of sense and action*: but *motion* includes *action*. Mr. Warburton is of opinion, and so likewise is the learned Mr. Upton in his *Critical Observations upon Shakespear*, that it should be read *Devoid of sense and motion*: but the common reading seems better, as it is stronger and expresses more; they should be deprived not only of all *sense* but of

156. — *impotence*,] 'Tis here meant for the opposite to wisdom, and is used frequently by the Latin authors to signify a weakness of mind, an unsteadiness in the government of our passions, or the conduct of our designs. In this sense Cicero in *Epist. ad Fam. IX. 9.* says *Victoria ferociore impotentia resque*

Them in his anger, whom his anger faves
 To punish endless? Wherefore cease we then?
 Say they who counsel war, we are decreed, 160
 Reserv'd, and destin'd to eternal woe;
 Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
 What can we suffer worse? Is this then worst,
 Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?
 What when we fled amain, pursued and struck 165
 With Heav'n's afflicting thunder, and besought
 The deep to shelter us? this Hell then seem'd
 A refuge from those wounds: or when we lay
 Chain'd on the burning lake? that sure was worse.
 What if the breath that kindled those grim fires, 170
 Awak'd should blow them into sev'nfold rage,
 And plunge us in the flames? or from above
 Should intermitted vengeance arm again

His

resque reddidit. and in Tusc. Disp. IV. 23. we read *Impotentia dictorum et factorum*: hence we often meet with *impotens animi, iræ, doloris* &c. and Horace in Od. I. XXXVII. 10. has *Quidlibet impotens sperare.* Pearce.

159. *Wherefore cease we then? &c.* Belial is here proposing what is urged by those who counsel war; and then replies to it, *Is this then worst* &c. and shows that they had

been in a worse condition 165—169. *that sure was worse*; and might be so again 170—186. *this would be worse.*

170. *What if the breath that kindled those grim fires,*

II. XXX. 33. For Tophet is ordained of old, the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it.

174. His

His red right hand to plague us? what if all
 Her stores were open'd, and this firmament 175
 Of Hell should spout her cataracts of fire,
 Impendent horrors, threatning hideous fall
 One day upon our heads; while we perhaps
 Designing or exhorting glorious war,
 Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl'd 180
 Each on his rock transfix'd, the sport and prey
 Of wracking whirlwinds, or for ever sunk
 Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains;
 There to converse with everlasting groans,
 Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd, 185
 Ages of hopeless end? this would be worse.
 War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike

My

174. *His red right hand*] So Horace says of Jupiter *rubente dextera*. But being spoken of *Vengeance*, it must be *her right hand*, as in the next line *her stores*. Bentley. There is something plausible and ingenious in this observation: but by *his* seems to have been meant God's, who is mention'd so often in the course of the debate, that he might very well be understood without being nam'd; and by *her stores* in the next line, I suppose, are meant *Hell's*, as mention is made afterwards of *her cataracts of fire*.

180. *Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl'd*

Each on his rock transfix'd,] Borrow'd of Virgil in his description of the fate of Ajax Oileus, *Æn. I.* 44, 45.

Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammas

Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto. Hume.

181. — *the sport and prey Of wracking whirlwinds,*] Virg. *Æn. VI.* 75.

— *rapidis ludibria ventis.*

185. *Un-*

My voice diffuades; for what can force or guile
 With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
 Views all things at one view? he from Heav'n's highth
 All these our motions vain sees and derides; 191
 Not more almighty to resist our might
 Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
 Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heaven
 Thus trampled, thus expell'd to suffer here 195
 Chains and these torments? better these than worse
 By my advice; since fate inevitable
 Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,
 The victor's will. To suffer, as to do,
 Our strength is equal, nor the law unjust 200
 That so ordains: this was at first resolv'd,

If

185. *Unrespited, unpitied, unpriev'd,*] This way of introducing several adjectives beginning with the same letter without any conjunction is very frequent with the Greek tragedians, whom our author I fancy imitated. What strength and beauty it adds needs not be mention'd. *Thyer.*

190. — *he from Heav'n's highth*
All these our motions vain sees and
derides;] Alluding to Psal.
 II. 4. *He that sitteth in the Heavens*
shall laugh, the Lord shall have them
in derision. Nor let it pass unob-

served that this is constantly Milton's way, and the true way of spelling *highth*, and not as commonly *height*, where what the *e* has to do or how it comes in it is not easy to apprehend.

199. *To suffer, as to do,*] Et facere, et pati. So Scævola boasted that he was a Roman, and knew as well how to suffer as to act. Et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Liv. II. 12. So in Horace, Od. III. XXIV. 43. Quidvis et facere et pati.

220. *This*

If we were wise, against so great a foe
 Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.
 I laugh, when those who at the spear are bold
 And ventrous, if that fail them, shrink and fear 205
 What yet they know must follow, to indure
 Exile, or ignominy', or bonds, or pain,
 The sentence of their conqu'ror: this is now
 Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,
 Our supreme foe in time may much remit 210
 His anger, and perhaps thus far remov'd
 Not mind us not offending, satisfy'd
 With what is punish'd; whence these raging fires
 Will slacken, if his breath stir not their flames.
 Our purer essence then will overcome 215
 Their noxious vapor, or inur'd not feel,
 Or chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd
 In

220. *This horror will grow mild,*
this darkness light,] 'Tis quite
 too much as Dr. Bentley says, that
 the darkness should turn into light:
 but *light*, I conceive, is an ad-
 jective here as well as *mild*; and
 the meaning is, This darkness will
 in time become easy, as this hor-
 ror will grow mild; or as Mr. Thyer
 thinks, it is an adjective used in
 the same sense as when we say *It*
is a light night. It is not well ex-
 press'd, and the worse as it rhymes
 with the following line.

227. *Counsel'd ignoble ease,]* Not
otium cum dignitate as Cicero speaks,
 but as Virgil *ignobile otium*. *Stu-*
diis ignobilis otii. Georg. IV. 764.

228. *Mammon spake.]* Mammon's
 character is so fully drawn in the
 first book, that the poet adds no-
 thing to it in the second. We were
 before told, that he was the first
 who taught mankind to ransack
 the earth for gold and silver, and
 that he was the architect of Pan-
 demonium,

In temper and in nature, will receive
 Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain;
 This horror will grow mild, this darkness light, 220
 Besides what hope the never-ending flight
 Of future days may bring, what chance, what change
 Worth waiting, since our present lot appears
 For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,
 If we procure not to ourselves more woe. 225

Thus Belial with words cloth'd in reason's garb
 Counsel'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloth,
 Not peace: and after him thus Mammon spake.

Either to disenthroned the king of Heaven
 We war, if war be best, or to regain 230
 Our own right lost: him to unthroned we then
 May hope, when everlasting Fate shall yield
 To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife:

The

demonium, or the infernal palace, where the evil Spirits were to meet in council. His speech in this book is every way suitable to so depraved a character. How proper is that reflection, of their being unable to taste the happiness of Heaven were they actually there, in the mouth of one, who while he was in Heaven, is said to have had his mind dazzled with the outward pomps and glories of the place, and to have been more intent on the riches of the

pavement, than on the beatific vision! I shall also leave the reader to judge how agreeable the following sentiments are to the same character,

— This deep world
 Of darkness do we dread? How
 oft amidst &c. *Addison.*

233.—*and Chaos judge the strife:]*
 Between the king of Heaven and
 us, not between Fate and Chance,
 as Dr. Bentley supposes. *Pearce.*

Q

234. The

The former vain to hope argues as vain
 The latter : for what place can be for us 235
 Within Heav'n's bound, unless Heav'n's Lord supreme
 We overpow'r? Suppose he should relent,
 And publish grace to all, on promise made
 Of new subjection; with what eyes could we
 Stand in his presence humble, and receive 240
 Strict laws impos'd, to celebrate his throne
 With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead sing
 Forc'd Halleluiah's; while he lordly sits
 Our envied sovran, and his altar breathes
 Ambrosial odors and ambrosial flowers, 245
 Our servile offerings? This must be our task
 In Heav'n, this our delight; how wearisome
 Eternity so spent in worship paid
 To whom we hate! Let us not then pursue

By

234. *The former vain to hope*] flowers, especially when flowers
 That is to unthroned the king of Heaven, argues as vain the latter, are, as here, distinguish'd from
 that is to regain our own lost right. odors? But when the altar is said

244. — and his altar breathes
 Ambrosial odors and ambrosial flowers,] Dr. Bentley would
 read from for and,

Ambrosial odors from ambrosial
 flowers,
 and asks how an altar can breathe

flowers, especially when flowers
 are, as here, distinguish'd from
 odors? But when the altar is said
 to breathe, the meaning is that it
 smells of, it throws out the smell of,
 or (as Milton expresses it IV. 265.)
 it breathes out the smell of &c. In
 this sense of the word breathe, an
 altar may be said to breathe flowers,
 and odors too as a distinct thing;
 for by odors here Milton means the
 smells of gums and sweet spicy
 shrubs,

Book II. PARADISE LOST. 107

By force impossible, by leave obtain'd 250
 Unacceptable, though in Heav'n, our state
 Of splendid vassalage; but rather seek
 Our own good from ourselves, and from our own
 Live to ourselves, though in this vast recess,
 Free, and to none accountable, preferring 255
 Hard liberty before the easy yoke
 Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear
 Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
 Useful of hurtful, prosp'rous of adverse
 We can create, and in what place so e'er 260
 Thrive under ev'il, and work ease out of pain
 Through labor and indurance. This deep world
 Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
 Thick clouds and dark doth Heav'n's all-ruling Sire
 Choose to reside, his glory unobscur'd, 265
 And

shrubs, see VIII. 517. Not unlike
 is what we read in Fairfax's Tasso,
 C. 18. St. 20.

Flowers and odors sweetly smell'd.

Pearce.

254. Live to ourselves,] Hor.
 Epist. I. XVIII. 107.

— Ut mihi vivam

Quod superest ævi.

and Persius, Sat. IV. 52.

Tecum habita.

263. — How oft amidst
 Thick clouds and dark &c.] Imita-
 ted from Psal. XVIII. 11, 13. He
 made darkness his secret place; his pa-
 vilion round about him were dark
 waters, and thick clouds of the skies
 — The Lord also thundred in the
 Heavens, and the Highest gave his
 voice, hailstones and coals of fire.
 And from Psal. XCVII. 2. Clouds
 and darkness are round about him, &c.

Q 2

274. Our

And with the majesty of darkness round
 Covers his throne; from whence deep thunders roar
 Must'ring their rage, and Heav'n resembles Hell?
 As he our darkness, cannot we his light
 Imitate when we please? This desert soil 270
 Wants not her hidden lustre, gems and gold;
 Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise
 Magnificence; and what can Heav'n show more?
 Our torments also may in length of time
 Become our elements, these piercing fires 275
 As

274. *Our torments also may in
 length of time*

Become our elements, &c.] En-
 forcing the same argument that Be-
 lial had urged before, ver. 217;
 and indeed Mammon's whole speech
 is to the same purpose as Belial's;
 the argument is improved and car-
 ried farther, only with such diffe-
 rence as is suitable to their diffe-
 rent characters.

278. *The sensible of pain.*] The
 sense of pain. To sensible, the
 adjective used for a substantive.

Hume.

279. *To peaceful counsels,*] There
 are some things wonderfully fine in
 these speeches of the infernal Spi-
 rits, and in the different arguments
 so suited to their different charac-
 ters: but they have wander'd from
 the point in debate, as is too com-
 mon in other assemblies. Satan had
 declar'd in I. 660.

— Peace is despair'd,
 For who can think submission?
 War then, War
 Open or understood must be re-
 solv'd.

Which was approv'd and confirm'd
 by the whole host of Angels. And
 accordingly at the opening of the
 council he proposes for the subject
 of their consideration, which way
 they would make choice of, II. 41.

Whether of open war or covert
 guile,
 We now debate:

Moloch speaks to the purpose, and
 declares for open war, ver. 51.

My sentence is for open war: of
 wiles,

More unexpert, I boast not, &c.

But Belial argues alike against war
 open or conceal'd, ver. 187.

War

As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd
 Into their temper; which must needs remove
 The sensible of pain. All things invite
 To peaceful counsels, and the settled state
 Of order, how in safety best we may 280
 Compose our present evils, with regard
 Of what we are and where, dismissing quite
 All thoughts of war: ye have what I advise.

He scarce had finish'd, when such murmur fill'd
 Th' assembly, as when hollow rocks retain 285
 The

War therefore, open or conceal'd,
 alike
 My voice dissuades; for what can
 force or guile &c.

where, the sense is, with regard to
 our present condition and the place
 where we are; which latter seems
 much better.

Mammon carries on the same arguments, and is for *dismissing quite all thoughts of war*. So that the question is changed in the course of the debate, whether thro' the inattention or intention of the author it is not easy to say.

285. — *as when hollow rocks retain &c.*] Virgil compares the assent given by the assembly of the Gods to Juno's speech, *Æn.* X. 96. to the rising wind, which our author assimilates to its decreasing murmurs,

281. — *with regard*
Of what we are and where,] It is thus in the first edition: in the second edition it is, *with regard of what we are and were*: and it is varied sometimes the one and sometimes the other in the subsequent editions. If we read *with regard of what we are and were*, the sense is, with regard to our present and our past condition; If we read *with regard of what we are and*

— cunctique fremebant
 Cælicolæ assensu vario: ceu flamma prima,
 Cum deprensa fremunt sylvis, et
 cæca volutant
 Murmura, venturos nautis pro-
 dentia ventos. *Hume.*

The conduct of both poets is equally just and proper. The intent of Juno's speech was to rouse and inflame the assembly of the Gods, and the effect of it is therefore properly

The sound of blust'ring winds, which all night long
 Had rous'd the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
 Sea-faring men o'erwatch'd, whose bark by chance
 Or pinnacle anchors in a craggy bay
 After the tempest: Such applause was heard 290
 As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleas'd,
 Advising peace: for such another field
 They dreaded worse than Hell: so much the fear
 Of thunder and the sword of Michaël
 Wrought still within them; and no less desire 295
 To found this nether empire, which might rise
 By policy, and long process of time,

In

perly compared by Virgil to the *rising* wind: but the design of Mammon's speech is to quiet and compose the infernal assembly, and the effect of this therefore is as properly compared by Milton to the wind *falling* after a tempest. Claudian has a simile of the same kind in his description of the infernal council. In Rufinum, I. 70.

— ceu murmurat alti
 Impacata quies pelagi, cum flamine fracto
 Durat adhuc sævitque tumor, dubiumque per æstum
 Lassa recedentis fluitant vestigia venti.

And in other particulars our author seems to have drawn his council of

Devils with an eye to Claudian's council of furies; and the reader may compare Alecto's speech with Moloch's, and Megæra's with Belial's or rather with Beelzebub's.

294. — *the sword of Michaël*] The words *Michael*, *Raphael*, &c. are sometimes pronounced as of two syllables, and sometimes they are made to consist of three. When they are to be pronounced as of three syllables, we shall take care to distinguish them in printing thus, *Michaël*, *Raphaël*.

302. *A pillar of state*;] *Pillar* is to be pronounced contractedly as of one syllable, or two short ones; and again in Book XII. 202, 203. The metaphor is plain and easy enough to be understood; and thus James,

In emulation opposit to Heaven.

Which when Beëlzebub perceiv'd, than whom,
Satan except, none higher sat, with grave 300

Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd
A pill'ar of state; deep on his front ingraven
Deliberation sat and public care;

And princely counsel in his face yet shone,
Majestic though in ruin: sage he stood 305

With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest monarchies; his look
Drew audience and attention still as night
Or summer's noon-tide air, while thus he spake.

Thrones

James, and Peter, and John are called *pillars* in Gal. II. 9. And we have the same expression in Shakespear, 2 Hen. VI. Act I.

Brave Peers of England, *pillars of the state.*

305. *Majestic though in ruin:*] It is amazing how even the greatest critics, such as Dr. Bentley, can sometimes mistake the most obvious passages. These words are to be join'd in construction with *his face*, and not with *princely counsel*, as the Doctor imagin'd.

306. *With Atlantean shoulders*] A metaphor to express his vast capacity. Atlas was so great an astronomer, that he is said to have borne Heaven on his shoulders.

The whole picture from ver. 299. to the end of the paragraph is admirable! *Richardson.*

309. *Or summer's noon-tide air,*] *Noon-tide* is the same as *noon-time*, when in hot countries there is hardly a breath of wind stirring, and men and beasts, by reason of the intense heat, retire to shade and rest. This is the custom of Italy particularly, where our author liv'd some time.

309. — *while thus he spake.*] *Beëlzebub*, who is reckon'd the second in dignity that fell, and is, in the first book, the second that awakens out of the trance, and confers with Satan upon the situation of their affairs, maintains his rank in the book now before us.

Q 4

There

Thrones and Imperial Pow'rs, Ofspring of Heaven,
 Ethereal Virtues; or thefe titles now 311
 Muft we renounce, and changing ftile be call'd
 Princes of Hell? for fo the popular vote
 Inclines, here to continue', and build up here
 A growing empire; doubtlefs; while we dream, 315
 And know not that the king of Heav'n hath doom'd
 This place our dungeon, not our fafe retreat
 Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
 From Heav'n's high jurifdiction, in new league
 Banded againft his throne, but to remain 320
 In ftrictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,

Under

There is a wonderful majesty de-
 fcribed in his rifing up to fpeak.
 He acts as a kind of moderator
 between the two oppofit parties,
 and propofes a third undertaking,
 which the whole affembly gives in-
 to. The motion he makes of de-
 taching one of their body in fearch
 of a new world is grounded upon
 a project devised by Satan, and
 cursorily propofed by him in the
 following lines of the firft book,
 Space may produce new worlds, &c.

ver. 650.

It is on this project that *Beëlzebub*
 grounds his propofal,

— What if we find

Some eafier enterprife? &c.

The reader may obferve how juft

it was not to omit in the firft book
 the project upon which the whole
 poem turns: as alfo that the prince
 of the fallen Angels was the only
 proper perfon to give it birth, and
 that the next to him in dignity was
 the fitteft to fecond and fupport
 it. There is befides, I think, some-
 thing wonderfully beautiful, and
 very apt to affect the reader's ima-
 gination in this ancient prophecy
 or report in Heaven, concerning
 the creation of Man. Nothing
 could fhew more the dignity of
 the fpecies, than this tradition which
 ran of them before their exiftence.
 They are reprefented to have been
 the talk of Heaven, before they
 were created. Virgil, in compli-
 ment to the Roman commonwealth,
 makes

Under th' inevitable curb, reserv'd
 His captive multitude: for he, be sure,
 In highth or depth, still first and last will reign
 Sole king, and of his kingdom lose no part 325
 By our revolt; but over Hell extend
 His empire, and with iron scepter rule
 Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven.
 What fit we then projecting peace and war?
 War hath determin'd us, and foil'd with loss 330
 Irreparable; terms of peace yet none
 Vouchsaf'd or fought; for what peace will be given
 To us enslav'd, but custody severe,

And

makes the heroes of it appear in their state of præexistence; but Milton does a far greater honor to mankind in general, as he gives us a glimpse of them even before they are in being. *Addison.*

327.—*and with iron scepter rule Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven.*] The iron scepter is in allusion to Psal. II. 9. as that of gold to Esther V. 2. *Hume.*

329. *What fit we then projecting peace and war?*] Dr. Bentley reads *peace or war*: Dr. Pearce says, perhaps better *peace in war*: But there seems to be no necessity for an alteration. It was a debate of peace and war. Peace as well as war was the subject of their debate. And *what* seems to be used

here like the Latin *Quid*, which signifies both what and why.

332. *Vouchsaf'd*] Milton constantly writes this verb *voutsafe*; and this is rather of a softer sound, but the other seems more agreeable to the etymology of the word.

332.—*for what peace will be given To us enslav'd, but custody severe?*

— *and what peace can we return But to our pow'r hostility and hate?*]

In both these passages there is an unusual construction of the particle *but*; it seems to put *custody severe* &c in the one, and *hostility and hate* &c in the other on the foot of peace. There are some very few instances where the Latins have used *nisi* (except, or but) in a like construction. One is in Plautus's
 Me-

And stripes, and arbitrary punishment
 Inflicted? and what peace can we return, 335
 But to our pow'r hostility and hate,
 Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though slow,
 Yet ever plotting how the conqu'ror least
 May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice
 In doing what we most in suffering feel? 340
 Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need
 With dang'rous expedition to invade
 Heav'n, whose high walls fear no assault or siege,
 Or ambush from the deep. What if we find
 Some easier enterprise? There is a place, 345
 (If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven

Err

Menæchmi Prol. 59. Ei liberorum,
nisi divitiæ, nihil erat. Lambinus
 says this expression seems too unu-
 usual, for the particle *nisi* can except
 none but things like, or of a like
 kind. *Richardson.*

352. — and by an oath,
That shook Heav'n's whole circum-
ference, confirm'd.] He con-
firm'd it by an oath are the very
 words of St. Paul, Heb. VI. 17.
 and this oath is said to *shake Heav'n's*
whole circumference in allusion to
 Jupiter's oath in Virgil, *Æn.* IX. 104.

Dixerat: idque ratum Stygii per
 flumina fratris,

Per pice torrentes atraque vora-
 gine ripas
 Annuit, et totum nutu tremefecit
 Olympum.

To seal his sacred vow, by Styx
 he swore,
 The lake with liquid pitch, the
 dreary shore,
 And Phlegethon's innavigable
 flood,
 And the black regions of his
 brother God:
 He said; and shook the skies
 with his imperial nod.

Dryden.

As

Err not) another world, the happy seat
 Of some new race call'd Man, about this time
 To be created like to us, though less
 In pow'r and excellence, but favor'd more 350
 Of him who rules above; so was his will
 Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an oath,
 That shook Heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.
 Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn
 What creatures there inhabit, of what mold 355
 Or substance, how indued, and what their power,
 And where their weakness, how attempted best,
 By force or subtlety. Though Heav'n be shut,
 And Heav'n's high arbitrator sit secure

In

As Virgil had imitated Homer,
 Iliad. I. 528.

Η, και κυανεισιν επ οφρυσιν νευσσε
 Κεγωνων

Αμβροσια δ'αρα χαιται επερρω-
 σαντο ανακτο

Κεχτο απ' αθανατοιο μεγαν
 Δ'ελελιξε Ολυμπον.

He spoke, and awful bends his
 sable brows;
 Shakes his ambrosial curls, and
 gives the nod,
 The stamp of fate, and sanction
 of the God;

High Heav'n with trembling the
 dread signal took,
 And all Olympus to the center
 shook. Pope.

All the three poets, we see, men-
 tion the shaking of Heaven, only
 Milton attributes that effect to the
oath, which Homer and Virgil
 ascribe to the *nod* of Jupiter: but
 the circumstance of the *nod* seems
 to be rightly omitted in this place,
 because God is not here giving his
 assent to any one's petition, which
 is the case in Homer and Virgil,
 but only pronouncing his will among
 the Angels.

360. — *this*

In his own strength, this place may lie expos'd, 360
 The utmost border of his kingdom, left
 To their defense who hold it: here perhaps
 Some advantageous act may be achiev'd
 By sudden onset, either with Hell fire
 To waste his whole creation, or possess 365
 All as our own, and drive, as we were driven,
 The puny habitants, or if not drive,
 Seduce them to our party, that their God
 May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
 Abolish his own works. This would surpass 370
 Common revenge, and interrupt his joy
 In our confusion, and our joy upraise
 In his disturbance; when his darling sons,

Hurl'd

360.— *this place may lie expos'd,
 The utmost border of his kingdom, left
 To their defense who hold it:]* It
 has been objected, that there is a
 contradiction between this part of
 Beelzebub's speech, and what he
 says afterwards, speaking of the
 same thing and of a messenger pro-
 per to be sent in search of this new
 world, ver. 410.

—what strength, what art can then
 Suffice, or what evasion bear him
 safe
 Through the strict senteries and
 stations thick

Of Angels watching round?

How can this earth be said to lie
 expos'd &c, and yet to be strictly
 guarded by station'd Angels? The
 objection is very ingenious: but it
 is not said, that the earth *doth* lie
 expos'd, but only that it *may* lie
 expos'd: and it may be consider'd,
 that the design of Beelzebub is dif-
 ferent in these different speeches;
 in the former, where he is encour-
 aging the assembly to undertake
 an expedition against this world,
 he says things to *lessen* the diffi-
 culty and danger; but in the lat-
 ter,

Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse
 Their frail original, and faded bliss, 375
 Faded so soon. Advise if this be worth
 Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
 Hatching vain empires. Thus Beëlzebub
 Pleaded his devilish counsel, first devis'd
 By Satan, and in part propos'd: for whence, 380
 But from the author of all ill, could spring
 So deep a malice, to confound the race
 Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
 To mingle and involve, done all to spite
 The great Creator? But their spite still serves 385
 His glory to augment. The bold design
 Pleas'd highly those infernal States, and joy

Sparkled

ter, when they have determin'd upon the expedition, and are consulting of a proper person to employ in it, then he says things to magnify the difficulty and danger, to make them more cautious in their choice.

362. — *here perhaps*] Dr. Bentley says that Milton must have given it *there perhaps*: but I think not: in ver. 360 it is *this place*, and therefore Milton gave it *here*, that is in the place which I am speaking of. Milton frequently uses *now* and *here*, not meaning a time or place *then* present to him or his

speakers *when* they are speaking; but that time and that place, which he or they are speaking of.

Pearce.

367. *The puny habitants,*] It is possible that the author by *puny* might mean no more than weak or little; but yet if we reflect how frequently he uses words in their proper and primary signification, it seems probable that he might include likewise the sense of the French (from whence it is deriv'd) *puis né*, born since, created long after us.

406. — *the*

Sparkled in all their eyes; with full assent
They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews.

Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate, 390
Synod of Gods, and like to what ye are,
Great things resolv'd, which from the lowest deep
Will once more lift us up, in spite of fate,
Nearer our ancient seat; perhaps in view
Of those bright confines, whence with neighb'ring arms
And opportune excursion we may chance 396
Re-enter Heav'n; or else in some mild zone
Dwell not unvisited of Heav'n's fair light
Secure, and at the brightning orient beam
Purge off this gloom; the soft delicious air, 400
To heal the scar of these corrosive fires,
Shall breathe her balm. But first whom shall we send
In search of this new world? whom shall we find
Sufficient? who shall tempt with wand'ring feet

The

406. — *the palpable obscure*] It is remarkable in our author's style, that he often uses adjectives as substantives, and substantives again as adjectives. Here are two adjectives, the latter of which is used for a substantive, as again in ver. 409, *the vast abrupt*. And sometimes there are two substantives, the former of which is used for an ad-

jective, as *the ocean stream*, I. 202. *the bullion dross*, I. 704. Milton often enriches his language in this manner.

409. — *ere he arrive*
The happy ile] The earth, hanging in the sea of air, like a happy, or *fortunate* island, as the name is. And so Cicero De Nat. Deor. II.

The dark unbottom'd infinite abyfs,
 And through the palpable obscure find out
 His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight
 Upborne with indefatigable wings
 Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
 The happy ile? what strength, what art can then 410
 Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
 Through the strict senteries and stations thick
 Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
 All circumspection, and we now no less
 Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send, 415
 The weight of all and our last hope relies.

This said, he sat; and expectation held
 His look suspense, awaiting who appear'd
 To second, or oppose, or undertake
 The perilous attempt: but all sat mute, 420
 Pond'ring the danger with deep thoughts; and each

In

66. calls the earth quasi magnam quendam insulam, quam nos orbem terræ vocamus. *Ere he arrive the happy ile*; so the word *arrive* is used by our author in the Preface to *the Judgment of Martin Bucer*, p. 276. Edit. 1738. "And he, if our things here below *arrive him* where he is &c:" and again in his *Treatise of civil power* in *ecclesiastical causes*, p. 553, "Let him also forbear force — lest a worse woe *arrive him*." And Shakespear expresses himself in the same manner 3 Hen. VI. Act V.
 — those powers, that the Queen Hath rais'd in Gallia, *have arriv'd our coast*.

In others count'nance read his own dismay
 Astonish'd: none among the choice and prime
 Of those Heav'n-warring champions could be found
 So hardy as to proffer or accept 425
 Alone the dreadful voyage; till at last
 Satan, whom now transcendent glory rais'd
 Above his fellows, with monarchal pride
 Conscious of highest worth, unmov'd thus spake.

O Progeny of Heav'n, empyreal Thrones, 430
 With reason hath deep silence and demur
 Seis'd us, though undismay'd: long is the way
 And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;
 Our prison strong; this huge convex of fire,
 Outrageous to devour, immures us round 435
 Ninefold,

420. — *but all sat mute,*] Homer often uses words to the same effect, when an affair of difficulty is proposed, such as sending a spy into the Trojan camp, or a single combat with Hector. Iliad. VII. 92.

Ὡς εἶπας· οἳ δ' ἀπὸ πάντες ἀκνή
 ἐγείρο'το σιωπῇ.
 Αἰδέσθην μὲν ἀνναῖσαι, δέσσιν
 δ' ὑποδέχθαι.

429. — *unmov'd*] With any of those dangers which deterred others.

430. *O progeny of Heav'n,*] Virg. Ecl. IV. 7.

Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto. Hume.

432. — *long is the way
 And hard, that out of Hell leads
 up to light;*] He had Virgil in mind, Æn. VI. 128.

Sed revocare gradum superasque
 evadere ad auras,
 Hoc opus, hic labor est.

But to return, and view the chearful skies,
 In this the task, and mighty labor lies: Dryden.

as in what follows of the fire immuring

Ninefold, and gates of burning adamant
 Barr'd over us prohibit all egress.
 These pass'd, if any pass, the void profound
 Of unessential Night receives him next
 Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being 440
 Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.
 If thence he scape into whatever world,
 Or unknown region, what remains him less
 Than unknown dangers, and as hard escape?
 But I should ill become this throne, O Peers, 445
 And this imperial sovranity, adorn'd
 With splendor, arm'd with pow'r, if ought propos'd
 And judg'd of public moment, in the shape
 Of difficulty or danger could deter

Me

muring them round *ninefold*, and of the gates of burning adamant, he alludes to what Virgil says in the same book, of Styx flowing nine times round the damn'd, and of the gates of Hell.

— *novies Styx interfusa coercet.*
 ver. 439.

Porta adversa ingens solidoque adamantante columnæ. ver. 552.

434. — *this huge convex of fire.* This huge vault of fire, bending down on all sides round us. *Convex* is spoken properly of the exterior surface of a globe, and *concave* of

the interior surface which is hollow: but the poets do not always speak thus exactly, but use them promiscuously; and hence in Virgil *cæli convexa* and *supera convexa* in several places. And what is here the *convex of fire* is afterwards call'd the fiery *concave*, ver. 635.

438. — *the void profound*] *Inane profundum*, as Lucretius has it in several places.

439. *Of unessential Night*] *Unessential*, void of being; darkness approaching nearest to, and being the best resemblance of non-entity.

Hume.

450. — *Where-*

Me from attempting. Wherefore do' I assume 450
 These royalties, and not refuse to reign,
 Refusing to accept as great a share
 Of hazard as of honor, due alike
 To him who reigns, and so much to him due
 Of hazard more, as he above the rest 455
 High honor'd fits? Go therefore mighty Powers,
 Terror of Heav'n, though fall'n; intend at home,
 While here shall be our home, what best may ease
 The present misery, and render Hell
 More tolerable; if there be cure or charm 460
 To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain
 Of this ill mansion: intermit no watch

Against

450.—*Wherefore do I assume &c.*
 Our author has here caught the spirit of Homer in that divine speech of Sarpedon to Glaucus, Iliad. XII. 310.

Γλαυκε, τιν δ'η νωι τετιμημεθα
 μαλιστα
 Εδρη τε, κρεασιν τε, ιδε πλειοις
 δεπασιν,
 Εν Λυκιη; παντες δε, θεες ως,
 εισορωσι;
 Και τεμενΘ νεμομεθα μεγα
 Ξανθοιο παρ' οχθας,
 Καλον, φυταλινς και αρερης πυ-
 ερφορεσι;

Τω νω χρη Λυκιοισι μετα πρω-
 τοισιν εοης,
 Εσαμεν, ηδε μαχης καυσειρης αν-
 τιβολησαι &c.

Why boast we, Glaucus, our ex-
 tended reign,
 Where Xanthus' streams enrich
 the Lycian plain,
 Our numerous herds that range
 the fruitful field,
 And hills where vines their purple
 harvest yield,
 Our foaming bowls with purer
 nectar crown'd,
 Our feasts enhanc'd with music's
 sprightly sound?

Why

Against a wakeful foe, while I abroad
 Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek
 Deliverance for us all : this enterprise 465
 None shall partake with me. Thus saying rose
 The Monarch, and prevented all reply,
 Prudent, lest from his resolution rais'd
 Others among the chief might offer now
 (Certain to be refus'd) what erst they fear'd; 470
 And so refus'd might in opinion stand
 His rivals, winning cheap the high repute
 Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they
 Dreaded not more th' adventure than his voice
 Forbidding; and at once with him they rose; 475
 Their

Why on those shores are we with
 joy survey'd,
 Admir'd as heroes, and as Gods
 obey'd?
 Unless great acts superior merit
 prove,
 And vindicate the bounteous
 pow'rs above.
 'Tis our's, the dignity they give,
 to grace;
 The first in valor, as the first in
 place. &c. Pope.

This is one of the noblest and best-
 spirited speeches in the whole Iliad:
 but (as Mr. Hume says) is as much
 exalted in the imitation, as a Sera-

phim is superior to a Man. And
 is it not a probable presumption,
 that Milton (whose dislike to kings
 is very well known) by putting
 these sentiments into the mouth of
 the king of Hell intended an oblique
 satire upon the kings of the Earth,
 whose practice is so often directly
 contrary to them?

465. — *this enterprise*
None shall partake with me.] The
 abruptness of Satan's conclusion is
 very well express'd by the speech
 breaking off in the middle of the
 verse.

Their rising all at once was as the sound
 Of thunder heard remote. Tow'ards him they bend
 With awful reverence prone; and as a God
 Extol him equal to the Hig'hest in Heaven:
 Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd,
 That for the general safety he despis'd
 His own: for neither do the Spirits damn'd

481

Lose

476. *Their rising all at once was
 as the sound*

Of thunder heard remote.] The rising of this great assembly is described in a very sublime and poetical manner. Addison.

483.—*lest bad men should boast &c.*] Here Dr. Bentley asks, whether the Devils retain some of their virtue, on purpose *lest bad men should boast &c.* This being an absurdity, he reads *lest should bad men boast &c.* But there is no occasion for the alteration. To take the force of the word *lest*, we must suppose the author to have left his reader to supply some such expression as this, This remark (of the Devils not *losing all their virtue*) I make, *lest bad men should boast &c.* Dr. Bentley knows that *μη* in Greek, and *ne* in Latin are often thus used. Milton here seems to have had in view Eph. II. 8, 9. *By grace ye are saved through faith — not of works, lest any man should boast.* Not, that they were *saved not of works*, on purpose *lest any man should boast*; but St. Paul puts them in mind of

that, and made that remark to prevent their *boasting*. Pearce.

As our author has drawn Satan with some remains of the beauty, so he represents him likewise with some of the other perfections of an Arch-Angel; and herein he has follow'd the rule of Aristotle in his Poetics, chap. 15. that the manners should be as good as the nature of the subject will possibly admit. A Devil all made up of wickedness would be too shocking to any reader or writer.

489.—*while the north-wind sleeps,*] So Homer expresses it, Iliad. V. 524.

—οὐρανὸν ἐκνέουσι καὶ ὁ βορρᾶς, — that wind generally clearing the sky, and dispersing the clouds. Every body must be wonderfully delighted with this similitude. The images are not more pleasing in nature, than they are refreshing to the reader after his attention to the foregoing debate. We have a simile of the same kind in Homer, but apply'd upon a very different occasion, Iliad. XVI. 297.

Ως

Lose all their virtue; lest bad men should boast
 Their specious deeds on earth, which glory' excites,
 Or close ambition varnish'd o'er with zeal. 485
 Thus they their doubtful consultations dark
 Ended rejoicing in their matchless chief:
 As when from mountain tops the dusky clouds
 Ascending, while the north-wind sleeps, o'er-spread
 Heav'n's

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς ο-
 ρεῖται μεγαλοῖο
 Κινῆσει πυκινῶν νεφελῶν σερπν-
 γερῆτα Ζεὺς,
 Ἐκ τ' ἐφάνον πασαι σκοπταί, καὶ
 πρῶονες ἀκροί,
 Καὶ ναπαί, κερνοθεν δ' ἀρ' ὑπερ-
 βαλὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθέρος.

So when thick clouds inwrap the
 mountain's head,
 O'er Heav'n's expanse like one
 black cieling spread;
 Sudden, the Thund'rer with a
 flashing ray,
 Bursts through the darkness, and
 lets down the day:
 The hills shine out, the rocks in
 prospect rise,
 And streams, and vales, and fo-
 rests strike the eyes,
 The smiling scene wide opens to
 the sight,
 And all th' unmeasur'd æther
 flames with light.

Mr. Pope translates it as if Jupiter
 lighten'd, which makes it a horrid
 rather than a pleasing scene; but

Homer says only that he remov'd
 the thick clouds from the mountain
 top, and so it is explained in the
 note of Pope's Homer, which
 shows that the translation and notes
 were not always made by the same
 person. We have a simile too,
 much of the same nature in a Son-
 net of Spenfer, as Mr. Thyer hath
 observed. Sonnet 40.

Mark when she smiles with amiable
 cheer,
 And tell me whereto can you liken
 it:
 When on each eye-lid sweetly do
 appear
 An hundred Graces as in shade
 to sit.
 Likest it seemeth, in my simple wit,
 Unto the fair sun-shine in sum-
 mer's day;
 That when a dreadful storm away
 is flit,
 Through the broad world doth
 spread his goodly ray:
 At sight whereof each bird that sits
 on spray,
 And every beast that to his den
 was fled,

R 3

Come

Heav'n's chearful face, the louring element 490
 Scowls o'er the darken'd landskip snow, or shower;
 If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet
 Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,
 The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
 Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings. 495
 O shame to men! Devil with Devil damn'd
 Firm concord holds, men only disagree
 Of creatures rational, though under hope
 Of heav'nly grace: and God proclaiming peace,
 Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife 500
 Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,
 Wasting the earth, each other to destroy:
 As if (which might induce us to accord)

Man

Come forth afresh out of their late
 dismay,
 And to the light lift up their
 drooping head.
 So my storm-beaten heart likewise
 is cheared,
 With that sun-shine, when cloudy
 looks are cleared.

See also a simile of the same kind
 in Boethius De Consol. L. 1. and in
 Dante's Inferno. C. 24.

489. ——— o'erspread
 Heav'n's chearful face,] Spenser,
 Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 12. St. 34.
 And Heaven's chearful face enve-
 loped. Thyer.

494. — *bleating herds*] Dr. Bent-
 ley reads *flocks*, and says that *herd*
 is a word proper to cattel, that do
 not *bleat*. But *herd* is originally the
 common name for a number of any
 sort of cattel: Hence *Shepherd*,
 that is *Shepherdsmen*, see VII. 462.
 Pearce.

— *Bleating herds* is much such an ex-
 pression as Spenser's *fleecy cattel* in
 Colin Clout's come home again.

496. *O shame to men! &c.*] This
 reflection will appear the more per-
 tinent and natural, when one con-
 sider the contentious age, in which
 Milton liv'd and wrote. Thyer.

Man had not hellish foes enow besides,
That day and night for his destruction wait. 505

The Stygian council thus dissolv'd; and forth
In order came the grand infernal peers:
Midst came their mighty paramount, and seem'd
Alone th' antagonist of Heav'n, nor less
Than Hell's dread emperor with pomp supreme, 510
And God-like imitated state; him round
A globe of fiery Seraphim inclos'd
With bright imblazonry, and horrent arms.
Then of their session ended they bid cry
With trumpets regal found the great result: 515
Tow'ards the four winds four speedy Cherubim
Put to their mouths the sounding alchemy

By

512. *A globe of fiery Seraphim*] A globe signifies here a battalion in circle surrounding him, as Virgil says, *Æn. X. 373.*

— *qua globus ille virum densissimus urget.*

513. — *horrent arms.*] *Horrent* includes the idea both of terrible and prickly, set up like the bristles of a wild boar.

Horrentia Martis arma.

Virg. *Æn. I.*

— *denfos acie atque horrentibus hastis.* *Æn. X. 178.*

517. — *the sounding alchemy*]

Dr. Bentley reads *orichalc*: but since he allows that gold and silver coin, as well as brass and pewter, are alchemy, being mix'd metals, for that reason alchemy will do here; especially being join'd to the epithet *sounding*, which determines it to mean a trumpet, made perhaps of the mix'd metals of brass, silver, &c.

Pearce.

Alchemy; the name of that art which is the sublimer part of chemistry, the transmutation of metals. Milton names no particular metal, but leaves the imagination at large, any metal possible to be produced by that mysterious art;

R 4

'tis

By heralds voice explain'd; the hollow' abyfs
 Heard far and wide, and all the host of Hell
 With deafning shout return'd them loud acclame. 520
 Thence more at ease their minds, and somewhat
 rais'd

By false presumptuous hope, the ranged Powers
 Disband, and wand'ring, each his several way
 Pursues, as inclination or sad choice
 Leads him perplex'd, where he may likeliest find 525
 Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain

The

'tis a metonymy, the efficient for the effect; vastly poetical!

Richardson.

Alchemy is in short what is corruptly pronounc'd *Ockamy*, that is any mix'd metal.

527.—*till his great chief return.*] So it is in the first edition: but in the second and some others it is, *till this great chief return*; which is manifestly an error of the press.

528. *Part on the plain, &c.*] The diversions of the fallen Angels, with the particular account of their place of habitation, are described with great pregnancy of thought and copiousness of invention. The diversions are every way suitable to beings, who had nothing left them but strength and knowledge misapplied. Such are their contentions at the race and in feats of

arms, with their entertainments in the following lines,

Others with vast Typhœan rage
 more fell &c.

Their music is employ'd in celebrating their own criminal exploits, and their discourse in sounding the unfathomable depths of fate, free-will, and fore-knowledge. *Addison.* Part contend on the plain in running, or in the air in flying, as at the famous Olympian or Pythian games in Greece, while another part contend on horseback or in chariot races, *Part curb their fiery steeds, &c.* These warlike diversions of the fall'n Angels during the absence of Satan seem to be copied from the military exercises of the Myrmidons during the absence of their chief from the war, Homer's *Iliad*. II. 774. &c. only the

The irksome hours, till his great chief return.
 Part on the plain, or in the air sublime,
 Upon the wing, or in swift race contend,
 As at th' Olympian games or Pythian fields; 530
 Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal
 With rapid wheels, or fronted brigads form.
 As when to warn proud cities war appears
 Wag'd in the troubled sky, and armies rush
 To battel in the clouds, before each van 535
 Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears
 Till

the images are rais'd in proportion to the nature of the beings who are here described. We may suppose too that the author had an eye to the diversions and entertainments of the departed heroes in Virgil's Elysium, *Æn.* VI. 642.

Pars in gramineis exercent mem-
 bra palæstris,
 Contendunt ludo, et fulvâ luctan-
 tur arenâ :
 Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas, et
 carmina dicunt, &c.

Their aery limbs in sports they
 exercise,
 And on the green contend the
 wrestler's prize.
 Some in heroic verse divinely sing;
 Others in artful measures lead the
 ring. &c. Dryden.

531. — or shun the goal

With rapid wheels,] Plainly taken
 from Horace, *Od.* I. I. 4.

Metaque fervidis evitata rotis.

But with good judgment he says
rapid not *fervid*: because in these
 Hell-games both the wheels and
 the burning marle they drove on
 were *fervid* even before the race.

Bentley.

534. *Wag'd in the troubled sky,*]
 So Shakespear in 1 Hen IV. Act I.
 calls these appearances

—the meteors of a troubled Heaven.

536. — and couch their spears]
 Fix them in their rests. *Couch* from
coucher (French) to place. A rest
 was made in the breast of the ar-
 mour, and was call'd a *rest* from
arrester (French) to stay. *Richardson.*

539. Others

Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
 From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.
 Others with vast Typhœan rage more fell
 Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air 540
 In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar.
 As when Alcides, from Oechalia crown'd
 With conquest, felt th' envenom'd robe, and tore
 Through pain up by the roots Theſſalian pines,
 And Lichas from the top of Oeta threw 545
 Into

539. *Others with vast Typhœan rage &c.*] Others with rage like that of Typhœus or Typhon, one of the giants who warred against Heaven, of whom see before I. 199. The contrast here is very remarkable. Some are employ'd in sportive games and exercises, while others rend up both rocks and hills, and make wild uproar. Some again are singing in a valley, while others are discoursing and arguing on a hill; and these are represented as *sitting*, while others march different ways to discover that infernal world. Every company is drawn in contrast both to that which goes before, and that which follows.

542. *As when Alcides; &c.*] As when Hercules named *Alcides* from his grandfather Alcæus, *from Oechalia crown'd with conquest*, after his return from the conquest of Oechalia a city of Bœotia, having brought with him from thence Iole

the king's daughter, *felt th' envenom'd robe*, which was sent him by Deianira in jealousy of his new mistress, and stuck so close to his skin that he could not pull off the one without pulling off the other, *and tore through pain up by the roots Theſſalian pines, and Lichas* who had brought him the poison'd robe, *from the top of Oeta*, a mountain in the borders of Theſſaly, *threw into th' Euboic sea*, the sea near Eubœa an island in the Archipelago. The madness of Hercules was a subject for tragedy among the Ancients (ΗΕΡΚΛΗΣ ΜΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ by Euripides, Hercules furens by Seneca) but our author has comprised the principal circumstances in this similitude, and seems more particularly to have copied Ovid, Met. IX. 136.

Victor ab Oechalia——&c.

But as Mr. Thyer rightly observes, Milton in this simile falls vastly short

Into th' Euboic sea. Others more mild,
 Retreated in a silent valley, sing
 With notes angelical to many a harp
 Their own heroic deeds and hapless fall
 By doom of battel; and complain that fate 550
 Free virtue should inthrall to force or chance.
 Their song was partial, but the harmony
 (What could it less when Spi'rits immortal sing?)
 Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment

The

short of his usual sublimity and propriety. How much does the image of Alcides tearing up Thesalian pines &c sink below that of the Angels rending up both rocks and hills, and riding the air in whirlwind! and how faintly and insignificantly does the allusion end with the low circumstance of Lichas being thrown into the Euboic sea!

550. — and complain that fate
*Free virtue should inthrall to force
 or chance.*] This is taken
 from the famous distich of Euripides, which Brutus used, when he slew himself;

Ω τλημον αρετη, λογ' αρ' ηδ',
 εγω δε σε
 Ως εργον ησκαει· συ δ' αρ' εδου-
 λευσας βια.

In some places for βια *force* it is quoted τυχη *fortune*. Milton has well comprehended both, *inthrall to force or chance*. Bentley.

554. *Suspended Hell,*] The effect of their singing is somewhat like that of Orpheus in Hell, Virg. Georg. IV. 481.

Quin ipsæ stupuere domus, atque
 intima lethi
 Tartara, ceruleosque implexæ cri-
 nibus angues
 Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria
 Cerberus ora,
 Atque Ixionii vento rota constitit
 orbis.

E'en from the depths of Hell the
 damn'd advance,
 Th' infernal mansions nodding
 seem to dance;
 The gaping three-mouth'd dog
 forgets to snarl,
 The Furies hearken, and their
 snakes uncurl;
 Ixion seems no more his pain to
 feel,
 But leans attentive on his standing
 wheel. Dryden.

The

The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet 555
 (For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense,)
 Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,
 In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
 Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
 Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute, 560
 And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.
 Of good and evil much they argued then,
 Of happiness and final misery,
 Passion and apathy, and glory' and shame,
 Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy: 565
 Yet

The harmony suspended Hell; but is it not much better with the parenthesis coming between? which suspends as it were the event, raises the reader's attention, and gives a greater force to the sentence.

But the harmony
 (What could it less when Spirits
 immortal sing?)
 Suspended Hell, &c.

555. — *In discourse more sweet*] Our poet so justly prefers discourse to the highest harmony, that he has seated his reasoning Angels on a hill as high and elevated as their thoughts, leaving the songsters in their humble valley. *Hume.*

559. — *foreknowledge, will, and fate,*

Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,] The turn of the words here is admirable, and very well expresses the wand'rings and mazes of their discourse. And the turn of the words is greatly improv'd, and render'd still more beautiful by the addition of an epithet to each of them.

565. *Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy:]* Good and evil, and de finibus bonorum et malorum, &c. were more particularly the subjects of disputation among the philosophers and sophists of old, as *providence, free will, &c.* were among the school-men and divines of later times, especially upon the introduction of the free notions of Arminius upon these subjects: and our author shows herein what an opinion

Yet with a pleasing forcery could charm
 Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
 Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured breast
 With stubborn patience as with triple steel.
 Another part in squadrons and gross bands, 570
 On bold adventure to discover wide
 That dismal world, if any clime perhaps
 Might yield them easier habitation, bend
 Four ways their flying march, along the banks
 Of four infernal rivers, that disgorge 575
 Into the burning lake their baleful streams;
 Abhorred

opinion he had of all books and learning of this kind.

568. — *th' obdured breast*] So we read in Milton's own editions, and not *obdurate*, as it is in Dr. Bentley's, Mr. Fenton's, and others: The same word is used again in VI. 785.

This saw his hapless foes, but stood *obdur'd*.

569. — *with triple steel.*] An imitation of Horace, Od. I. III. 9, 10.

*Illi robur, et æs triplex
 Circa pectus erat, &c.*

His breast was armed with the strength of threefold brass, only our poet useth the hardest metal of the two. *Hume.*

572. *That dismal world,*] The several circumstances in the description of Hell are finely imagin'd; as the four rivers which disgorge themselves into the sea of fire, the extremes of cold and heat, and the river of oblivion. The monstrous animals produced in that infernal world are represented by a single line, which gives us a more horrid idea of them, than a much longer description of them would have done. This episode of the fallen Spirits and their place of habitation comes in very happily to unbend the mind of the reader from its attention to the debate. An ordinary poet would indeed have spun out so many circumstances to a great length, and by that means have weaken'd, instead of illustrated, the principal fable. *Addison.*

577. *Abhorred*

Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
 Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
 Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
 Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon, 580
 Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
 Far off from these a flow and silent stream,
 Lethe the river of oblivion rolls
 Her watry labyrinth, whereof who drinks,
 Forthwith

577. *Abhorred Styx, &c.*] The Greeks reckon up five rivers in Hell, and call them after the names of the noxious springs and rivers in their own country. Our poet follows their example both as to the number and the names of these infernal rivers, and excellently describes their nature and properties with the explanation of their names. *Styx* so named of a Greek word *στυγέω* that signifies to *hate* and *abhor*, and therefore called here *Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate*, and by Virgil *palus inamabilis*, *Æn.* VI. 438. *Acheron* has its name from *αχος* dolor and *ρῆ* fluo, *flowing with grief*; and is represented accordingly *Sad Acheron, the river of sorrow* as *Styx* was of hate, *black and deep*, agreeable to Virgil's character of it

---- tenebrosa palus Acheronte re-
 fufo. *Æn.* VI. 107.

Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation, because derived from a Greek word

κῶκυω signifying to *weep* and *lament*: as *Phlegethon* is from another Greek word *φλεγω* signifying to *burn*; and therefore rightly described here *fierce Phlegethon, whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage*, as it is by Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 550.

— rapidus flammis torrentibus
 amnis

Tartareus Phlegethon.

We know not what to say as to the situation of these rivers. Homer, the most ancient poet, represents *Cocytus* as branching out of *Styx*, and both *Cocytus* and *Phlegethon* (or *Pyrphlegethon*) as flowing into *Acheron*, *Odyss.* X. 513.

Ενθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέρουσα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ρέουσι
 Κῶκυτος δ', ὅς ἐστι Στυγὸς ὕδατος ἐστὶν ἀπορροή.

and perhaps he describes their situation as it really was in Greece: but Virgil and the other poets frequently

Book II. PARADISE LOST. 135

Forthwith his former state and be'ing forgets, 585
 Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.
 Beyond this flood a frozen continent
 Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms
 Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
 Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems 590
 Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice,
 A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog

Betwixt

quently confound them, and mention their names and places without sufficient difference or distinction. Our poet therefore was at liberty to draw (as I may say) a new map of these rivers; and he supposes a *burning lake* agreeably to Scripture that often mentions *the lake of fire*; and he makes these four rivers to flow from four different quarters and empty themselves into this burning lake, which gives us a much greater idea than any of the Heathen poets. Besides these there is a fifth river called *Lethe*, which name in Greek signifies *forgetfulness*, and its waters are said to have occasion'd that quality, *Æn.* VI. 714.

Lethæi ad fluminis undam
 Securos latices, et longa obliviam
 potant :

and Milton attributes the same effect to it, and describes it as a *slow and silent stream*, as Lucan had done before him, IX. 355.

Quam juxta Lethes tacitus prælabitur amnis.

The river of oblivion is rightly plac'd *far off* from the rivers of hatred, sorrow, lamentation, and rage; and divides the frozen continent from the region of fire, and thereby completes the map of Hell with its general divisions.

589. — *dire hail*,] Hor. Od. I. II. 1.

Jam satis terris nivis atque diræ
 Grandinis &c.

592. — *that Serbonian bog*] Serbonis was a lake 200 furlongs in length and 1000 in compass between the ancient mountain Casius and Damiata a city of Egypt on one of the more eastern mouths of the Nile. It was surrounded on all sides by hills of loose sand, which carried into the water by high winds so thicken'd the lake, as not to be distinguish'd from part of the continent, where whole armies

Betwixt Damiata and mount Casius old,
 Where armies whole have sunk: the parching air
 Burns frore, and cold performs th' effect of fire. 595
 Thither by harpy-footed furies hal'd
 At certain revolutions all the damn'd
 Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
 Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
 From beds of raging fire to starve in ice 600
 Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine
 Immoveable,

mies have been swallow'd up. Read Herodotus, L. 3. and Luc. Phar. VIII. 539. &c.

Perfida qua tellus Casius excurrit arenis,

Et vada testantur junctas Ægyptia Syrtes, &c. Hume.

595. Burns frore,] Frore an old word for frosty. The parching air burns with frost. So we have in Virg. Georg. I. 93.

—Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat:

and in Ecclus. XLIII. 20, 21. *When the cold north-wind bloweth—it devoureth the mountains, and burneth the wilderness, and consumeth the grass as fire.* And is not the expression used by the Psalmist of the like nature? *The sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night,* Psal. CXXI. 6. in the old translation and the Septuagint?

596. — by harpy-footed furies hal'd] The word hal'd in

this line is deriv'd from the Belgic *halen* or the French *haler*, and therefore should be spelt as it is here, and not *hail'd* as in Milton's own editions. Spenser uses the word, *Fairy Queen*. B. 5. Cant. 2. St. 26.

Who rudely hal'd her forth without remorse:

and we meet with it several times in Shakespear.

603. —thence hurried back to fire.] This circumstance of the damned's suffering the extremes of heat and cold by turns is finely invented to aggravate the horror of the description, and seems to be founded upon Job XXIV. 19. but not as it is in the English translation, but in the Vulgar Latin version, which Milton frequently used. *Ad nimium calorem transeat ab aquis nivium; Let him pass to excessive heat from waters of snow.* And so Jerom and other commentators understand it.

There

Immoveable, infix'd, and frozen round,
 Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.
 They ferry over this Lethean sound
 Both to and fro, their sorrow to augment, 605
 And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach
 The tempting stream, with one small drop to lose
 In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,
 All in one moment, and so near the brink;
 But fate withstands, and to oppose th' attempt 610
 Medusa

There is a fine passage likewise in
 Shakespear, where the punishment
 after death is supposed to consist in
 extreme heat or extreme cold; but
 these extremes are not made alter-
 nate, and to be suffer'd both in
 their turns, as Milton has describ'd
 them, and thereby has greatly re-
 fin'd and improv'd the thought.
 Measure for Measure, Act III.

Ay, but to die, and go we know
 not where:

To lie in cold obstruction, and to
 rot;

This sensible warm motion to be-
 come

A kneaded clod; and the delight-
 ed spirit

To bathe in fiery floods, or to
 reside

In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed
 ice, &c.

609. — *and so near the brink;*]

This is added as a farther aggra-
 vation of their misery, that tho'

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they were *so near the brink*, so near
 the brim and surface of the water,
 yet they could not taste one drop
 of it. But the reasons follow, *fate*
withstands, *fata obstant* as it is in
 Virgil, *Æn.* IV. 440. *and Medusa*
with Gorgonian terror guards the
ford. Medusa was one of the Gor-
 gon monsters, whose locks were
 serpents so terrible that they turn-
 ed the beholders into stone. Ulysses
 in Homer was desirous of seeing
 more of the departed heroes, but
 I was afraid, says he, *Odyss.* XI.
 633.

Μη μοι Γοργεινν κεφαλην δανοιο
 πελωρε

Εξ Αιδου πεμψειν αγαπη Περ-
 σεφονεια.

Lest Gorgon rising from th'infer-
 nal lakes,

With horrors arm'd, and curls of
 hissing snakes,

Should

Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
 The ford, and of itself the water flies
 All taste of living wight, as once it fled
 The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
 In cónfus'd march forlorn, th' adventurous bands 615
 With shudd'ring horror pale, and eyes aghast,
 View'd first their lamentable lot, and found
 No rest: through many a dark and dreary vale
 They pass'd, and many a region dolorous,
 O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp, 620
 Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death,
 A universe of death, which God by curse
 Created ev'íl, for evil only good,

Where

Should fix me, stiffen'd at the
 monstrous sight,
 A stony image, in eternal night!

Broome.

So frightful a creature is very properly feign'd by our poet to guard this water. And besides *of itself the water flies their taste*, and serves only to tantalize them. This is a fine allegory to show that there is no forgetfulness in Hell. Memory makes a part of the punishment of the damn'd, and reflection but increases their misery.

628. Gorgons, and Hydra's, and Chimæra's dire.] Our author

fixes all these monsters in Hell in imitation of Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 287.

— bellua Lernæ

Horrendum fridens, flammisque armata Chimæra,

Gorgones &c.

Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra. ver. 576.

Tasso has likewise given them a place in his description of Hell, or rather he copies Virgil's description, *Cant.* 4. *St.* 5.

Qui mille immonde Arpie vedresti, e mille

Centauro, e Sfingi, e pallide Gorgoni, &c.

There

Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things, 625
Abominable, inutterable, and worse

Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
Gorgons, and Hydra's, and Chimæra's dire.

Mean while the Adversary' of God and Man,
Satan with thoughts inflam'd of hig'hest design, 630
Puts on swift wings, and tow'ards the gates of Hell
Explores his solitary flight; sometimes
He scours the right hand coast, sometimes the left,
Now shaves with level wing the deep, then soars
Up to the fiery concave towring high. 635

As when far off at sea a fleet descry'd

Hangs

There were Celæno's foul and
loathsome rout,
There Sphinges, Centaurs, there
were Gorgons fell,
There howling Scylla's, yawling
round about,
There serpents hiss, there sev'n-
mouth'd Hydra's yell,
Chimæra there spues fire and
brimstone out. Fairfax.

But how much better has Milton
comprehended them in one line?

634. *Now shaves with level wing
the deep.*] Virg. *Æn.* V. 217.
Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque
commovet alas.

636. *As when far off at sea &c.*] Satan *towring high* is here compar'd to a fleet of Indiamen discover'd at a distance, as it were, *hanging in the clouds*, as a fleet at a distance seems to do. This is the whole of the comparison; but (as Dr. Pearce observes) Milton in his similitudes (as is the practice of Homer and Virgil too) after he has show'd the common resemblance, often takes the liberty of wand'ring into some unressembling circumstances; which have no other relation to the comparison, than that it gave him the hint, and as it were set fire to the train of his imagination.

Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds
 Close sailing from Bengala, or the iles
 Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
 Their spicy drugs: they on the trading flood 640
 Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape
 Ply stemming nightly toward the pole. So seem'd
 Far

imagination. But Dr. Bentley asks, why a *fleet* when a first rate man of war would do? And Dr. Pearce answers, Because a fleet gives a nobler image than a single ship. And it is a fleet of Indiamen, because coming from so long a voyage it is the fitter to be compar'd to Satan in this expedition; and these exotic names (as Dr. Bentley calls them) give a less vulgar cast to the similitude than places in our own channel and in our own seas would have done. This fleet is describ'd, by *equinoctial winds*, the trade-winds blowing about the equinoctial, *close sailing*, and therefore more proper to be compar'd to a single person, *from Bengala*, a kingdom and city in the East Indies subject to the great Mogul, *or the iles of Ternate and Tidore*, two of the Molucca islands in the East Indian sea, *whence merchants bring their spicy drugs*, the most famous spices are brought from thence by the Dutch into Europe: *they on the trading flood*, as the winds are call'd *trade-winds*, so he calls the flood *trading*, *through the wide Ethiopian sea to the Cape of Good Hope*, *ply stemming nightly toward the pole*,

that is by night they sail northward, and yet (as Dr. Pearce says) by day their fleet may be *descri'd hanging in the clouds*. So seem'd *far off the flying Fiend*: Dr. Bentley asks, whom Satan appear'd to *far off*, in this his *solitary fight*? But what a cold phlegmatic piece of criticism is this? It may be answer'd, that he was seen by the Muse, and would have seem'd so to any one who had seen him. Poets often speak in this manner, and make themselves and their readers present to the most retir'd scenes of action.

645. *And thrice threefold the gates;*] The gates had nine folds, nine plates, nine linings; as Homer and the other poets make their heroes shields, to have several coverings of various materials for the greater strength: Ovid. Met. XIII. 2.

— clypei dominus septemplicis
 Ajax. Bentley.

647. — *impal'd with circling fire,*] Inclosed, pal'd in as it were. So the word is used in Spenser's *Muio-*
potmos,

And

Far off the flying Fiend: at last appear
 Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid roof,
 And thrice threefold the gates; three folds were brasse,
 Three iron, three of adamantin rock, 646
 Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire,
 Yet unconsum'd. Before the gates there sat

On

And round about, her work she
 did *impale*
 With a fair border wrought of
 sundry flowers.

of the allegory says only, that Satan's intended voyage was dangerous to his being, and that he resolved however to venture.

Richardson.

It is commonly applied to that kind of execution, when a pale or stake is drove through a malefactor's body. And perhaps Milton (as Mr. Thyer adds) might take the hint of this circumstance from his favorite romances, where one frequently meets with the gates of enchanted castles thus *impal'd with circling fire*. Spenser also in his description of the house of Busyrane. Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 11. St. 21.

The flight of Satan to the gates of Hell is finely imaged. I have already declared my opinion of the allegory concerning Sin and Death, which is however a very finish'd piece in its kind, when it is not considered as a part of an epic poem. The genealogy of the several persons is contrived with great delicacy; Sin is the daughter of Satan, and Death the offspring of Sin. The incestuous mixture between Sin and Death produces those monsters and Hell-hounds, which from time to time enter into their mother, and tear the bowels of her who gave them birth. These are the terrors of an evil conscience, and the proper fruits of Sin, which naturally rise from the apprehensions of Death. This last beautiful moral is, I think, clearly intimated in the speech of Sin, where complaining of this her dreadful issue, she adds,

But in the porch that did them
 fore amate
 A flaming fire, ymixt with smouldry
 smoke &c.

648. — *Before the gates there sat &c.*] Here begins the famous allegory of Milton, which is a sort of paraphrase on that text of the Apostle St. James, I. 15. *Then when Lust hath conceived it bringeth forth Sin, and Sin when it is finished bringeth forth Death.* The first part

S 3

Before

On either side a formidable shape ;
 The one seem'd woman to the waste, and fair, 650
 But ended foul in many a scaly fold
 Voluminous and vast, a serpent arm'd
 With mortal sting: about her middle round

A

Before mine eyes in opposition sits
 Grim Death my son and foe, who
 sets them on,
 And me his parent would full soon
 devour
 For want of other prey, but that
 he knows
 His end with mine involv'd.

I need not mention to the reader the beautiful circumstance in the last part of this quotation. He will likewise observe how naturally the three persons concerned in this allegory are tempted by one common interest to enter into a confederacy together, and how properly Sin is made the portress of Hell, and the only being that can open the gates to that world of tortures. The descriptive part of this allegory is likewise very strong, and full of sublime ideas. The figure of Death, the regal crown upon his head, his menace of Satan, his advancing to the combat, the outcry at his birth, are circumstances too noble to be past over in silence, and extremely suitable to this *king of terrors*. I need not mention the justness of thought which is observed in the generation of these several symbolical persons; that Sin was produced upon the first

revolt of Satan, that Death appear'd soon after he was cast into Hell, and that the terrors of conscience were conceived at the gate of this place of torments. The description of the gates is very poetical, as the opening of them is full of Milton's spirit.

Addison.

But tho' Mr. Addison censures this famous allegory, as improper for an epic poem; yet Bishop Atterbury, whose taste in polite literature was never question'd, seems to be much more affected with this than any part of the poem, as I think we may collect from one of his letters to Mr. Pope. "I return you your Milton, says He, and — I protest to you, this last perusal of him has given me such new degrees, I will not say of pleasure, but of admiration and astonishment, that I look upon the sublimity of Homer and the majesty of Virgil with somewhat less reverence than I us'd to do. I challenge you, with all your partiality, to show me in the first of these any thing equal to the allegory of Sin and Death, either as to the greatness and justness of the invention, or the highth and beauty of the coloring. What I looked

A cry of Hell hounds never ceasing bark'd
 With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung 655
 A hideous peal; yet, when they list, would creep,
 If ought disturb'd their noise, into her womb,
 And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd,
 Within

“ looked upon as a rant of Bar-
 “ row’s, I now begin to think a
 “ serious truth, and could almost
 “ venture to set my hand to it,

Hæc quicunque leget, tantum ce-
 cinisse putabit,
 Meonidem ranas, Virgilium cu-
 lices.

649. *On either side a formidable
 shape;]* The figure of *Death*
 is pretty well fix’d and agreed upon
 by poets and painters: but the de-
 scription of *Sin* seems to be an im-
 provement upon that thought in
 Horace, *De Art. Poet.* 4.

Definit in piscem mulier formosa
 superne.

And it is not improbable, that the
 author might have in mind too
 Spenser’s description of Error in
 the mix’d shape of a woman and
 a serpent, *Fairy Queen*, B. I. C. I.
 St. 14.

Half like a serpent horribly dis-
 play’d,
 But th’ other half did woman’s
 shape retain, &c.

And also the image of Echidna,
 B. 6. C. 6. St. 10.

Yet did her face, and former
 parts profess

A fair young maiden, full of
 comely glee;

But all her hinder parts did
 plain express

A monstrous dragon, full of fear-
 ful ugliness.

The addition of the Hell hounds
 about her middle is plainly copied
 from Scylla, as appears from the
 following simile. I had almost
 forgot that Hesiod’s Echidna is de-
 scribed half-woman and half-ser-
 pent as well as Spenser’s. *Theog.*
 298.

Ημισυ μὲν νυμφὸν, ἐλικοπίδα,
 καλλιπαρῆον,

Ημισυ δ’ αὐτὲ πέλωρον ὄφιν, δαι-
 νον τὸ μέγαν.

654. *A cry of Hell-hounds never
 ceasing bark’d]* Dr. Bentley
 reads *A crue of Hell-hounds*, &c.
 but Milton’s *cry* of Hell-hounds is
 of much the same poetical stamp as
 Virgil’s *ruunt equites et odora canum*
vis, *Æn.* IV. 132. where what is
 proper to the *canes* is said of the
vis; as here what is proper to the
Hell-hounds is said of the *cry*. We
 have the same way of speaking in
 VI. 212. VII. 66. and elsewhere.

Pearce,

660. *Vex’d*

Within unseen. Far less abhorr'd than these
 Vex'd Scylla bathing in the sea that parts 660
 Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore :
 Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when call'd
 In secret, riding through the air she comes,
 Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance
 With Lapland witches, while the lab'ring moon 665
 Eclipses at their charms. The other shape,
 If shape it might be call'd that shape had none
 Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,

Or

660. *Vex'd Scylla bathing in the sea*] For Circe having poison'd that part of the sea where Scylla used to bathe, the next time Scylla bathed, her lower parts were changed into dogs, *in the sea that parts Calabria*, the farthest part of Italy towards the Mediterranean, *from the hoarse Trinacrian shore*, that is from Sicily, which was formerly called Trinacria from its three promontories lying in the form of a triangle: and this shore may well be called *hoarse* not only by reason of a tempestuous sea breaking upon it, but likewise on account of the noises occasion'd by the eruptions of mount Ætna; and the number of r's in this verse very well express the hoarseness of it. You have the story of Scylla in the beginning of the 14th book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, ver. 59. &c.

*Scylla venit, mediaque tenus descenderat alvo;
 Cum sua fœdari latrantibus inguina monstros
 Aspicit: ac primo non credens corporis illas
 Esse sui partes, refugitque, abigitque, timetque
 Ora proterva canum; sed quos fugit, attrahit una.
 Et corpus quærens femorum, crurumque, pedumque,
 Cerbereos rictus pro partibus invenit illis.
 Statque canum rabies; subjectaque terga ferarum
 Inguinibus truncis uteroque exstante coherent.*

The *Cerberian mouths* in Milton is plainly after the *Cerberos rictus* in Ovid.

665. — *the lab'ring moon*] The Ancients believed the moon greatly affected

Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
 For each seem'd either; black it stood as Night, 670
 Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
 And shook a dreadful dart; what seem'd his head
 The likeness of a kingly crown had on.
 Satan was now at hand, and from his seat
 The monster moving onward came as fast 675
 With horrid strides, Hell trembled as he strode.
 Th' undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
 Admir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except,
 Created

affected by magical practices, and the Latin poets call the eclipses of the moon *labores lunæ*. The three foregoing lines, and the former part of this contain a short account of what was once believ'd, and in Milton's time not so ridiculous as now. *Richardson.*

666. *The other shape &c.*] This poetical description of Death our author has pretty evidently borrowed from Spenser. *Fairy Queen*, B. 7. Cant. 7. St. 46.

But after all came Life, and lastly Death,
 Death with most grim and grisly visage seen,
 Yet is he nought but parting of the breath,
 Ne ought to see, but like a shade to ween,
 Unbodied, unsoul'd, unheard, unseen, *Thyer.*

670.—*black it stood as Night, &c.*] Like the ghost described in Homer, *Odyss. XI.* 605.

—ὁ δ' ἐρεμνὴ νυκτὶ εἰκώς,
 Γυμνὸν τοξὸν ἔχων, καὶ ἐπὶ νεύ-
 ρηφιν οἶσον,
 Δειὸν παπταίνων, αἰεὶ βαλεούτῃ
 εἰκώς.

Gloomy as night he stands, in act to throw
 Th' aerial arrow from the twanging bow. *Broome.*

678. — *God and his Son except, Created thing nought valued he nor shunn'd;*] This appears at first sight to reckon God and his Son among created things, but *except* is used here with the same liberty as *but* ver. 333 and 336, and Milton has a like passage in his prose works, p. 277. *Edit. Tol. No place in Heaven and Earth, except Hell* — *Richardson.*

683. — *mis-*

Created thing nought valued he nor shunn'd ;
And with disdainful look thus first began. 680

Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,
That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance
Thy miscreated front athwart my way
To yonder gates? through them I mean to pass,
That be assur'd, without leave ask'd of thee: 685
Retire, or taste thy folly', and learn by proof,
Hell-born, not to contend with Spi'rits of Heaven.

To whom the goblin full of wrath reply'd.
Art thou that traitor Angel, art thou He,
Who first broke peace in Heav'n and faith, till then
Unbroken, and in proud rebellious arms 691
Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's sons
Conjúr'd against the Hig'hest, for which both thou
And

683. — *miscreated*] We have been told that Milton first coin'd the word *miscreated*, but Spenser used it before him, as Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 3.

Estfoons he took that *miscreated* fair.

and B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 42.

Nor mortal steel empierce his *miscreated* mold. Bentley.

684. — *through them I mean to pass, &c.*] Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 4. St. 15.

I mean not thee intreat
To pass; but mauger thee will
pass, or die. Fortin.

692. *Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's Sons*] An opinion, as we noted before, grounded on Rev. XII. 3, 4. *Behold a great red dragon — and his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven and cast them to the earth.*

693. *Conjúr'd against the Hig'hest,*] Banded and leagued together against the most High. Of the Latin

con-

And they, outcast from God, are here condemn'd
 To waste eternal days in woe and pain? 695
 And reckon'st thou thyself with Spi'rits of Heaven,
 Hell-doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn
 Where I reign king, and to enrage thee more,
 Thy king and lord? Back to thy punishment,
 False fugitive, and to thy speed add wings, 700
 Lest with a whip of scorpions I pursue
 Thy lingring, or with one stroke of this dart
 Strange horror seize thee', and pangs unfelt before.

So spake the grisly terror, and in shape,
 So speaking and so threatning, grew tenfold 705
 More dreadful and deform: on th' other side
 Incens'd with indignation Satan stood
 Unterrify'd, and like a comet burn'd,

That

conjurare to bind one another by oath to be true and faithful in a design undertaken,

Et *conjuratos* cœlum rescindere fratres. Virg. Georg. I. 280.

Aut *conjurato* descendens Dacus ab Istro. Georg. II. 497. Hume.

697. *Hell-doom'd*,] As Satan had called Death *Hell-born*, ver. 687, Death returns it by calling Satan *Hell-doom'd*.

700. *False fugitive*,] He is here called *false* because he had called

himself a *Spirit of Heaven*. Compare ver. 687 with ver. 696.

Pearce.

708.—*and like a comet burn'd*, &c.] The ancient poets frequently compare a hero in his shining armour to a comet; as Virg. *Æn.* X. 272.

Non secus ac liquida si quando
 nocte cometæ
 Sanguinei lugubre rubent —

But this comet is so large as to fire the length of the constellation *Ophiuchus* or *Anguitenens*, or *Serpentarius*

That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
 In th' arctic sky, and from his horrid hair 710
 Shakes pestilence and war. Each at the head
 Level'd his deadly aim; their fatal hands
 No second stroke intend, and such a frown
 Each cast at th' other, as when two black clouds,
 With Heav'n's artillery fraught, come rattling on
 Over the Caspian, then stand front to front 716
 Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow
 To join their dark encounter in mid air:
 So frown'd the mighty combatants, that Hell
 Grew

rius as it is commonly call'd, a length of about 40 degrees, in th' arctic sky, or the northern hemisphere, and from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war. Poetry delights in omens, prodigies, and such wonderful events as were supposed to follow upon the appearance of comets, eclipses, and the like. We have another instance of this nature in I. 598. and Tasso in the same manner compares Argantes to a comet, and mentions the like fatal effects, Cant. 7. St. 52.

Qual con le chiome sanguinose
 horrende
 Splendor cometa suol per l'aria
 adusta,
 Che i regni muta, e i feri morbi
 adduce,
 A i purpurei tiranni infausta luce.

As when a comet far and wide
 descried,

In scorn of Phoebus midst bright
 Heav'n doth shine,
 And tidings sad of death and
 mischief brings
 To mighty lords, to monarchs,
 and to kings. Fairfax.

714. —as when two black clouds,
 &c.] It is highly probable,
 that Milton took the hint of this
 noble simile from one of the same
 sort in Boiardo's Orlando Inamò-
 rato, tho' it must be own'd that he
 has excell'd the Italian much, both
 in the variety of its circumstances,
 and the propriety of its applica-
 tion. Boiardo is describing an en-
 counter betwixt Orlando his hero,
 and the Tartar king Agricane, and
 begins it thus, B. 1. C. 16.

Se

Grew darker at their frown, so match'd they stood;
 For never but once more was either like 721
 To meet so great a foe: and now great deeds
 Had been achiev'd, whereof all Hell had rung,
 Had not the snaky forcerefs that sat
 Fast by Hell gate, and kept the fatal key, 725
 Ris'n, and with hideous outcry rush'd between.

O Father, what intends thy hand, she cry'd,
 Against thy only Son? What fury, O Son,
 Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart 729
 Against thy Father's head? and know'st for whom;
 For

Se vediste insieme mai scontrar
 dua toni
 Da Levante a Ponente al ciel di-
 verso,
 Così proprio s'urtar quei dua ba-
 roni. *Thyer.*

715.—*Heav'n's artillery*] Thunder. Juv. Sat. XIII. 9.

Quicquid habent telorum arma-
 mentaria cœli. *Hume.*

716. *Over the Caspian,*] That sea being particularly noted for storms and tempests. So Horace, Od. II. IX. 2.

— Non mare Caspium
 Vexant inæquales procellæ
 Usque —

And so Fairfax, in Tasso, Cant. 6. St. 38.

Or as when clouds together crush'd
 and bruised,
 Pour down a tempest by the Cas-
 pian shore.

722. — *so great a foe:*] Jesus Christ who (as it follows ver. 734.) will one day destroy both Death and *him that has the power of death that is the Devil*, Heb. II. 14.

730. — *and know'st for whom;*] These words are read with a semi-colon in Milton's own editions, and not with a note of interrogation, as in some others: and the meaning is, *at the same time that thou knowest for whom;* Cum nôris bene cui facias hoc; as Dr. Trapp translates it. If this is not the sense of the words, they must be read with a note of interrogation.

737. So

For him who sits above and laughs the while
 At thee ordain'd his drudge, to execute
 Whate'er his wrath, which he calls justice, bids;
 His wrath, which one day will destroy ye both.

She spake, and at her words the hellish pest 735
 Forbore, then these to her Satan return'd.

So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange
 Thou interposest, that my sudden hand
 Prevented spares to tell thee yet by deeds
 What it intends; till first I know of thee, 740
 What thing thou art, thus double-form'd, and why
 In this infernal vale first met thou call'st
 Me Father, and that phantasm call'st my Son;
 I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
 Sight more detestable than him and thee. 745

T'whom thus the portress of Hell gate reply'd,
 Hast thou forgot me then, and do I seem
 Now in thine eye so foul? once deem'd so fair
 In Heav'n, when at th' assembly, and in fight
 Of

737. *So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange*] The change in the position of the words *so strange* in this verse has a peculiar beauty in it, which Dr. Bentley's alteration of the latter *strange* into *new* utterly destroys.

So strange thy outcry, and thy words so *new*.
 How flat, lifeless, and unharmonious, compar'd with the common reading!

758. *Out of thy head I sprung:*] Sin is rightly made to spring out of

Book II. PARADISE LOST. 151

Of all the Seraphim with thee combin'd 750

In bold conspiracy against Heav'n's king,

All on a sudden miserable pain

Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum

In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast

Threw forth, till on the left side opening wide, 755

Likest to thee in shape and count'nance bright,

Then shining heav'nly fair, a Goddess arm'd

Out of thy head I sprung: amazement seisd

All th' host of Heav'n; back they recoil'd afraid

At first, and call'd me Sin, and for a sign 760

Portentous held me; but familiar grown,

I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won

The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft

Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing

Becam'st enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st 765

With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd

A growing burden. Mean while war arose,

And fields were fought in Heav'n; wherein remain'd

(For

of the head of Satan, as Wisdom or Minerva did out of Jupiter's: And what follows seems to be an hint improv'd upon Minerva's being ravish'd soon after her birth by Vulcan, as we may learn from Lucian. Dial. Vulcani & Jovis, & the author of the hymn to Mi- De Domo.

(For what could else?) to our almighty foe
 Clear victory, to our part loss and rout 770
 Through all the empyréan: down they fell
 Driv'n headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down
 Into this deep, and in the general fall
 I also; at which time this pow'rful key
 Into my hand was giv'n, with charge to keep 775
 These gates for ever shut, which none can pass
 Without my opening. Pensive here I sat
 Alone, but long I sat not, till my womb
 Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown
 Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes. 780
 At last this odious offspring whom thou seest
 Thine own begotten, breaking violent way

Tore

771. — the empyréan:] It is somewhat remarkable that tho' the words *empyrean* and *empyrean* are both spelt in the same manner, yet Milton constantly pronounces *empyrean* with the accent upon the third syllable from the end, and *empyrean* with the accent upon the second. I once imagin'd that he did it to distinguish the substantive from the adjective; but I find one instance where he uses the word *empyrean* as an adjective, and yet gives it the same accent as when he makes it a substantive, X. 321.

The confines met of empyréan
 Heaven.

There is no way of solving the difficulty, unless we suppose with Dr. Heylin that the word *empyrean* is false spelt, and that it ought to be written *empyrial* *εμπτύριος* in Greek, and the other *empyrean* *εμπτύριος*.

786. —brandishing his fatal dart] So Virgil of Æneas going to kill Turnus, Æn. XII. 919.

Cunctanti telum Æneas fatale coruscant.

789. From all her caves, and back resounded] An imitation of Virgil, Æn. II. 53.

Infonuere

Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain
 Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
 Transform'd: but he my inbred enemy 785
 Forth issued, brandishing his fatal dart
 Made to destroy: I fled, and cry'd out Death;
 Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sigh'd
 From all her caves, and back resounded Death.
 I fled, but he pursued, (though more, it seems, 790
 Inflam'd with lust than rage) and swifter far,
 Me overtook his mother all dismay'd,
 And in embraces forcible and foul
 Ingendring with me, of that rape begot
 These yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry 795
 Surround me, as thou saw'st, hourly conceiv'd

And

Insonuere cavæ, gemitumque de-
 dere cavernæ. *Hume.*

*I fled and cry'd out Death — and
 back resounded Death.* The repeti-
 tion of *Death* here is a beauty of
 the same kind as that of the name
 of *Eurydice* in Virgil Georg. IV.
 525.

Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua,
 Ah miseram *Eurydicen*, anima fu-
 giente, vocabat;
Eurydicen toto referebant flumine
 ripæ:

only *Death* is made the last word in
 the sentence, and *Eurydice* for the
 sake of the verse the first. There
 is the like repetition in Ecl. VI. 43.

His adjungit, *Hylan* nautæ quo
 fonte relictum
 Clamassent; ut littus, *Hyla*, *Hyla*,
 omne sonaret.

796. — *as thou saw'st*,] One
 would think it should be *as thou
 seest*; but we must suppose that
 now at this time these monsters
 were crept into her womb, and lay
 there unseen.

And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
 To me; for when they list, into the womb
 That bred them they return, and howl and gnaw
 My bowels, their repast; then bursting forth 800
 Afresh with conscious terrors vex me round,
 That rest or intermission none I find.

Before mine eyes in opposition fits
 Grim Death my son and foe, who sets them on,
 And me his parent would full soon devour 805
 For want of other prey, but that he knows
 His end with mine involv'd; and knows that I
 Should prove a bitter morsel, and his bane,
 Whenever that shall be; so fate pronounc'd.
 But thou, O Father, I forewarn thee, shun 810
 His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
 To be invulnerable in those bright arms,
 Though temper'd heav'nly, for that mortal dint,
 Save he who reigns above, none can resist.

She finish'd, and the subtle Fiend his lore 815
 Soon learn'd, now milder, and thus answer'd smooth.

Dear

809. — *so fate pronounc'd.*] The I. 5. ΔΙΘ' δ' ἐτελεετο βελι. Sic
 Heathen poets make Jupiter supe- fata Deum rex fortitur, volvitque
 rior to fate: the will of Jupiter vices, says Virgil, Æn. III. 375.
 was perform'd, says Homer, Iliad. Et sic fata Jovis poscunt, Æn. IV.
 614.

Dear Daughter, since thou clam'ſt me for thy fire,
 And my fair ſon here ſhow'ſt me, the dear pledge
 Of dalliance had with thee in Heav'n, and joys
 Then ſweet, now ſad to mention, through dire change
 Beſall'n us unforeſeen, unthought of; know 821
 I come no enemy, but to ſet free
 From out this dark and diſmal houſe of pain
 Both him and thee, and all the heav'nly hoſt
 Of Spi'rits, that in our juſt pretences arm'd 825
 Fell with us from on high: from them I go
 This uncouth errand ſole, and one for all
 Myſelf expoſe, with lonely ſteps to tread
 Th' unfounded deep, and through the void immenſe
 To ſearch with wand'ring queſt a place foretold 830
 Should be, and, by concurring ſigns, ere now
 Created vaſt and round, a place of bliſs
 In the pourlieus of Heav'n, and therein plac'd
 A race of upſtart creatures, to ſupply
 Perhaps our vacant room, though more remov'd, 835
 Left Heav'n ſurcharg'd with potent multitude

Might

614. But Milton with great propriety makes the fall'n Angels and Sin here attribute events to fate, without any mention of the Supreme Being.

817. *Dear Daughter,*] Satan had now learned *his lore* or leſſon, and the reader will obſerve how artfully he changes his language; he
 T 2 had

Might hap to move new broils: Be this or ought
 Than this more secret now design'd, I haste
 To know, and this once known, shall soon return,
 And bring ye to the place where Thou and Death
 Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen 841
 Wing silently the buxom air, imbalm'd
 With odors; there ye shall be fed and fill'd
 Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey.

He ceas'd, for both seem'd highly pleas'd, and Death
 Grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile, to hear 846
 His famin should be fill'd, and blest his maw
 Destin'd to that good hour: no less rejoic'd
 His mother bad, and thus bespake her fire.

The key of this infernal pit by due, 850
 And

had said before, ver. 745. that he
 had never seen *fight more detestable*;
 but now it is *dear daughter*, and
my fair son.

842. *Wing silently the buxom air,*
Buxom, as when we say a *buxom*
lass, is vulgarly understood for
 merry, wanton; but it properly
 signifies flexible, yielding, from a
 Saxon word signifying to bend. It
 is likewise made the epithet of the
 air by Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1.
 C. 11. St. 37.

And therewith scourge the *buxom*
air so fore.

And he shows plainly how he un-
 derstood the word by his use of it
 in his *View of the state of Ireland*,
 "Thinking thereby to make them
 "more tractable and *buxom* to his
 "government."

846. *Grinn'd horrible a ghastly*
smile,] Several poets have
 endeavored to express much the
 same image. Thus Homer says of
 Ajax, *Iliad*. VII. 212.

Μεδίων βλοσυροῖσι πρῶτα
 πασι.

And

And by command of Heav'n's all-pow'rful king
 I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
 These adamantin gates; against all force
 Death ready stands to interpose his dart,
 Fearless to be o'ermatch'd by living might. 855
 But what owe I to his commands above
 Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down
 Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
 To sit in hateful office here confin'd,
 Inhabitant of Heav'n, and heav'nly-born, 860
 Here in perpetual agony and pain,
 With terrors and with clamors compass'd round
 Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed?
 Thou art my father, thou my author, thou

My

And Statius of Tydeus, Thebaid.
 VIII. 582.

— formidabile ridens.

And Cowley of Goliath, Davideis,
 B. III.

Th' uncircumcis'd smil'd grimly
 with disdain.

And as Mr. Thyer observes, Ariosto
 and Tasso express it very prettily
 thus, *Aspramente sorrise* and *Sorrise*
amaramente. But I believe it will
 be readily allowed, that Milton has
 greatly exceeded them all.

855. *Fearless to be o'ermatch'd by
 living might.*] In some edi-
 tions it is *living wight*, that is crea-
 ture, and we have *living wight* be-
 fore ver. 613: and this is likewise
 Dr. Bentley's reading, for *living*
might, says he, would not except
 even God himself, the ever-living
 and the almighty. But God him-
 self must necessarily be excepted
 here; for it was by his command
 that Sin and Death sat to guard
 the gates, and therefore *living might*
 cannot possibly be understood of
 God, but of any one else who
 should endeavor to force a passage.

T 3

868. *The*

My being gav'st me; whom should I obey 865
 But thee, whom follow? thou wilt bring me soon
 To that new world of light and bliss, among
 The Gods who live at ease, where I shall reign
 At thy right hand voluptuous, as befits
 Thy daughter and thy darling, without end. 870

Thus saying, from her side the fatal key,
 Sad instrument of all our woe, she took;
 And tow'ards the gate rolling her bestial train,
 Forthwith the huge portcullis high up drew,
 Which but herself, not all the Stygian Powers 875
 Could once have mov'd; then in the key-hole turns
 Th' intricate wards, and every bolt and bar

Of

868. *The Gods who live at ease,*]
 Word for word from Homer, *Θεοί
 περὶ ζωῆς.* Bentley.
 'Tis Sin who speaks here, and she
 speaks as an Epicurean.

Richardson.

871. *Thus saying, from her side &c.*]
 It is one great part of a poet's art
 to know when to describe things
 in general, and when to be very
 circumstantial and particular. Mil-
 ton has in these lines show'd his
 judgment in this respect. The first
 opening of the gates of Hell by
 Sin is an incident of that impor-
 tance, that, if I can guess by my
 own, every reader's attention must
 be greatly excited, and consequent-

ly as highly gratified by the mi-
 nute detail of particulars our au-
 thor has given us. It may with
 justice be farther observed, that in
 no part of the poem, the versifica-
 tion is better accommodated to the
 sense. *The drawing up of the port-
 cullis, the turning of the key, the
 sudden shooting of the bolts, and the
 flying open of the doors* are in some
 sort described by the very break
 and sound of the verses. *Thyer.*

873. *And tow'ards the gate rolling
 her bestial train,*] A modern
 rhiming poet would perhaps have
 said,

And rolling tow'ards the gate her
 bestial train,

and

Of massy ir'on or solid rock with ease
 Unfastens: on a sudden open fly
 With impetuous recoil and jarring sound 880
 Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
 Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
 Of Erebus. She open'd, but to shut
 Excell'd her pow'r; the gates wide open stood,
 That with extended wings a banner'd host 885
 Under spread ensigns marching might pass through
 With horse and chariots rank'd in loose array;
 So wide they stood, and like a furnace mouth
 Cast forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.
 Before their eyes in sudden view appear 890
 The

and no bad line neither: but how much better doth Milton's express the rolling of her serpentine train, and how well the sound agrees with the sense!

881. — *and on their hinges grate Harsh thunder,*] How much stronger and more poetical is this than Virgil's, *Æn.* I. 449.

— *foribus cardo stridebat aënis:*

or *Æn.* VI. 573.

— *horrissono stridentes cardine
 sacrae*
Panduntur portæ?

The ingenious author of the *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy*

of *Macbeth* remarks that this expression is copied from the History of Don Bellianis, where, when one of the knights approaches the castle of Brandezar, the gates are said to open *grating harsh thunder upon their brazen hinges*. And it is not improbable that Milton might take it from thence, as he was a reader of all kinds of romances.

882. — *the lowest bottom shook Of Erebus.*] The most profound depth of Hell.

Erebi de sedibus imis.

*Virg. Georg. IV. 471.
 Hume.*

T 4

894. — *where*

The secrets of the hoary deep, a dark
 Illimitable ocean, without bound,
 Without dimension, where length, breadth, and highth,
 And time, and place are lost; where eldest Night
 And Chaos, ancestors of nature, hold 895
 Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
 Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.
 For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four champions fierce,
 Strive here for mast'ry, and to battel bring
 Their embryon atoms; they around the flag 900
 Of

894. — *where eldest Night
 And Chaos, &c.*] All the ancient
 naturalists, philosophers, and poets,
 hold that *Chaos* was the first prin-
 ciple of all things; and the poets
 particularly make *Night* a Goddess,
 and represent *Night* or darkness and
Chaos or confusion as exercising un-
 controll'd dominion from the be-
 ginning. Thus Orpheus in the
 beginning of his hymn to Night
 addresses her as the mother of the
 Gods and Men, and origin of all
 things,

Νυκτα θεων γενετηραν αεισομαι
 ηδε και ανθρωπων,
 Νυξ γενεσις παντων.

So also Spenser in imitation of the
 Ancients, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. C. 5.
 St. 22.

O thou most ancient Grandmother
 of all,
 More old than Jove, &c.

And our author's system of the
 universe is in short, that the em-
 pyrean Heaven, and Chaos and
 darkness were before the creation,
 Heaven above and Chaos beneath;
 and then upon the rebellion of the
 Angels *first Hell* was formed out of
 Chaos *stretching far and wide be-
 neath*; and afterwards *Heaven and
 Earth, another world, hanging o'er
 the realm of Chaos, and won from
 his dominion*. See ver. 1002, &c.
 and 978.

898. *For hot, cold, moist, and
 dry, &c.*] Ovid. *Met.* I. 19.

*Frigida pugnabant calidis, humen-
 tia ficcis,*

Millia

Of each his faction, in their several clans,
 Light-arm'd or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or slow,
 Swarm populous, un-number'd as the sands
 Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
 Levied to side with warring winds, and poise 905
 Their lighter wings. To whom these most adhere,
 He rules a moment; Chaos umpire sits,
 And by decision more embroils the fray
 By which he reigns : next him high arbiter
 Chance governs all. Into this wild abyfs, 910
 The

Mollia cum duris, fine pondere
 habentia pondus.

The reader may compare this whole description of Chaos with Ovid's, and he will easily see how the Roman poet has lessen'd the grandeur of his by puerile conceits and quaint antitheses : every thing in Milton is great and masterly.

902. *Light-arm'd or heavy,*] He continues the warlike metaphor ; some of them are *light-arm'd or heavy*, *levis* or *gravis armaturæ*.

Hume.

904. *Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,*] A city and province of dry sandy Libya, Virg. *Æn.* IV. 42.

Hinc deserta fiti regio, lateque
 furentes
 Barcæi.

905. — *and poise*] Give weight or ballast to. Pliny speaks of certain birds, who when a storm arises poise themselves with little stones, L. 11. C. 10. Virgil has the same thought of his bees, *Georg.* IV. 194. *Richardson.*

906. *To whom these most adhere,*] Dr. Bentley reads *the most adhere*, that is (says he) he of the four rules, while he has the majority. But this is not Milton's sense ; for according to him no *atoms* adhere to *moist*, but such as belong to his faction, and the same is to be said of *hot*, *cold*, and *dry*. Therefore the reason why any one of these four champions *rules* (tho' but for a *moment*) is because the atoms of his faction *adhere most* to him. Firm dependence indeed (says the Doctor) and worthy the superlative

The womb of nature and perhaps her grave,
 Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,
 But all these in their pregnant causes mix'd
 Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight,
 Unless th' almighty Maker them ordain 915
 His dark materials to create more worlds;
 Into this wild abyfs the wary Fiend
 Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while,
 Pond'ring his voyage; for no narrow frith
 He had to cross. Nor was his ear less peal'd 920
 With noises loud and ruinous (to compare

Great

tive *most*, that lasts but for a *moment*: but I should think that the less firm the dependence is, the finer image we have of such a state as that of Chaos is. *Pearce*.

911. *The womb of nature and perhaps her grave,*] *Lucretius*, V. 260.

Omniparens, eadem rerum commune sepulchrum. *Thyer*.

917. *Into this wild abyfs the wary Fiend*

Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd awhile,] *Dr. Bentley* reads *Look'd from the brink of Hell and stood awhile*; and he calls the common reading an absurd and ridiculous blunder, because *into this wild abyfs* relates not to *stood* but to *look'd*, which is the verb at the farthest distance. But if this be a

blunder, Milton is elsewhere guilty of it; we may rather suppose that he could not but see it, and therefore that he thought it an allowable liberty in writing: for thus in V. 368. he says,

—what the garden choicest bears
 To fit and taste —

where *fit and taste* is us'd for *sitting taste*; as here *stood and look'd* for *standing look'd*. *Pearce*.

Here is a remarkable transposition of the words, the sense however is very clear; The wary Fiend stood on the brink of Hell, and look'd awhile into this wild abyfs, pondering his voyage. 'Tis observable the poet himself seems to be doing what he describes, for the period begins at 910, then he goes not on directly, but lingers, giving an idea

Great things with small) than when Bellona storms,
 With all her battering engines bent to rase
 Some capital city; or less than if this frame
 Of Heav'n were falling, and these elements 925
 In mutiny had from her axle torn
 The stedfast earth. At last his sail-broad vans
 He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoke
 Uplifted spurns the ground; thence many a league,
 As in a cloudy chair, ascending rides 930
 Audacious; but that feat soon failing, meets
 A vast vacuity: all unawares

Fluttering

idea of Chaos before he enters into it. 'Tis very artful! If his stile is somewhat abrupt, after such pondering, it better paints the image he intended to give.

Richardson.

921. — (to compare *Great things with small*)] An expression in Virg. Ecl. I. 24. *parvis componere magna*. And what an idea doth this give us of the noises of Chaos, that even those of a city besieged, and of Heaven and Earth ruining from each other are but small in comparison? And tho' both the similitudes are truly excellent and sublime, yet how surprisingly doth the latter rise above the former!

927. — *his sail-broad vans*] As the air and water are both fluids, the metaphors taken from the one

are often applied to the other, and flying is compar'd to failing, and failing to flying.

Velorum pandimus alas,

says Virgil, *Æn.* III. 520. And *Æn.* I. 300.

— *volat ille per aera magnum
 Remigio alarum.*

The same manner of speaking has prevail'd likewise among the modern poets, and in Spenser, as well as in the passage before us, wings are liken'd to sails, *Fairy Queen*, B. I. Cant. 11. St. 10.

His flaggy wings when forth he
 did display,
 Were like two sails.

And afterwards, St. 18.

— he

Fluttering his pennons vain plumb down he drops
 Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour
 Down had been falling, had not by ill chance 935
 The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud,
 Instinct with fire and nitre, hurried him
 As many miles aloft: that fury stay'd,
 Quench'd in a boggy Syrtis, neither sea, 939
 Nor good dry land: nigh founder'd on he fares,
 Treading

— he cutting way
 With his broad sails, about him
 soared round.

933. — *pennons*] This word is vulgarly spelt *pinions*, and so Dr. Bentley has printed it: but the author spells it *pennons* after the Latin *penna*. The reader will observe the beauty of the numbers here without our pointing it out to him.

935. — *had not by ill chance*] An ill chance for mankind, that he was thus speeded on his journey so far. *Pearce*.

938. — *that fury stay'd, &c.*] That fiery rebuff ceased, quenched and put out by a soft quicksand: *Syrtis* is explain'd by *neither sea nor good dry land*, exactly agreeing with *Lucan. Phar. IX. 304*.

Syrtes—in dubio pelagi terræque reliquit. *Hume*.

941. — *half on foot, Half flying;*] *Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. i. Cant. 11. St. 8.*

Half flying, and half footing in his haste.

Our author seems to have borrow'd several images from the old dragon describ'd by *Spenser*.

942. — *behooves him now both oar and sail.*] It behoveth him now to use both his oars and his sails, as galleys do; according to the proverb *Remis velisque*, with might and main. *Hume*.

943. *As when a gryphon &c.*] *Satan half on foot, half flying*, in quest of the new world, is here compar'd to a gryphon *with winged course* both flying and running in pursuit of the *Arimaspian* who had stol'n his gold. Gryphons are fabulous creatures, in the upper part like an eagle, in the lower resembling a lion, and are said to guard gold mines. The *Arimaspian*s were a one-ey'd people of *Scythia* who adorn'd their hair with gold, *Lucan. III. 280*.

Hinc

Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
 Half fly'ing; behoves him now both oar and fail.
 As when a gryphon through the wilderness
 With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale,
 Pursues the Arimaspiā, who by stealth
 Had from his wakeful custody purloin'd
 The guarded gold: So eagerly the Fiend
 O'er bog, or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
 With

945

Hinc et Sithoniæ gentes, auroque
 ligatas
 Substringens Arimaspe comas.

Herodotus and other authors relate, that there were continual wars between the gryphons and Arimaspians about gold, the gryphons guarding it and Arimaspians taking it whenever they had opportunity. See Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 7. cap. 2. Arimaspi, quos diximus, uno oculo in fronte media insignes: quibus assidue bellum esse circa metalla cum gryphis, ferarum volucris genere, quale vulgo traditur, eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate et feris custodientibus, et Arimaspiis rapientibus, multi, sed maximè illustres Herodotus et Aristæas Proconnesius scribunt.

948. *O'er bog, or steep, &c.*] Dr. Bentley's reading is not amiss *O'er bog, o'er steep, &c.* The difficulty of Satan's voyage is very well express'd by so many monosyllables as follow, which cannot be pronounced but slowly, and

with frequent pauses. There is a memorable instance of the roughness of a road admirably describ'd by a single verse in Homer, Iliad. XXIII. 116.

Πολλα δ' ἀνὰ γα, κατὰ γα, πα-
 ρὰ γα τε, δόχμια τ', ἤλθον,

which Mr. Pope has been oblig'd to translate paraphrastically to give us some idea of the beauty of the numbers, and he has made use of several monosyllables, as Milton has done.

O'er hills, o'er dales, o'er crags,
 o'er rocks they go;
 Jumping, high o'er the shrubs of
 the rough ground,
 Rattle the clatt'ring cars, and the
 shockt axles bound.

And as Mr. Thyer adds, So also Spenser in the same manner represents the distress of his Redcrosse Knight in his encounter with the old dragon, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11, St. 28.

Faint,

With head, hands, wings, or feet pursues his way,
 And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies:
 At length a universal hubbub wild 951
 Of stunning sounds and voices all confus'd,
 Borne through the hollow dark, assaults his ear
 With loudest vehemence: thither he plies,
 Undaunted to meet there whatever Power 955
 Or Spirit of the nethermost abyfs

Might

Faint, weary, fore, embroiled,
 grieved, brent,
 With heat, toil, wounds, arms,
 smart, and inward fire.

956. — *the nethermost abyfs*]
 Dr. Bentley rejects *nethermost* here,
 and again in ver. 969, and charges
 Milton's blindness as the cause of
 his forgetting himself here and be-
 ing inconsistent. But it is the Doctor
 that mistakes, and not the Poet:
 for tho' the *throne of Chaos* was
 above Hell, and consequently a
 part of the *abyfs* was so, yet a part
 of that *abyfs* was at the same time
 far below Hell; so far below, as
 that, when Satan went from Hell
 on his voyage, he fell in that *abyfs*
 10000 fathom deep, ver. 934. and
 the poet there adds, that if it had
 not been for an accident, he had
 been falling down there to this
 hour: nay it was so deep as to be
illimitable, and *where highth is lost*.
 Surely then the *abyfs*, consider'd all
 together, was *nethermost* in respect
 of Hell, below which it was so
 endlessly extended: and therefore

there was no occasion for Dr. Bent-
 ley to read here *this vast unknown*
abyfs, instead of *the nethermost abyfs*,
 nor in ver. 969. *regnant o'er this*
vast abyfs instead of *of this nether-*
most abyfs. Pearce.

962. *Sat sable-vested Night,*]
 Clothed in her sable furs; a *sable* is
 a creature whose skin is of the
 greater price, the blacker it is.
 Μελαμπιπλοῦσι Νύξ. Euri-
 pides, Hume.
 Milton here and in what follows
 seems to have had in his view Spen-
 ser's fine description of Night,
 which is very much in the taste of
 this allegory of Milton's. See
 Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 5. St. 20.

Where grisly Night, &c,

964. *Orcus and Ades,*] *Orcus* is
 generally by the poets taken for
 Pluto, as *Ades* for any dark place.
 These terms are of a very vague
 signification, and employ'd by the
 ancient poets accordingly. Milton
 has personiz'd them, and put them
 in the court of Chaos.

Richardson.
 964. — and

Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask
 Which way the nearest coast of darkness lies
 Bord'ring on light; when strait behold the throne
 Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion spread 960
 Wide on the wasteful deep; with him enthron'd
 Sat fable-vested Night, eldest of things,
 The consort of his reign; and by them stood
 Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name

Of

964. — *and the dreaded name
 Of Demogorgon;*] There was a
 notion among the Ancients of a
 certain deity, whose very name
 they supposed capable of pro-
 ducing the most terrible effects,
 and which they therefore dreaded
 to pronounce. This deity is men-
 tion'd as of great power in incan-
 tations. Thus Erichon is introduced
 threatening the infernal Powers for
 being too slow in their obedience
 by Lucan, *Phar.* VI. 744.

— Paretis? an ille
 Compellendus erit, quo nunquam
 terra vocato
 Non concussa tremit, qui Gorgona
 cernit apertam,
 Verberibusque suis trepidam casti-
 gat Erinnyem,
 Indespecta tenet vobis qui Tar-
 tara; cujus
 Vos estis superi; Stygias qui peje-
 rat undas?

Yet, am I yet, ye fullen fiends,
 obey'd?
 Or must I call your master to my
 aid?

At whose dread name the tremb-
 ling furies quake,
 Hell stands abash'd, and earth's
 foundations shake?
 Who views the Gorgons with in-
 trepid eyes,
 And your inviolable flood defies?
 Rowe.

And likewise Tiresias by Statius,
Thebaid. IV. 514.

Scimus enim et quicquid dici nos-
 cique timetis,
 Et turbare Hecaten, nî te, Thym-
 bræe, vererer,
 Et triplicis mundi summum quem
 scire nefastum est,
 Illum sed taceo.

And Ismen threatens in the same
 strain in Tasso, *Cant.* 13. *St.* 10.

Per lungo disufar già non si scor-
 da, &c.

I have not yet forgot for want
 of use,
 What dreadful terms belong this
 sacred feat,

My

Of Demogorgon; Rumor next and Chance, 965
 And Tumult and Confusion all embroil'd,
 And Discord with a thousand various mouths.

T' whom

My tongue (if still your stubborn
 hearts refuse)
 That so much dreaded name can
 well repeat,
 Which heard great Dis cannot
 himself excuse,
 But hither run from his eternal
 feat. Fairfax.

The name of this deity is *Demogorgon*, which some think a corruption of *Demiurgus*; others imagine him to be so call'd, as being able to look upon the Gorgon, that turned all other spectators to stone, and to this Lucan seems to allude, when he says

— qui Gorgona cernit apertam.

Spenser too mentions this infernal deity, *Fairy Queen*, B. i. Cant. 5. St. 22.

Which wast begot in *Demogorgon's*
 hall,
 And saw't the secrets of the world
 unmade:

and places him likewise in the immense abyss with *Chaos*, B. 4. Cant. 2. St. 47.

Down in the bottom of the deep
 abyss,
 Where *Demogorgon* in dull darkness pent,
 Far from the view of Gods and
 Heaven's bliss,
 The hideous *Chaos* keeps, their
 dreadful dwelling is:

and takes notice also of the dreadful effects of his name, B. i. Cant. 1. St. 37.

A bold bad man, that dar'd to call
 by name

Great *Gorgon*, prince of darkness
 and dead night,

At which *Cocytus* quakes, and *Styx*
 is put to flight.

Well therefore might Milton distinguish him by the dreaded name of *Demogorgon*: and the name of *Demogorgon* is as much as to say *Demogorgon* himself, as in Virgil *Æn.* VI. 763. *Albanum nomen* is a man of Alba, *Æn.* XII. 515. *Nomen Echionium*, id est *Thebanum*, is a Theban; and we have a memorable instance of this way of speaking in *Rev.* XI. 13. *And in the earthquake were slain ονοματα ανθρωπων names of men seven thousand*, that is seven thousand men.

And besides these authorities to justify our author, let me farther add what the learned Mr. Jortin hath suggested, that this name "is to be found in Lactantius, the Scholiast of Statius on *Thebaid.* IV. 516. *Dicit Deum Demogorgona summum.* It is also to be found in Hyginus, pag. 11. Edit. Hamburg. Oct. 1674. *Ex Demogorgone et Terra Python, draco divinus*, if the place be not corrupted. See Muncker "there." And Mr. Thyer justifies

T'whom Satan turning boldly, thus. Ye Powers
And Spirits of this nethermost abyfs,

Chaos and ancient Night, I come no spy,

970
With

fies the use of the word against Dr. Bentley by another passage in our author's Latin works, p. 340. *Apud vetustissimos itaque mythologiæ scriptores memoriæ datum reperio Demogorgonem Deorum omnium atavum (quem eundem et Chaos ab antiquis nuncupatum hariolor) inter alios liberos, quos sustulerat plurimos, Terram genuisse.*

965. — *Rumor next and Chance,*] In Satan's voyage through the Chaos there are several imaginary persons described, as residing in that immense waste of matter. This may perhaps be conformable to the taste of those critics who are pleased with nothing in a poet which has not life and manners ascribed to it; but for my own part, I am pleased most with those passages in this description which carry in them a greater measure of probability, and are such as might possibly have happen'd. Of this kind is his first mounting in the smoke that rises from the infernal pit, his falling into a cloud of nitre and the like combustible materials, that by their explosion still hurried him forward in his voyage; his springing upward like a pyramid of fire, with his laborious passage through that confusion of elements which the poet calls

The womb of nature, and perhaps
her grave. *Addison.*

VOL. I.

Mr. Addison seems to disapprove of these fictitious beings, thinking them I suppose (like Sin and Death) improper for an epic poem: but I see no reason why Milton may not be allow'd to place such imaginary beings in the regions of Chaos, as well as Virgil describe the like beings, Grief, and Fear, and Want, and Sleep, and Death, and Discord likewise within the confines of Hell; and why what is accounted a beauty in one should be deemed a fault in the other. See *Æn. VI. 273. &c.*

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque
in faucibus Orci,
Luctus, et ultrices posuere cubilia
Curæ:
Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,
Et Metus, et maleuada Fames, et turpis Egestas,
Terribiles visu formæ: Letumque, Laborque:
Tum confanguineus Leti Sopor, et mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,
Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et Discordia demens
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

Just in the gate, and in the jaws
of Hell,
Revengeful Cares, and fullen Sorrows dwell;

U

And

With purpose to explore or to disturb
 The secrets of your realm, but by constraint
 Wand'ring this darksome desert, as my way
 Lies through your spacious empire up to light,
 Alone, and without guide, half lost, I seek 975
 What readiest path leads where your gloomy bounds
 Confine with Heav'n; or if some other place,
 From your dominion won, th' ethereal king
 Possesses lately, thither to arrive
 I travel this profound; direct my course; 980
 Directed no mean recompense it brings

To

And pale Diseases, and repining
 Age;
 Want, Fear, and Famine's unre-
 sisted rage;
 Here Toils, and Death, and Death's
 half-brother Sleep,
 Forms terrible to view, their sen-
 try keep;
 With anxious Pleasures of a guilty
 mind,
 Deep Frauds before, and open
 Force behind;
 The Furies iron beds, and Strife
 that shakes
 Her hissing tresses, and unfolds
 her snakes. Dryden.

Every reader, I believe, has been
 pleased with this description; and
 it is impossible to be pleased with
 Virgil, and to be displeased with
 Milton. We may observe both in

Virgil and Milton that Discord is
 made the last of these imaginary
 beings, but how much greater an
 idea have we of Discord *with a
 thousand various mouths* than with
 snaky hair,

*Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cru-
 entis!*

We may farther observe in justifi-
 cation of Milton, that the like
 shadowy beings are introduc'd in
 Seneca, Herc. Fur. 686. in Sta-
 tius's description of the house of
 Mars. Theb. VII. 47. in Clau-
 dian In Rufin. I. 30. and in Spen-
 ser, Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 7.
 St. 21, &c. The passages at large
 would swell this note to too great
 a length, and therefore the reader
 is only referred to the places.

To your behoof, if I that region lost,
 All usurpation thence expell'd, reduce
 To her original darkness and your sway
 (Which is my present journey) and once more 985
 Erect the standard there of ancient Night;
 Yours be th' advantage all, mine the revenge.

Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
 With faltring speech and visage incompos'd,
 Answer'd. I know thee, stranger, who thou art, 990
 That mighty leading Angel, who of late
 Made head against Heav'n's king, though overthrown.

I

972. *The secrets of your realm,*] This passage has been objected to without any reason. He means probably secret places, as in ver. 891. *Secrets* is used here as *secreta* sometimes in Virgil:

In *secreta* fenis ducam:

Georg. IV. 403.

— Horrendæque procul *secreta*
 Sibyllæ,

Antrum immane petit:

Æn. VI. 10.

And likewise in Spenser, Fairy
 Queen, B. 6. Cant. 12. St. 24.

And searched all their cells and
secrets near.

Or if we understand by *secrets* se-
 cret counsels and transactions, the

word *disturb* will be proper enough
 as in I. 167.

— and disturb

His inmost counsels from their
 destin'd aim;

and the word *explore* will be very
 proper, as in VII. 95.

What we, not to explore the se-
 crets ask

Of his eternal empire.

981. *Directed no mean recompense*
it brings &c.] My course

directed may bring no little recom-
 pense and advantage to you, if I
 reduce that lost region, all usurpa-
 tion being thence expell'd, to her
 original darkness and your sway
 (which is the purport of my pre-
 sent journey) and once more
 erect the standard there of ancient
 Night.

U 2

999. — if

I saw and heard, for such a numerous host
 Fled not in silence through the frightened deep
 With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout, 995
 Confusion worse confounded; and Heav'n gates
 Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
 Pursuing. I upon my frontiers here
 Keep residence; if all I can will serve

That

999. — *if all I can will serve
 That little which is left so to de-
 fend, &c.]* Dr. Bentley makes
 great alterations here, and would
 have us read

— if all I can will serve,
 That little which is left us to de-
 fend
 Encroach'd on by creations old and
new
 Straitning the bounds of ancient
 Night:

For *so* in the second verse he reads
us: but *so* is right, and signifies by
keeping residence on my frontiers and
doing all I can. Again, he finds
 fault with *our intestine broils*, and
 says that Chaos's or Night's *scepter*
 is not *weaken'd*, but is strengthen'd
 and subsists by them. So far he is
 right, and therefore Milton, if he
 wrote *our intestine broils*, could never
 mean the broils within the realm
 of Chaos. It appears from the
 following verses, that the encroach-
 ments which Chaos means were
 the creation of *Hell* first, and then
 of the *new world*, the creation of
 both which was the effect not of

any broils in Chaos's realm, but of
 the *broils* in Heaven between God
 and Satan, the good Angels and
 the bad, called *intestine war* and
broils in VI. 259, 277. So that
 the passage as it stands seems to be
 faulty; but without so great an al-
 teration as Dr. Bentley makes, we
 may clear it of all difficulty. We
 must remember that it is Satan, to
 whom Chaos here speaks, and
 therefore we may suppose that
 Milton gave it *through your intestine*
broils. In the first editions there is
 no comma after *broils*; and there
 should be none, because *broils* is
 the substantive with which the
 participle *weakening* agrees: It was
 their *broils* which *weaken'd* Night's
 scepter, because the consequences
 of them lessen'd her kingdom.

Pearce.

This change of *our* into *your* is so
 just and necessary, that we thought
 it best to admit it into the text.

1005. — *link'd in a golden chain]*
 There is mention made in Homer
 of Jupiter's golden chain, by which
 he can draw up the Gods and the
 earth and sea and the whole uni-
 verse,

That little which is left so to defend, 1000
 Encroach'd on still through your intestin broils
 Weakning the scepter of old Night: first Hell
 Your dungeon stretching far and wide beneath;
 Now lately Heav'n and Earth, another world,
 Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain 1005
 To that side Heav'n from whence your legions fell:

If

verse, but they cannot draw him
 down. You may see the passage
 at large in the beginning of the 8th
 book of the Iliad.

Εἰδ' ἀγέ, περὶσσαδε θεοί, ἵνα
 εἰδέτε πάντες,

Σερῶν χρυσεῖον ἐξ ἑρανοθεν κρε-
 μασάντες·

Πάντες δ' ἐξαπείθε θεοί, πασαι
 τε δεσναι.

Ἀλλ' ἐκ ἂν ἐρυσαιτ' ἐξ ἑρανοθεν
 πεδιονδε

Ζῶν ὑπατον μῆσωρ', ἐδ' εἰ μαλα
 πολλὰ καμοίτε·

Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ περὶ φρον ε-
 θελοίμι ἐρυσαι,

Αὐτὴ κεν γαίῃ ἐρυσαιμ', αὐτὴ τε
 θαλάσῃ·

Σερῶν μὲν κεν ἐπειτα πρὶν ῥίον
 Οὐλυμποιο

Διῖταιμ'· τὰ δὲ κ' αὐτὲ μετ' ἡ-
 ρα πάντα γένοιτο.

League all your forces then, ye
 Pow'rs above,
 Join all, and try th' omnipotence
 of Jove:

Let down our golden, everlasting
 chain,

Whose strong embrace holds
 Heav'n, and earth and main:

Strive all of mortal or immortal
 birth,

To drag by this the Thund'rer
 down to earth:

Ye strive in vain! If I but stretch
 this hand,

I heave the Gods, the ocean, and
 the land,

I fix the chain to great Olympus'
 height,

And the vast world hangs tremb-
 ling in my sight. Pope.

It is most probably and ingeniously
 conjectur'd, that by this golden
 chain may be understood the su-
 perior attractive force of the sun,
 whereby he continues unmov'd,
 and draws all the rest of the pla-
 nets toward him. But whatever
 is meant by it, it is certain that
 our poet took from hence the
 thought of hanging the world by a
 golden chain.

If that way be your walk, you have not far;
 So much the nearer danger; go and speed;
 Havoc and spoil and ruin are my gain.

He ceas'd; and Satan stay'd not to reply, 1010
 But glad that now his sea should find a shore,
 With fresh alacrity and force renew'd
 Springs upward like a pyramid of fire

Into

1009. *Havoc and spoil and ruin are my gain.*] This is very agreeable to that character of Chaos by Lucan, Phar. VI. 696.

Et Chaos innumeros avidum confundere mundos.

1011. *But glad that now his sea should find a shore,*] A metaphor to express his joy that now his travel and voyage should end, somewhat like that of one of the Ancients, who reading a tedious book and coming near to the end cry'd *I see land, Terram video.*

1017.—*than when Argo pass'd &c.*] The first long ship ever seen in Greece, in which Jason and his companions sailed to Colchis to fetch the golden fleece. *Through Bosphorus*, the Thracian Bosphorus, or the straits of Constantinople, or the channel of the Black Sea. It is sometimes wri. *Bosphorus*, as in Mr. Fenton's edition, from *βῆς* and *πόρος*; but Milton is more exact and accurate, and writes *Bosphorus* according to the best Greek authors, from *βῆς* *πορῶ*, *bovis transitus*, the sea being so narrow there

that cattel are said to have swum cross it. *Betwixt the jussling rocks*, two rocks at the entrance into the Euxin or Black Sea, called in Greek *Symplegades*, and by Juvenal *concurrentia saxa*, Sat. XV. 19. which Milton very well translates *the jussling rocks*, because they were so near, that at a distance they seemed to open and shut again, and jussle one another, as the ship varied its course this way and that as usual. In Ponto duæ *Cyaneæ*, ab aliis *Symplegades* appellatæ, traditæque fabulis inter se concurrissæ: quoniam parvo discretæ intervallo, ex adverso intransibis geminæ cernebantur, paulumque deflexa acie, coeuntium speciem præbebant. Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 4. Cap. 13. The reader may see a farther account of these rocks, and the passage betwixt them in Apollonius, Argonaut. II. 317, &c. In short Satan's voyage through the fighting elements was more difficult and dangerous than that of the Argonauts through narrow seas betwixt jussling rocks.

1019. Or

Into the wild expanse, and through the shock
 Of fighting elements, on all sides round 1015
 Environ'd wins his way; harder beset
 And more indanger'd, than when Argo pass'd
 Through Bosphorus betwixt the jostling rocks:
 Or when Ulysses on the larbord shunn'd
 Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steer'd. 1020
 So

1019. Or when Ulysses on the larbord shunn'd
 Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steer'd.] These two verses Dr. Bentley would throw quite away. Larbord (he says) is abominable in heroic poetry; but Dryden (as the Doctor owns) thought it not unfit to be employ'd there: and Milton in other places has us'd nautical terms, without being censur'd for it by the Doctor. So in IX. 513. he speaks of *working a ship*, of *weering* and *shifting*; and in I. 207. of *mooring under the lee*. So Virgil's *legere littus* is observed to be a term borrow'd from mariners, by Servius in his notes on Georg. II. 44. and Æn. III. 127. But the Doctor has two very formidable objections against the sense of these verses. First he says that *larbord* or left hand is a mistake here for *starbord* or right hand, *Charybdis* being to the *starbord* of *Ulysses*, when he sailed thro' these straits. This is very true, but it does not affect what Milton here says; for the sense may be, not that *Ulysses* shunn'd *Charybdis* situated on the *larbord* of his ship as he was sailing; but that *Ulysses* sailing on the *larbord* (to the left hand where *Scylla* was) did thereby shun *Charybdis*; which was the truth of the case. The Doctor's other objection is, that *Scylla* was no *whirlpool*, which yet she is here supposed to have been: But Virgil (whom Milton follows oftner than he does Homer) describes *Scylla* as *naves in saxa trahentem*, Æn. III. 425. and what is that less than calling it a *whirlpool*? And Athan. Kircher, who has written a particular account of *Scylla* and *Charybdis* upon his own view of them, does not scruple to call them both *whirlpools*. The truth is, that *Scylla* is a rock situated in a small bay on the Italian coast, into which bay the tide runs with a very strong current, so as to draw in the ships which are within the compass of its force, and either dash them against the rock, or swallow them in the eddies: for when the streams have thus violently rush'd into the bay, they

So he with difficulty and labor hard
 Mov'd on, with difficulty and labor he;
 But he once past, soon after when man fell,
 Strange alteration! Sin and Death amain
 Following his track, such was the will of Heaven,
 Pav'd after him a broad and beaten way : 1026
 Over the dark abyſs, whose boiling gulf
 Tamely indur'd a bridge of wondrous length
 From Hell continued reaching th' utmost orb
 Of this frail world; by which the Spi'rits perverse
 With easy intercourse pass to and fro 1031
 To tempt or punish mortals, except whom
 God and good Angels guard by special grace.

But

meet with the rock Scylla at the farther end, and being beat back must therefore form an eddy or *whirlpool*. This account is gather'd partly from Sandys's travels, and partly from *Historia orbis terræ*, &c. where it is said, *Ejus natura est ut ingenti ultro citroque commeanium aquarum perturbatione agitetur: quando affluxu agitur, tanta est ejus violentia, ut navis eò delapsa, omni evadendi spe sublata, montium parietibus illidatur.* Vide Hoffman. *Lexicon*.

Pearce.

1023. *But he once past, &c.*] Dr. Bentley would throw out here eleven verses, as if they were an

interpolation: but the foregoing words, containing a repetition of what went before them, *with difficulty and labor he*, have no force nor propriety, unless it be added (as it is in these verses) that some others afterwards went this way with more ease.

Pearce.

It is evident that these lines are Milton's, and cannot be an interpolation of the editor. But yet I am afraid we cannot so easily get over the Doctor's other objection that this same bridge is describ'd in Book X. for several lines together poetically and pompously, as a thing untouch'd before and an incident to surprise the reader; and

But now at last the sacred influence
 Of light appears, and from the walls of Heaven
 Shoots far into the bosom of dim Night 1036
 A glimmering dawn; here Nature first begins
 Her farthest verge, and Chaos to retire
 As from her outmost works a broken foe
 With tumult less and with less hostile din, 1040
 That Satan with less toil, and now with ease
 Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,
 And like a weather-beaten vessel holds
 Gladly the port, though shrouds and tackle torn;
 Or in the emptier waste, resembling air, 1045
 Weighs his spread wings, at leisure to behold
 Far

and therefore the poet should not have anticipated it here. Let the lines themselves be approv'd; yet it must be allow'd, it is wrong conduct and want of oeconomy for the whole poem. And we cannot recollect a parallel instance in Homer or Virgil, or any authoriz'd poet.

1025. — *such was the will of Heaven.*] ΔΙὸς δ' ἐτάρχετο βελή. Hom. Iliad. I. 5.

1039. *As from her outmost works*] Dr. Bentley reads *his* instead of *her*: but the meaning is not that Chaos retires as from his own outmost works, but retires as from the out-

most works of Nature mentioned before.

1042. — *by dubious light,*] In this line and in the preceding description of the *glimmering dawn* that Satan first meets with, Milton very probably alludes to Seneca's elegant account of Hercules's passage out of Hell. Herc. Fur. 668.

Non cæca tenebris incipit prima via:

Tenuis relictæ lucis a tergo nitor,
 Fulgorque dubius solis afflictî cadit. *Thyer.*

1046. *Weighs his spread wings,*] In like manner Tasso describing the

Far off th' empyreal Heav'n, extended wide
 In circuit, undetermin'd square or round,
 With opal tow'rs and battlements adorn'd
 Of living saphir, once his native seat;
 And fast by hanging in a golden chain
 This pendent world, in bigness as a star

1050

Of

the Angel Gabriel's flight, Cant. 1.
 St. 14.

E si librò fu l' adèguate penne.

But I think notwithstanding the natural partiality one has for one's countryman, the preference must be given to the Italian. The same stanza suggests another imitation. Tasso calls Gabriel's wings,

Infaticabilmente, agili, e preste.

And Milton, ver. 408,

Upborne with indefatigable wings.
Thyer.

1049. *With opal tow'rs*] With towers of precious stones. *Opal* is a stone of diverse colors, partaking of the carbuncles faint fire, the amethysts bright purple, and the emeralds chearing green.

Hume and Richardson.

1052. *This pendent world, in bigness as a star*

Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.] By this pendent world is not meant the Earth; but the new creation, Heaven and Earth, the whole orb of fix'd stars im-

mensely bigger than the Earth, a mere point in comparison. This is sure from what Chaos had lately said, ver. 1004.

Now lately Heav'n and Earth,
 another world,
 Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a
 golden chain.

Besides, Satan did not see the Earth yet; he was afterwards surpris'd at the sudden view of all this world at once, III. 542. and wander'd long on the outside of it; till at last he saw our sun, and learned there of the Arch-Angel Uriel, where the Earth and Paradise were. See III. 722. *This pendent world* therefore must mean the whole world, the new created universe, and beheld far off it appear'd in comparison with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than a star of smallest magnitude; nay not so large, it appear'd no bigger than such a star appears to be when it is close by the moon, the superior light whereof makes any star that happens to be near her disk, to seem exceedingly small and almost disappear. Dr. Bentley has strangely mistaken the sense of this

Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.

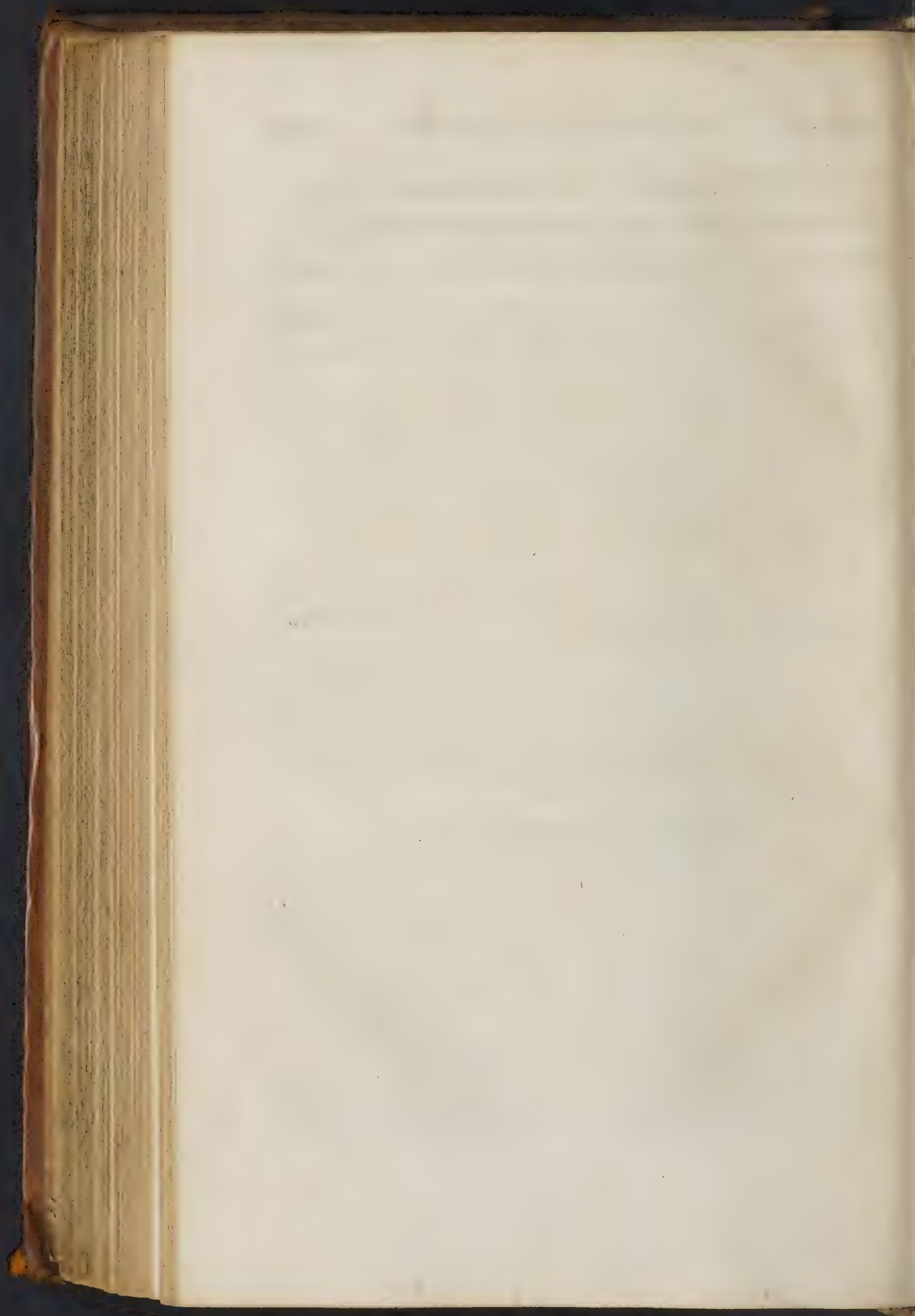
Thither full fraught with mischievous revenge,

Accurs'd, and in a curst hour he hies. 1055

this passage, understanding that the Earth was meant, and yet arguing very justly that the Earth could not be meant: and Mr. Addison has fallen into the like mistake, as appears from his words; "The
" glimmering light which shot in-
" to the Chaos from the utmost
" verge of the creation, with the
" distant discovery of the Earth
" that hung close by the moon,
" are wonderfully beautiful and
" poetical." But how much more wonderful is the imagination of such prodigious distance, that after Satan had traveled on so far, and

comes within view of the whole world, it should still appear in comparison with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than the smallest star, and that star appearing yet smaller by its proximity to the moon! and how much more beautiful and poetical is it to open the scene thus by degrees! Satan at first descries the whole world at a distance in book the second. and then in book the third he discovers our planetary system and the sun, and afterwards by the direction of Uriel the earth and neighbouring moon.

The end of the Second Book.



THE
THIRD BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

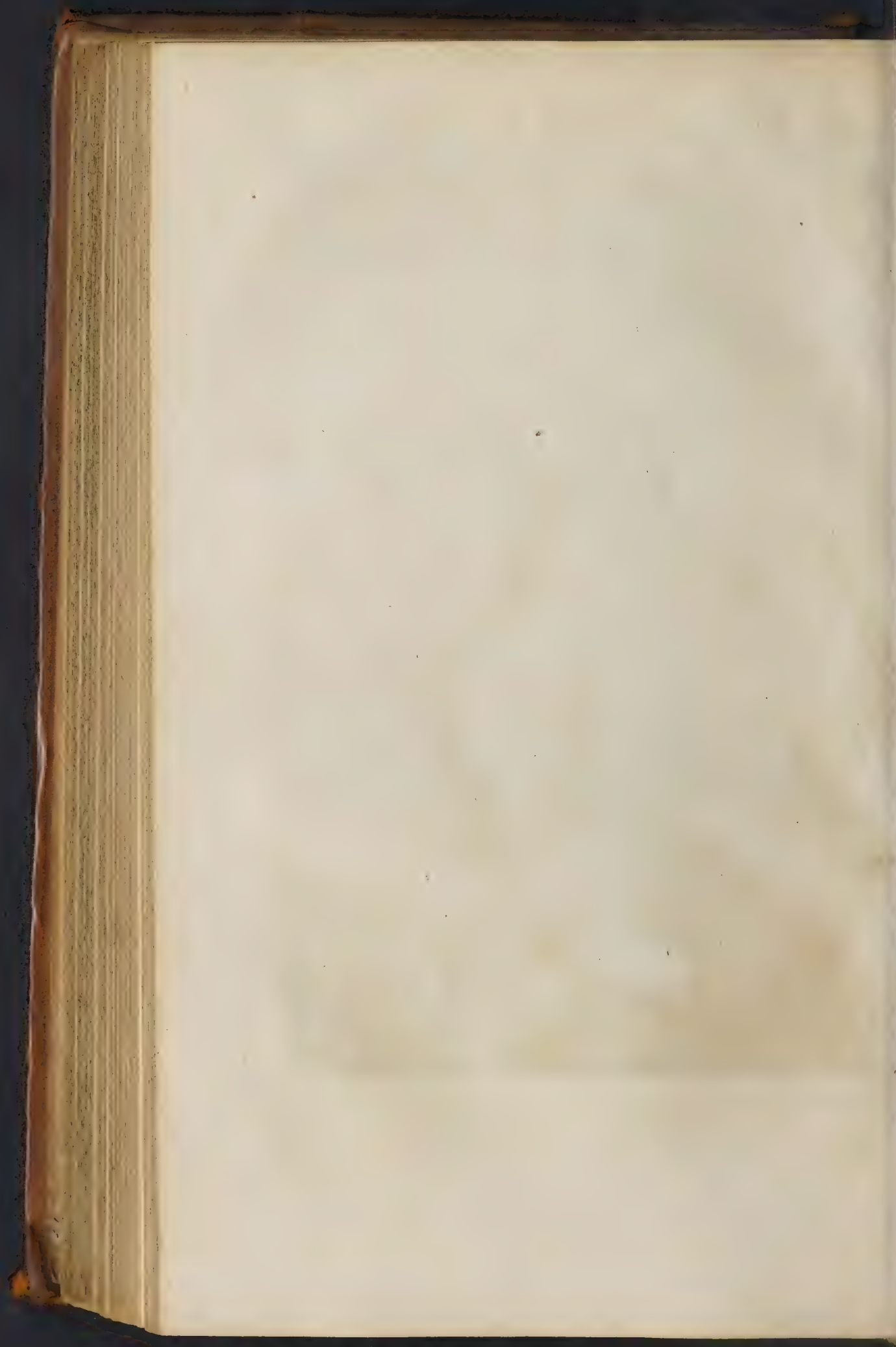
God sitting on his throne sees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; shows him to the Son who sat at his right hand; foretels the success of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own justice and wisdom from all imputation, having created Man free and able enough to have withstood his tempter; yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him seduc'd. The Son of God renders praises to his Father for the manifestation of his gracious purpose towards Man; but God again declares, that Grace cannot be extended towards Man without the satisfaction of divine justice; Man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to Godhead, and therefore with all his progeny devoted to death must die, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offense, and undergo his punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man: the Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all names in Heaven and Earth; commands all the Angels to adore him; they obey, and hymning to their harps in full quire, celebrate the Father and the Son. Mean while Satan alights upon the bare convex of this world's outermost orb; where wand'ring he first finds a place, since call'd The Limbo of Vanity; what persons and things fly up thither; thence comes to the gate of Heaven, describ'd ascending by stairs, and the waters above the firmament that flow about it: His passage thence to the orb of the sun; he finds there Uriel the regent of that orb, but first changes himself into the shape of a meaner Angel; and pretending a zealous desire to behold the new creation, and Man whom God had plac'd here, inquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed; alights first on mount Niphates.



J. Hayman inv. et del.

J. S. Müller sc.

Book 3.



PARADISE LOST.

BOOK III.

HAIL holy Light, offspring of Heav'n first-born,
Or of th' Eternal coeternal beam

May I express thee' unblam'd? since God is light,
And

Horace advises a poet to consider thoroughly the nature and force of his genius. Milton seems to have known perfectly well, wherein his strength lay, and has therefore chosen a subject entirely conformable to those talents, of which he was master. As his genius was wonderfully turned to the sublime, his subject is the noblest that could have entered into the thoughts of man. Every thing that is truly great and astonishing has a place in it. The whole system of the intellectual world; the Chaos and the Creation; Heaven, Earth, and Hell, enter into the constitution of his poem. Having in the first and second books represented the infernal world with all its horrors, the thread of his fable naturally leads him into the opposite regions of bliss and glory. *Addison.*

1. *Hail holy Light, &c.*] Our author's address to Light, and lamentation of his own blindness may perhaps be censur'd as an excess or digression not agreeable to the rules of epic poetry; but yet this is so charming a part of the poem, that the most critical

reader, I imagin, cannot wish it were omitted. One is even pleased with a fault, if it be a fault, that is the occasion of so many beauties, and acquaints us so much with the circumstances and character of the author.

2. *Or of th' eternal coeternal beam
May I express thee' unblam'd?*] Or may I without blame call thee, the coeternal beam of the eternal God? The Ancients were very cautious and curious by what names they address'd their deities, and Milton in imitation of them questions whether he should address the Light as the first-born of Heaven, or as the coeternal beam of the eternal Father, or as a pure ethereal stream whose fountain is unknown: But as the second appellation seems to ascribe a proper eternity to Light, Milton very justly doubts whether he might use that without blame.

3. — *since God is light,
And — in unapproach'd light
Dwelt —*] From 1 John I. 5. *God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.* And 1 Tim. VI. 16. *Who only hath immortality, dwelling*
116

And never but in unapproached light
 Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee, 5
 Bright effluence of bright essence increate.
 Or hear'st thou rather pure ethereal stream,
 Whose fountain who shall tell? before the sun,
 Before the Heav'ns thou wert, and at the voice
 Of God, as with a mantle didst invest 10
 The rising world of waters dark and deep,
 Won from the void and formless infinite.
 Thee I re-visit now with bolder wing,

Escap'd

in the light, which no man can approach unto.

6. *Bright effluence of bright essence increate.*] What the Wisdom of Solomon says of Wisdom, he applies to Light, VII. 25, 26. *She is a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty, — she is the brightness of the everlasting light.*

7. *Or hear'st thou rather*] Or dost thou rather hear this address, dost thou delight rather to be call'd, *pure ethereal stream*? An excellent Latinism, as Dr. Bentley observes, Hor. Sat. II. VI. 20.

Matutine pater seu Jane libentius audis?

And we have an expression of the same kind in Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 5. St. 23.

If old Aveugle's sons so evil hear:
 Whose fountain who shall tell? As the question is ask'd in Job XXXVIII.

19. *Where is the way where light dwelleth?*

11. *The rising world of waters dark and deep,*] For the world was only in a state of fluidity, when the light was created; as Moses says, *The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; and God said Let there be light, and there was light*, Gen. I. 2, 3. And this verse of Milton,

The rising world of waters dark and deep,

is plainly formed upon this of Spenser, *Fairy Queen*. B. 1. C. 1. St. 39.

And through the world of waters wide and deep.

12. *Won from the void and formless infinite.*] *Void* must not here be understood as *emptiness*, for Chaos is described full of matter; but *void*, as destitute of any form'd being, void as the earth was when first created. What Moses says of that

Escap'd the Stygian pool, though long detain'd
 In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight 15
 Through utter and through middle darknefs borne
 With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre
 I fung of Chaos and eternal Night,
 Taught by the heav'nly Muse to venture down
 The dark descent, and up to re-ascend, 20
 Though hard and rare: thee I revisit safe,
 And feel thy sovran vital lamp; but thou
 Revisit'st not these eyes, that roll in vain

To

that is here applied to Chaos, *without form and void*. A short but noble description of Chaos, which is said to be *infinite*, as it extended underneath, as Heaven above, infinitely. *Richardson*.

16. *Through utter and through middle darknefs*] Through Hell which is often call'd *utter darknefs*, and through the great gulf between Hell and Heaven, the *middle darknefs*.

17. *With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre &c.*] Orpheus made a hymn to Night, which is still extant; he also wrote of the creation out of Chaos. See Apoll. Rhodius l. 493. Orpheus was inspir'd by his mother Calliope only, Milton by the *heav'nly Muse*; therefore he boasts he fung with other notes than Orpheus, tho' the subjects were the same. *Richardson*.

19. *Taught by the heav'nly Muse*
 VOL. I.

&c.] He was not only *taught* by the Muse *to venture down*, which indeed was not very hard and difficult, but also *up to reascend*, tho' *hard and rare*, which is manifestly an allusion to Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 128.

Sed revocare gradum, superasque
 evadere ad auras
 Hoc opus, hic labor est; pauci,
 quos æquus amavit
 Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æ-
 thera virtus,
 Diis geniti potuere.

But to return, and view the chear-
 ful skies,
 In this the task, and mighty labor
 lies:
 To few great Jupiter imparts this
 grace,
 And those of shining worth and
 heav'nly race.

Dryden.

X

25. So

To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
 So thick a drop serene hath quench'd their orbs, 25
 Or dim suffusion veil'd. Yet not the more
 Cease I to wander, where the Muses haunt
 Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,

Smit

25. *So thick a drop serene hath
 quench'd their orbs,*

Or dim suffusion veil'd.] Drop serene or Gutta serena. It was formerly thought that that sort of blindness was an incurable extinction or quenching of sight by a transparent, watry, cold humor distilling upon the optic nerve, tho' making very little change in the eye to appearance, if any; 'tis now known to be most commonly an obstruction in the capillary vessels of that nerve, and curable in some cases. A cataract for many ages, and till about thirty years ago, was thought to be a film externally growing over the eye, intercepting or veiling the sight, beginning with dimness, and so increasing till vision was totally obstructed: but the disease is in the crystallin humor lying between the outmost coat of the eye and the pupilla. The dimness which is at the beginning is called a *suffusion*; and when the sight is lost, 'tis a *cataract*; and cur'd by couching, which is with a needle passing through the external coat and driving down the diseas'd crystallin, the loss of which is somewhat supply'd by the use of a large convex glass. When Milton was first blind, he

wrote to his friend Leonard Philara, an Athenian then at Paris, for him to consult Dr. Thevenot; he sent his case ('tis in the 15th of his familiar letters): what answer he had is not known; but it seems by this passage that he was not certain what his disease was: or perhaps he had a mind to describe both the great causes of blindness according to what was known at that time, as his whole poem is interspers'd with great variety of learning. *Richardson.*

26. — *Yet not the more*

Cease I to wander,] Dr. Bentley would read *Yet not for that* &c. there being as he says no gradation in ceasing. Dr. Pearce prefers as coming nearer to the text, *Yet not therefore*, our poet and Fairfax frequently placing the tone on the last syllable of *therefore*. But I cannot see the necessity for an alteration; *Yet not the more cease I to wander* may be allow'd, if not justify'd by *Et si quid cessare potes* in Virgil, Ecl. VII. 10. We may understand *cease* here in the sense of *forbear*; *Yet not the more forbear I to wander*: I do it as much as I did before I was blind.

29. Smit

Smit with the love of sacred song; but chief
 Thee, Sion, and the flowry brooks beneath, 30
 That wash thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,
 Nightly I visit: nor sometimes forget
 Those other two equal'd with me in fate,

So

29. *Smit with the love of sacred song;*] So Virgil. Georg. II. 475.

Dulces ante omnia Musæ,
 Quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore.

30. — *the flowry brooks beneath,*] Kedron and Siloah. He still was pleas'd to study the beauties of the ancient poets, but his highest delight was in the songs of Sion, in the holy Scriptures, and in these he meditated day and night. This is the sense of the passage stript of its poetical ornaments.

32. — *nor sometimes forget*] 'Tis the same as *and sometimes not forget*. *Nec* and *neque* in Latin are frequently the same as *et non*.

Pearce.

33. *Those other two &c.*] It has been imagin'd that Milton dictated *Those other too*, which tho' different in sense, yet is not distinguishable in sound, so that they might easily be mistaken the one for the other. In strictness of speech perhaps we should read *others* instead of *other*, *Those others too*: but *those other* may be admitted as well as *these other* in IV. 783. — *these other swheel the north*: but then it must be acknowledged that *too* is a sorry

botch at best. The most probable explanation of this passage I conceive to be this. Tho' he mentions *four*, yet there are but *two* whom he particularly desires to resemble, and those he distinguishes both with the epithet *blind* to make the likeness the more striking,

Blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides.

Mæonides is Homer, so call'd from the name of his father Mæon: and no wonder our poet desires to equal him in renown, whose writings he so much studied, admir'd and imitated. The character of *Thamyris* is not so well known and establish'd: but Homer mentions him in the Iliad. II. 595; and Eustathius ranks him with Orpheus and Musæus, the most celebrated poets and musicians. That lustful challenge of his to the nine Muses was probably nothing more than a fable invented to express his violent love and affection for poetry. Plato mentions his hymns with honor in the beginning of his eighth book of Laws, and towards the conclusion of the last book of his Republic feigns, upon the principles of transmigration, that the soul of Thamyris pass'd into a nightingale. He was a Thracian
 X 2 by

So were I equal'd with them in renown,
 Blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides, 35
 And Tiresias and Phineus prophets old :
 Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move
 Harmonious numbers; as the wakeful bird
 Sings darkling, and in shadieft covert hid
 Tunes her nocturnal note. Thus with the year 40
 Seasons return, but not to me returns

Day,

by birth, and invented the Doric mood or measure, according to Pliny, L. 7. c. 57. Plutarch in his treatise of Music says that he had the finest voice of any of his time, and wrote a poem of the war of the Titans with the Gods: and from Suidas we learn that he compos'd likewise a poem of the generation of the world, which being subjects near of kin to Milton's might probably occasion the mention of him in this place. *Thamyris* then and *Homer* are *those other two* whom the poet principally desires to resemble: And it seems as if he had intended at first to mention only these two, and then currente calamo had added the two others, *Tiresias* and *Phineus*, the one a Theban, the other a king of Arcadia, famous blind prophets and poets of antiquity, for the word *prophet* sometimes comprehends both characters as *vates* doth in Latin.

And Tiresias and Phineus prophets old.

Dr. Bentley is totally for rejecting this verse, and objects to the bad accent of *Tiresias*: but as Dr. Pearce observes the accent may be mended by supposing that the interlin'd copy intended this order of the words,

And Phineus and Tiresias prophets old.

And the verse appears to be genuine by Mr. Marvel's alluding to it in his verses prefix'd to the second edition;

Just Heav'n Thee, like Tiresias,
 to requite,
 Rewards with prophecy thy loss
 of sight.

And as Mr. Lauder observes, they are all four joined together by Masenius;

Vatibus antiquis numerantur lumine cassis
 Tiresias, Phineus, Thamyrisque,
 et magnus Homerus.

37. Then feed on thoughts,] Nothing

Day, or the sweet approach of ev'n or morn,
 Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
 Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;
 But cloud instead, and ever-during dark
 Surrounds me, from the chearful ways of men
 Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair
 Presented with a universal blank
 Of nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,

45

And

thing could better express the musing thoughtfulness of a blind poet. The phrase was perhaps borrowed from the following line of Spenser's *Tears of the Muses*,

I feed on sweet contentment of
 my thought. *Thyer.*

37. — *that voluntary move*
Harmonious numbers; &c.] And the reader will observe the flowing of the numbers here with all the ease and harmony of the finest voluntary. The words seem of themselves to have fall'n naturally into verse almost without the poet's thinking of it. And this harmony appears to greater advantage for the roughness of some of the preceding verses, which is an artifice frequently practis'd by Milton, to be careless of his numbers in some places, the better to set off the musical flow of those which immediately follow.

39. — *darkling,]* It is said that this word was coin'd by our au-

thor, but I find it used several times in Shakespear and the authors of that age. Lear's fool says, Act I. So out went the candle, and we were left *darkling*.

41. *Seasons return, but not to me returns]* This beautiful turn of the words is copied from the beginning of the third act of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*. Mirtillo addresses the spring.

Tu torni ben, ma teco

Non tornano &c.

Tu torni ben, tu torni,

Ma teco altro non torna &c.

Thou art return'd; but the felicity

Thou brought'st me last is not return'd with thee:

Thou art return'd; but nought returns with thee

Save my last joys regretful memory. *Fanshawe.*

49. *Of nature's works &c.]*

Dr. Bentley reads *All nature's map* &c. because (he says) *a blank of works*

And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out. 50
 So much the rather thou, celestial Light,
 Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
 Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence
 Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
 Of things invisible to mortal sight. 55

Now

works is an unphilosophical expression. If so, and if the sentence must terminate at *blank*, why may we not read?

Presented with an universal blank;
All nature's works to me expung'd
 and ras'd,

that is, all nature's works being, in respect to the *universal blank*, or absence of light from me, expung'd to me and ras'd. *Pearce*. It is to be wish'd that some such emendation as this was admitted. It clears the syntax, which at present is very much embarrass'd. *All nature's works* being to me expung'd and ras'd, and *wisdom at one entrance quite shut out* is plain and intelligible; but otherwise it is not easy to say what the conjunction *And* copulates *wisdom* to; *And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out*.

49. — *ras'd*.] Of the Latin *radere*; the Romans who writ on waxed tables with iron files, when they struck out a word, did *tabulam radere* rase it out. Light and the blessings of it were never drawn in more lively colors and finer strokes; nor was the sad loss

of it and them ever so passionately and so patiently lamented. They that will read the most excellent Homer, bemoaning the same misfortune, will find him far short of this. Herodotus in his life gives us some verses, in which he bewailed his blindness. *Hume*.

52. *Shine inward*.] He has the same kind of thought more than once in his prose works. See his Epist. to Emeric Bigot. *Orbitatem certe luminis quidni leniter feram, quod non tam amissum quam revocatum intus atque retractum, ad acuendam potius mentis aciem quam ad hebetandam, sperem?* Epist. Fam. 21. See also his *Defensio Secunda*, p. 325. Edit. 1738. *Sim ego debilissimus, dummodo in mea debilitate immortalis ille et melior vigor eò se efficacius exerat; dummodo in meis tenebris divini vultus lumen eò clarius eluceat; tum enim infirmissimus ero simul et validissimus, cæcus eodem tempore et perspicacissimus; hac possum ego infirmitate consummari, hac perfici, possum in hac obscuritate sic ego irradiari. Et sane haud ultima Dei cura cæci sumus; —*

nec

Now had th' almighty Father from above,
 From the pure empyréan where he sits
 High thron'd above all highth, bent down his eye,
 His own works and their works at once to view:
 About him all the Sanctities of Heaven 60
 Stood thick as stars, and from his sight receiv'd

Beatitude

nec tam oculorum hebetudine,
 quam cælestium alarum umbrâ has
 nobis fecisse tenebras videtur, factas
 illustrare rursus interiore ac longè
 præstabiliore lumine haud raro
 solet.

56. *Now had th' almighty Father*
 &c.] The survey of the whole
 creation, and of every thing that
 is transacted in it, is a prospect
 worthy of omniscience; and as
 much above that, in which Virgil
 has drawn his Jupiter, as the Chri-
 stian idea of the supreme Being is
 more rational and sublime than
 that of the Heathens. The par-
 ticular objects, on which he is de-
 scribed to have cast his eye, are
 represented in the most beautiful
 and lively manner. *Addison.*

This picture of the Almighty's
 looking down from Heaven is
 much the same with that which
 Tasso gives in the following lines,
 Cant. 1. St. 7.

Quando da l'alto foglio il Padre
 eterno,
 Ch' è ne la parte più del Ciel fin-
 cera:

E quanto è da le stelle al basso
 inferno,
 Tanto è più in sù de la stellata
 sfera:
 Gli occhi in giù volse, e in un
 sol punto, e in una
 Vista mirò ciò, che'n fe il mondo
 aduna.

When God almighty from his
 lofty throne,
 Set in those parts of Heav'n that
 purest are,
 (As far above the clear stars every
 one,
 As it is hence up to the highest
 star)
 Look'd down, and all at once
 this world beheld,
 Each land, each city, country,
 town, and field. *Fairfax.*

Thyer.

59. — *and their works*] That
 is the works of his own works,
 the operations of his own crea-
 tures, Angels, Men, Devils.

61. — *and from his sight receiv'd*
Beatitude *past utterance*;] Our
 author here alludes to the *beatific*
vision, in which divines suppose
 the

Beatitude past utterance; on his right
 The radiant image of his glory sat,
 His only Son; on earth he first beheld
 Our two first parents, yet the only two 65
 Of mankind, in the happy garden plac'd,
 Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
 Uninterrupted joy, unrival'd love
 In blissful solitude; he then survey'd
 Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there 70
 Coasting the wall of Heav'n on this side Night

In

the happiness of the Saints to consist. *Thyer.*

62. — on his right

The radiant image of his glory sat,

His only Son;] According to St.

Paul, Heb. I. 3. *His Son — who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person — sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high.* Let the discerning linguist compare the preceding description of God with that by Tasso, Cant. 9. Stan. 55, 56, 57.

Hume.

72. *In the dun air]* This is the *aer bruno* of the Italians, who almost constantly express a gloomy dusky air in these terms. *Thyer.*

75. *Firm land imbosom'd, without firmament, &c.]* The universe appear'd to Satan to be a solid globe, compass'd on all sides but uncertain whether with water

or air, but *without firmament*, without any sphere of fixed stars over it, as over the earth. The sphere of fixed stars was itself comprehended in it, and made a part of it.

77. *Him God beholding from his prospect high,*

Wherein past, present, future he beholds,] Boethius, an author not unworthy of our poet's imitation, describing the Deity uses exactly the same terms. *Qui cum ex alta providentiæ specula respicit, quid cuique eveniat. De Cons. Philos. L. 4.*

Quæ sint, quæ fuerint, veniantque Uno mentis cernit in ictu.

Ib. L. 5. Metr. 2. Thyer.

79. *Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.]* If Milton's majesty forsakes him any where, it is in those parts of his poem, where the divine Persons are introduced as speakers.

In the dun air sublime, and ready now
 To stoop with wearied wings and willing feet
 On the bare outside of this world, that seem'd
 Firm land imbosom'd, without firmament, 75
 Uncertain which, in ocean or in air.

Him God beholding from his prospect high,
 Wherein past, present, future he beholds,
 Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.

Only begotten Son, see'st thou what rage 80
 Transports our Adversary? whom no bounds
 Prescrib'd,

speakers. One may, I think, observe that the author preceeds with a kind of fear and trembling, whilst he describes the sentiments of the Almighty. He dares not give his imagination its full play, but chooses to confine himself to such thoughts as are drawn from the books of the most orthodox divines, and to such expressions as may be met with in Scripture. The beauties therefore, which we are to look for in these speeches, are not of a poetical nature, nor so proper to fill the mind with sentiments of grandeur, as with thoughts of devotion. The passions, which they are design'd to raise, are a divine love and religious fear. The particular beauty of the speeches in the third book consists in that shortness and perspicuity of stile, in which the poet has couch'd the greatest mysteries

of Christianity, and drawn together in a regular scheme the whole dispensation of Providence with respect to Man. He has represented all the abstruse doctrines of predestination, free-will and grace, as also the great points of incarnation and redemption (which naturally grow up in a poem that treats of the fall of Man) with great energy of expression, and in a clearer and stronger light than I ever met with in any other writer. As these points are dry in themselves to the generality of readers, the concise and clear manner, in which he has treated them, is very much to be admired, as is likewise that particular art which he has made use of in the interspersing of all those graces of poetry, which the subject was capable of receiving. Satan's approach to the confines of the creation is finely imaged

Prescrib'd, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
 Heap'd on him there, nor yet the main abyfs
 Wide interrupt can hold; so bent he seems
 On desperate revenge, that shall redound 85
 Upon his own rebellious head. And now
 Through all restraint broke loose he wings his way
 Not far off Heav'n, in the precincts of light,
 Directly tow'ards the new created world,
 And Man there plac'd, with purpose to assay 90
 If him by force he can destroy, or worse,
 By some false guile pervert; and shall pervert,
 For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,
 And easily transgresses the sole command,
 Sole pledge of his obedience: So will fall, 95
 He and his faithless progeny: Whose fault?
 Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
 All he could have; I made him just and right,
 Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.

Such

imaged in the beginning of the
 speech, which immediately fol-
 lows.

Addison.

— both them who stood and them
 who fell;

Freely they stood who stood, and
 fell who fell. Bentley.

101. — *both them who stood and
 them who fail'd;*] Both the
 antitheton and the repetition in the
 next line show that the author
 gave it,

108. — (*reason also is choice*)]
 The author had express'd the same
 sentiment before in prose. "Many
 " there be that complain of divine
 " Provi-

Book III. PARADISE LOST. 195

Such I created all th' ethereal Powers 100
 And Spi'rits, both them who stood and them who fail'd;
 Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
 Not free, what proof could they have giv'n sincere
 Of true allegiance, constant faith or love,
 Where only what they needs must do appear'd, 105
 Not what they would? what praise could they receive?
 What pleasure I from such obedience paid,
 When will and reason (reason also' is choice)
 Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,
 Made passive both, had serv'd necessity, 110
 Not me? They therefore as to right belong'd,
 So were created, nor can justly' accuse
 Their maker, or their making, or their fate,
 As if predestination over-rul'd
 Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree 115
 Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed
 Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,

Fore-

“ Providence for suffering Adam 117. — *if I foreknew,*] *If* here
 “ to transgress. Foolish tongues! does not imply the least doubt or
 “ when God gave him reason, he uncertainty; but is used, as it is
 “ gave him freedom to choose, for sometimes in the best authors, in
 “ reason is but choosing: he had the sense of *Though*. Though I
 “ been else a mere artificial Adam, foreknew, that foreknowledge had
 &c. See his Speech for the liberty no influence.
 of unlicenc'd printing, p. 149, and
 150. Edit. 1738.

121. Or

Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
 Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.
 So without least impulse or shadow' of fate, 120
 Or ought by me immutably foreseen,
 They trespass, authors to themselves in all
 Both what they judge and what they choose; for so
 I form'd them free, and free they must remain,
 Till they inthrall themselves; I else must change 125
 Their nature, and revoke the high decree
 Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd
 Their freedom, they themselves ordain'd their fall.
 The first sort by their own suggestion fell,
 Self-tempted, self-deprav'd: Man falls, deceiv'd 130
 By th' other first: Man therefore shall find grace,
 The

[121. *Or ought by me immutably foreseen,*] To *foresee immutably* (says Dr. Bentley) are two ideas that cannot unite; he thinks therefore that Milton must have given it *immutably foredoom'd*. His objection is right, but his emendation is wrong, I think. Milton seems rather to have dictated,

Or ought by me *immutable* foreseen,

where *ought immutable* may signify any event that cannot be chang'd or alter'd. Pearce.

Immutably foreseen seems to mean so

foreseen as to be immutable. If Milton had dictated *immutable*, he would probably have said,

Or ought immutable by me foreseen.

[135. *Thus while God spake, &c.*] The effects of this speech in the blessed Spirits, and in the divine Person to whom it was address'd; cannot but fill the mind of the reader with a secret pleasure and complacency. Addison.

Our Milton here shows, that he was no servile imitator of the Ancients. It is very well known that his

The other none: in mercy' and justice both,
Through Heav'n and Earth, so shall my glory' excel,
But mercy first and last shall brightest shine.

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd
All Heav'n, and in the blessed Spi'rits elect 136
Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd:

Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious; in him all his Father shone
Substantially express'd; and in his face 140
Divine compassion visibly appear'd,
Love without end, and without measure grace,
Which uttering thus he to his Father spake.

O Father, gracious was that word which clos'd
Thy sovran sentence, that Man should find grace; 145
For

his master Homer, and all who followed him, where they are representing the Deity speaking, describe a scene of terror and awful consternation. *The Heavens, Seas and Earth tremble &c.*, and this, to be sure, was consistent enough with their natural notions of the supreme Being: but it would not have been so agreeable to the mild, merciful, and benevolent idea of the Deity upon the Christian scheme, and therefore our author has very judiciously made the words of the Almighty diffusing fragrance and delight to all around

him. There is a passage in Ariosto, which is exactly in the same taste with what Milton has given us, Cant. 29. St. 30.

Dio così disse; e fe serena intorno
L'aria, e tranquillo il mar più che
mai fusse.

Thus said the Highest, and then
there did ensue

A wondrous calm in waters and
in air. Harrington.

Thyer.

140. *Substantially express'd;*] According to Heb. I. 3. where the Son of God is styled, *the brightness of his*
his

For which both Heav'n and Earth shall high extol
 Thy praises, with th' innumerable sound
 Of hymns and sacred songs, wherewith thy throne
 Incompass'd shall resound thee ever blest.

For should Man finally be lost, should Man, 150
 Thy creature late so lov'd, thy youngest son,
 Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though join'd
 With his own folly? that be from thee far,
 That far be from thee, Father, who art judge
 Of all things made, and judgest only right. 155

Or shall the Adversary thus obtain
 His end, and frustrate thine? shall he fulfil
 His malice, and thy goodness bring to nought,
 Or proud return, though to his heavier doom,

Yet

his Father's glory, and the express image of his person; χαρὰν τὴν ἐπὶ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ, the character of his substance, is the original expresseth it. Fume.

147. — *with th' innumerable sound*
Of hymns and sacred songs,] Dr. Bentley reads *with innumerable strains* &c. He thinks it strange to find *innumerable* join'd to a singular number, unless the substantive implies multitude in the very name: But is not *innumerable sound of songs* here the same with *innumerable force of Spirits* in I. 101.? In both places the word *innumerable*, tho'

join'd to *sound* and *force*, yet in sense refers to *songs* and *Spirits*. See also X. 268. Again he dislikes *sound*, because *resound* follows in the next verse but one. But this way of writing is common in this poem: See I. 642. and II. 190, 192. So in I. 441, 442. we read *songs unsung*. And we have the very thing which the Doctor finds fault with in VII. 558.

Follow'd with acclamation and the
sound
 Symphonious of ten thousand
 harps that tun'd

Angelic

Book III. PARADISE LOST. 199

Yet with revenge accomplish'd, and to Hell 160

Draw after him the whole race of mankind,

By him corrupted? or wilt thou thyself

Abolish thy creation, and unmake

For him, what for thy glory thou hast made?

So should thy goodness and thy greatness both 165

Be question'd and blasphem'd without defense.

To whom the great Creator thus reply'd.

O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight,

Son of my bosom, Son who art alone

My word, my wisdom, and effectual might, 170

All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all

As my eternal purpose hath decreed:

Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will,

Yet

Angelic harmonies: the earth, the air may be justify'd as well from the Saxon.

Resounded. Pearce.

153.—*that be from thee far, &c.*] An imitation of Genesis, XVIII.

25. *That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked; and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from thee: shall not the judge of all the earth do right?*

158.—*nought,*] This word and ought our author most usually spells naught and aught, and they may be spelt either way; but this is grown obsolete, and the other

168. *O Son, &c.*] The Son is here address'd by several titles and appellations borrow'd from Scripture. *O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight,* from Mat. III. 17. *My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. Son of my bosom,* from John I. 18. *The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father. My word,* from Rev. XIX. 13. *And his name is called the word of God. My wisdom and effectual might,* from 1 Cor. I. 24. *Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.*

180. By

Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
 Freely vouchsaf'd; once more I will renew 175
 His laps'd pow'rs, though forfeit and inthrall'd
 By sin to foul exorbitant desires;
 Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand
 On even ground against his mortal foe,
 By me upheld, that he may know how frail 180
 His fall'n condition is, and to me owe
 All his deliverance, and to none but me.
 Some I have chosen of peculiar grace
 Elect above the rest; so is my will:
 The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warn'd 185
 Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
 Th' incens'd Deity, while offer'd grace
 Invites; for I will clear their senses dark,
 What may suffice, and soften stony hearts
 To pray, repent, and bring obedience due. 190
 To

180. *By me upheld,*] It was before, ver. 178. *Upheld by me.* The turn of the words is remarkable. And we have the oftner taken notice of these turns of the words, because it has been objected by Dryden and others, that there were no turns of the words in Milton.

183. *Some I have chosen of peculiar grace &c.*] Our author

did not hold the doctrine of rigid predestination; he was of the sentiments of the more moderate Calvinists, and thought that some indeed were elected of peculiar grace, the rest might be saved complying with the terms and conditions of the Gospel.

192. — *endeavor'd*] So Milton spells this word, and it is most agreeable to our pronunciation of it,

To pray'r, repentance, and obedience due,
 Though but endeavor'd with sincere intent,
 Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.
 And I will place within them as a guide
 My umpire conscience, whom if they will hear,
 Light after light well us'd they shall attain, 196
 And to the end persisting, safe arrive.

This my long sufferance and my day of grace
 They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;
 But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more, 200
 That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
 And none but such from mercy I exclude.
 But yet all is not done; Man disobeying,
 Disloyal breaks his fealty, and sins
 Against the high supremacy of Heaven, 205
 Affecting God-head, and so losing all,
 To expiate his treason hath nought left,

But

it, as well as to its derivation from the French *en* and *davoir*.

197. *And to the end persisting, safe arrive.*] *He that endureth to the end shall be saved*, Mat. X. 22.

198. *This my long sufferance and my day of grace*

They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;] It is a great pity that our author should have thus debased the dignity of the

Deity by putting in his mouth this horrid doctrine of a day of grace, after which it is not possible for a man to repent; and there can be no sort of excuse for him, except the candid reader will make some allowance for the prejudices, which he might possibly receive from the gloomy divinity of that enthusiastic age in which he lived.

Thyer.

But to destruction sacred and devote,
 He with his whole posterity must die,
 Die he or justice must; unless for him 210
 Some other able, and as willing, pay
 The rigid satisfaction, death for death.
 Say heav'nly Pow'rs, where shall we find such love?
 Which of ye will be mortal to redeem
 Man's mortal crime, and just th' unjust to save? 215
 Dwells in all Heaven charity so dear?

He ask'd, but all the heav'nly quire stood mute,
 And silence was in Heav'n: on Man's behalf
 Patron or intercessor none appear'd,
 Much less that durst upon his own head draw 220
 The deadly forfeiture, and ransome set.
 And now without redemption all mankind

Must

215.—*and just th' unjust to save?*] That is, Which of ye will be so just as to save the unjust? Which of ye will be righteous enough to supply the defects of others righteousness? It is plainly an allusion to 1 Pet. III. 18. *For Christ also hath once suffer'd for sins, the just for the unjust.*

217. — *stood mute,*] I need not point out the beauty of that circumstance, wherein the whole host of Angels are represented as standing mute, nor show how proper the occasion was to produce such

a silence in Heaven.

Addison.

This beautiful circumstance is rais'd upon Rev. VIII. 1. where upon a certain occasion it is said, *There was silence in Heaven.* And so, as there was silence in Hell, when it was propos'd who should be sent on the dangerous expedition to destroy mankind, there is likewise silence in Heaven, when it is ask'd who would be willing to pay the price of their redemption. Satan alone was fit to undertake the one, as the Son of God the other. But tho' the silence is the same in both places,

Must have been lost, adjudg'd to Death and Hell
 By doom severe, had not the Son of God,
 In whom the fulness dwells of love divine, 225
 His dearest mediation thus renew'd.

Father, thy word is past, Man shall find grace;
 And shall grace not find means, that finds her way,
 The speediest of thy winged messengers,
 To visit all thy creatures, and to all 230
 Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, unsought?
 Happy for Man, so coming; he her aid
 Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost;
 Atonement for himself or offering meet,
 Indebted and undone, hath none to bring: 235
 Behold me then; me for him, life for life
 I offer; on me let thine anger fall;

Account

places, the difference of the expression is remarkable. In Hell it is said *all sat mute*, II. 420, as there the infernal peers were sitting in council; but here it is said they *stood mute*, as the good Angels were standing round about the throne of God.

231. *Comes unprevented,*] Prevent from *prævenire* to come before. This grace is not preceded by merit or supplication; itself prevents or goes before; 'tis a free gift, as XI. 3. *Prevenient grace descending*, &c. 2 Tim. I. 9. *Not according to*

our works, but according to his own purpose and grace. Psal. LXXXVIII. 13. *But unto thee have I cry'd, O Lord, and in the morning shall my prayer prevent thee.* Here the favor if it comes, comes not *unprevented*; prayer prevents or goes before God's goodness.

Richardson.

236. *Behold me then; me for him, life for life*
I offer; on me let thine anger fall;
Account me Man;] The frequent and vehement repetition of *me* here
 Y 2 is

Account me Man; I for his sake will leave
 Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee
 Freely put off, and for him lastly die 240
 Well pleas'd; on me let Death wreck all his rage;
 Under his gloomy pow'r I shall not long
 Lie vanquish'd; thou hast giv'n me to possess
 Life in myself for ev'r; by thee I live,
 Though now to Death I yield, and am his due 245
 All that of me can die; yet that debt paid,
 Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsome grave
 His prey, nor suffer my unspotted soul
 For ever with corruption there to dwell;
 But I shall rise victorious, and subdue 250
 My vanquisher, spoil'd of his vaunted spoil;
 Death his death's wound shall then receive, and stoop
 Inglorious,

is very like that in Virgil, *Æn.*
IX. 427.

Me, me: adsum qui feci: in me
convertite ferrum:

and a little afterwards,

Figite me, si qua est pietas: in me
omnia tela

Conjicite, ô Rutuli; me primum
absumite ferro.

244. *Life in myself for ev'r;] For*
as the Father hath life in himself, so
hath he given to the Son to have life
in himself, John V. 26.

249. — *with corruption there to*
dwell;] According to the
Psalmist, For thou wilt not leave my
soul in Hell, neither suffer thine Holy
One to see corruption, Psal. XVI. 10.
 applied to our Saviour's resurrection
 by St. Peter, *Acts II. 20, 21, &c.*

252. *Death his death's wound shall*
then receive,] I am very
 sorry to observe, that the quaint
 conceit in this line is very incon-
 sistent with the character of the
 speaker, and unworthy of the ma-
 jesty of the rest of the speech.
 Milton might perhaps be led into
 it

Inglorious, of his mortal sting disarm'd.
 I through the ample air in triumph high
 Shall lead Hell captive maugre Hell, and show 255
 The Pow'rs of darkness bound. Thou at the fight
 Pleas'd, out of Heaven shalt look down and smile,
 While by thee rais'd I ruin all my foes,
 Death last, and with his carcass glut the grave:
 Then with the multitude of my redeem'd 260
 Shall enter Heav'n long absent, and return,
 Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud
 Of anger shall remain, but peace assur'd
 And reconciliation; wrath shall be no more
 Thenceforth, but in thy presence joy entire. 265

His words here ended, but his meek aspect
 Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love

To

it by a witticism of the same kind in Seneca, who speaking of the terror Pluto was in from the wound he received from Hercules, says, Herc. Fur. ver. 568.

Effugit tenui vulnere faucius,
 Et mortis dominus pertimuit mori.
 Thyer.

254. *I through the ample air in triumph high &c.] Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive, Psal. LXVIII. 18. And having spoiled Principalities and Powers, he made a show of them*

openly, triumphing over them in it, Col. II. 15.

259. *Death last,]* According to St. Paul, *The last enemy that shall be destroy'd is Death, 1 Cor. XV. 26.*

266. *His words here ended, but his meek aspect*

Silent yet spake, &c.] What a charming and lovely picture has Milton given us of God the Son consider'd as our Saviour and Redeemer? not in the least inferior in its way to that grander one in the 6th book, where he describes him clothed with majesty and terror,

To mortal men, above which only shone
 Filial obedience: as a sacrifice
 Glad to be offer'd, he attends the will 270
 Of his great Father. Admiration seis'd
 All Heav'n, what this might mean, and whither tend
 Wond'ring; but soon th' Almighty thus reply'd.

O thou in Heav'n and Earth the only peace
 Found out for mankind under wrath, O thou 275
 My sole complacence! well thou know'st how dear
 To me are all my works, nor Man the least,
 Though last created; that for him I spare
 Thee from my bosom and right hand, to save,
 By losing thee awhile, the whole race lost. 280
 Thou therefore, whom thou only canst redeem,
 Their nature also to thy nature join;

And

ror, taking vengeance of his enemies. Before he represents him speaking, he makes *divine compassion, love without end, and grace without measure visibly to appear in his face*: ver. 140. and carrying on the same amiable picture, makes him end it with a countenance *breathing immortal love to mortal men*. Nothing could be better contriv'd to leave a deep impression upon the reader's mind, and I believe one may venture to assert, that no art or words could lift the imagination to a stronger idea of a

good and benevolent being. The mute eloquence, which our author has so prettily express'd in his *silent yet spake*, is with no less beauty described by Tasso at the end of Armida's speech to Godfrey. Cant. 4. St. 65.

Ciò detto tace, e la risposta attende

Con atto, che'n silentio hà voce, e preghi. *Thyer.*

269. — *as a sacrifice &c.*] An allusion to Psal. XL. 6. and the following verses, *Sacrifice and offering*

And be thyself Man among men on earth,
 Made flesh, when time shall be, of virgin seed,
 By wondrous birth: be thou in Adam's room 285
 The head of all mankind, though Adam's son.
 As in him perish all men, so in thee,
 As from a second root, shall be restor'd
 As many as are restor'd, without thee none.
 His crime makes guilty all his sons; thy merit 290
 Imputed shall absolve them who renounce
 Their own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,
 And live in thee transplanted, and from thee
 Receive new life. So Man, as is most just,
 Shall satisfy for Man, be judg'd and die, 295
 And dying rise, and rising with him raise
 His brethren, ransom'd with his own dear life.

So

*fering thou didst not desire, mine ears
 hast thou opened; burnt-offering and
 sin-offering hast thou not required:
 Then said I, Lo I come; in the vo-
 lume of the book it is written of me:
 I delight to do thy will, O my God;
 yea, thy law is within my heart.*

277. — *nor Man the least,*] The
 least dear, *Though least created;*
 somewhat like Shakespear's Lear
 to Cordelia, Act I.

— *Now our joy,
 Although our last, not least.*

And Antony to Trebonius, Jul.
 Cæs. Act III.

Though last, not least in love.

281. — *whom thou only canst re-
 deem,*

Their nature] That is, the nature
 of them, whom thou only canst
 redeem. A manner of speaking
 very usual with our author.

287. *As in him perish all men, &c.]*
For as in Adam all die, even so in
Christ shall all be made alive, 1 Cor.
XV. 22.

Y 4

299. *Giving*

So heav'nly love shall outdo hellish hate,
 Giving to death, and dying to redeem,
 So dearly to redeem what hellish hate 300
 So easily destroy'd, and still destroys
 In those who, when they may, accept not grace.
 Nor shalt thou, by descending to assume
 Man's nature, lessen or degrade thine own.
 Because thou hast, though thron'd in highest bliss
 Equal to God, and equally enjoying 306
 God-like fruition, quitted all to save
 A world from utter loss, and hast been found
 By merit more than birthright Son of God,
 Found worthiest to be so by being good, 310
 Far

299. *Giving to death, and dying to redeem,*] The love of the Father in giving the Son to death, and the love of the Son in submitting to it and dying to redeem mankind. Mr. Warburton thus explains it. "Milton's system of divinity taught, says he, not only that Man was redeemed, but likewise that a real price was paid for his redemption; *dying to redeem* therefore signifying only redemption in a vague uncertain sense, but imperfectly represents his system; so imperfectly that it may as well be called the Socinian; the price paid (which implies a proper re-

demption) is wanting. But to pay a price implying a voluntary act, the poet therefore well expresses it by *giving to death* that is giving himself to death; so that the sense of the line fully expresses Milton's notion, *Heavenly love gave a price for the redemption of mankind, and by virtue of that price really redeemed them.*"

301. — *and still, destroys*] Dr. Bentley objects to *still destroys*, that this speech is before Adam's fall, and therefore he thinks that Milton gave it *and will destroy*. But there are many passages in these speeches of God and Messiah, where

Far more than great or high; because in thee
 Love hath abounded more than glory' abounds,
 Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
 With thee thy manhood also to this throne;
 Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign 315
 Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
 Anointed universal king; all power
 I give thee; reign for ever, and assume
 Thy merits; under thee as head supreme
 Thrones, Princedoms, Pow'rs, Dominions I reduce:
 All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide 321
 In Heav'n, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell.
 When thou attended gloriously from Heaven
 Shalt

where the fall is spoken of as a thing past; perhaps because all things, even future ones, are present to the divine Mind. Thus we read in ver. 151.

Thy creature late so lov'd:
 and ver. 181.

— that he may know how frail
 His fall'n condition is: —

And yet these two passages, with others of the same kind, Dr. Bentley has suffer'd to stand uncensur'd.

Pearce.

306. *Equal to God, and equally enjoying
 God-like fruition,*] This deserves

notice as an instance of Milton's orthodoxy with relation to the divinity of God the Son.

317. — *all power*
I give thee;] Mat. XXVIII. 18.
All power is given unto me.

318. — *and assume*
Thy merits;] Imitated from Horace's *Sume superbiam quæsitam meritis*, Od. III. XXX. 14. but adapted to the divine Person to whom it is spoken.

321. *All knees to thee shall bow, &c.]*
That at the name of Jesus every knee
should bow, of things in Heaven, and
things in Earth, and things under the
Earth, Philip. II. 10.

334. *The*

Shalt in the sky appear, and from thee send
 The summoning Arch-Angels to proclame 325
 Thy dread tribunal; forthwith from all winds
 The living, and forthwith the cited dead
 Of all past ages, to the general doom
 Shall hasten, such a peal shall rouse their sleep.
 Then all thy faints assembled, thou shalt judge 330
 Bad men and Angels; they arraign'd shall sink
 Beneath thy sentence; Hell, her numbers full,
 Thenceforth shall be for ever shut. Mean while
 The world shall burn, and from her ashes spring
 New

334. *The world shall burn, &c.]*
The Heavens being on fire shall be
dissolved, and the elements shall melt
with fervent heat; nevertheless we,
according to his promise, look for new
Heavens, and a new Earth, where-
in dwelleth righteousness, 2 Pet. III.
 12, 13.

335. *New Heav'n and Earth,]*
 Dr. Bentley reads *Heav'ns*; for (he
 says) *Heav'n* is the seat of God,
Heav'ns are the visible ones, all not
 beyond the fixed stars: but I find
 Milton almost always using the
 known Jewish phrase of *Heaven*
and Earth to express the whole
 creation by. See instances in VII.
 62, 167, 232, 256, 617. VIII. 15,
 70. X. 638, 647. XI. 66, 901.

Pearce.

The last verse cited by Dr. Pearce
 is almost the same as this we are
 here considering.

New Heav'n and Earth, wherein
 the just shall dwell.
 Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein
 the just shall dwell.

We may add too, that tho' St. Pe-
 ter says *new Heavens and a new*
Earth, yet St. John, Rev. XXI. 1.
 makes use of the phrase of *Heaven*
and Earth. And I saw a new *Hea-*
ven and a new Earth, for the first
Heaven and the first Earth were
passed away.

337. *See golden days, fruitful of*
golden deeds,]

Toto surget gens aurea mundo.
 Virg. Ecl. IV. 9. Hume.

341. *God shall be all in all.]* Ac-
 cording to 1 Cor. XV. 28. And
when all things shall be subdued un-
to him, then shall the Son also him-
self be subject unto him, that put all
things

New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell,
 And after all their tribulations long 336
 See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
 With joy and love triumphing, and fair truth.
 Then thou thy regal scepter shalt lay by,
 For regal scepter then no more shall need, 340
 God shall be all in all. But all ye Gods,
 Adore him, who to compass all this dies;
 Adore the Son, and honor him as me.

No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, but all
 The multitude of Angels, with a shout 345
 Loud

things under him, that God may be all in all.

341. — But all ye Gods,
 Adore him,] From Psal. XCVII.
 7. *Worship him, all ye Gods, that is all ye Angels; and so it is translated by the Seventy, and so it is cited by St. Paul, Heb. I. 6. And let all the Angels of God worship him.*

343. *Adore the Son, and honor him as me.] That all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father. John V. 23.*

344. *No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, &c.] The close of this divine colloquy, with the hymn of Angels that follows upon it, are so wonderfully beautiful and poetical, that I should not forbear inserting the whole, if the bounds of my paper would give me leave.*

Addison.

If the reader pleases to compare

this divine dialogue with the speeches of the Gods in Homer and Virgil, he will find the Christian poet to transcend the Hea-then, as much as the religion of the one surpasses that of the others. Their deities talk and act like men, but Milton's divine Persons are divine Persons indeed, and talk in the language of God, that is in the language of Scripture. He is so very scrupulous and exact in this particular, that perhaps there is not a single expression, which may not be justify'd by the authority of holy Writ. We have taken notice of several, where he seems to have copied the letter of Scripture, and the spirit of Scripture breathes in all the rest.

345. *The multitude of Angels, &c.] The construction is this, All the multitude of Angels uttering joy with*

Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
 As from blest voices, uttering joy, Heav'n rung
 With jubilee, and loud Hosanna's fill'd
 Th' eternal regions: lowly reverent
 Tow'ards either throne they bow, and to the ground
 With solemn adoration down they cast 351
 Their crowns inwove with amarant and gold;
 Immortal amarant, a flow'r which once

In

a shout loud as &c. Heav'n rung, &c. where the first words are put in the ablative case absolutely.

Pearce.

351. — down they cast
Their crowns] So they are represented Rev. IV. 10. *The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne.*

353. *Immortal amarant,]* Amarant *Αμαραντος* Greek, for unfading, that decayeth not; a flower of a purple velvet color, which tho' gather'd, keeps its beauty, and when all other flowers fade, recovers its lustre by being sprinkled with a little water, as Pliny affirms, Lib. 21. c. 11. Our author seems to have taken this hint from 1 Pet. I. 4. *To an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, αμαραντος:* and 1 Pet. V. 4. *Ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away, αμαραντος:* both relating to the name of his ever-

lasting amarant, which he has finely set near the tree of life. *Amarantus flos, symbolum est immortalitatis.* Clem. Alexand. Hume.

357. — the fount of life, and river of bliss] The abundant happiness and immortal joys of Heaven are in Scripture generally express'd by the fountain of life and rivers of pleasure: So, *Thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures, for with thee is the fountain of life,* Psal. XXXVI. 8, 9. *For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters,* Rev. VII. 17. and Rev. XXII. 1. *He showed me a pure river of water of life.*

Hume.

359. *Rolls o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber stream;]* Dr. Bentley reads *Rolls o'er relucient gems* &c. because (he says) it is not well conceiv'd that flow'rs grow at the bottom of a river. But (as Dr. Pearce replies) Milton's words don't necessarily imply so much; the river might

In Paradise, fast by the tree of life,
 Began to bloom; but soon for man's offense 355
 To Heav'n remov'd, where first it grew, there grows,
 And flow'rs aloft shading the fount of life,
 And where the riv'er of blifs through midst of Heaven
 Rolls o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber stream;
 With these that never fade the Spi'rits elect 360
 Bind their resplendent locks inwreath'd with beams,

Now

might only sometimes *roll over* them, to water them. And yet (says Dr. Pearce) I am rather inclin'd to think, that the poet here by *over* means *through* or *among*. So Mr. Jortin understands *Rolls o'er* for *rolls through* or *by*; and observes that Horace uses the verb *præterire* in much the same manner, Od. IV. VII. 3.

— et decreſcentia ripas
 Flumina prætereunt,

roll by and within their banks. But if we understand the passage as it is expreſs'd, there is no kind of abſurdity in it; for we frequently ſee graſs and weeds and flowers growing under water: and we may therefore ſuppoſe the fineſt flowers to grow at the bottom of the *river of blifs*, or rather the river to *roll over* them ſometimes, to water them. The author ſeems to intend much the ſame thing that he has expreſs'd in IV. 240. where ſpeaking of the brooks in Paradise he ſays they

Ran neſtar, viſiting each plant,
 and fed
 Flow'rs worthy of Paradise.

And as there they are flow'rs *worthy of Paradise*, ſo here they are worthy of *Elyſium*, the region of the Bleſſed: and he makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion in his poem call'd L'Allegro,

From golden ſlumber on a bed
 Of heap'd *Elyſian flow'rs*.

And then as to his calling it *amber ſream*, it is only on account of its clearneſs and transparency, and not at all on account of its color, that he compares it to amber. The clearneſs of amber was proverbial among the Ancients; Callimachus in his hymn to Ceres, ver. 29. has *αλεχλεινον ὕδωρ*; and in like manner Virgil ſays of a river, Georg. III. 522.

Purior electro campum petit amnis.

360. *With theſe that never fade*] Dr. Bentley reads *with this that never*

Now in loose garlands thick thrown off, the bright
 Pavement, that like a sea of jasper shone,
 Impurpled with celestial roses smil'd. 364
 Then crown'd again, their golden harps they took,
 Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by their side
 Like quivers hung, and with preamble sweet
 Of charming symphony they introduce
 Their sacred song, and waken raptures high;
 No voice exempt, no voice but well could join 370
 Melodious part, such concord is in Heaven.

Thee,

never fades, that is amarant. But these is right, and refers to crowns spoken of in ver. 352. all the intermediate verses being in a parenthesis. Milton alludes here to 1 Pet. V. 4. Ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.

Pearce.

Or perhaps *these* may more probably refer to *Elysian flow'rs* mention'd in the verse preceding. It is more natural and easy, and agrees better with what follows, with their being *thrown off in loose garlands*, which it is better to understand of *flow'rs* than of *crowns*, which are themselves garlands: but then there must be no parenthesis, as there is none in Milton's own editions.

363. — *like a sea of jasper shone,*] Jasper is a precious stone of several colors, but the green is most esteem'd, and bears some similitude and resemblance to the sea.

364. *Impurpled with celestial roses smil'd.*] A word very familiar with Spenser from the Italian *imporporato*. Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 7. St. 16.

Oft from the forest wildings he did bring,
 Whose sides *impurpled* were with smiling red.

Marino Ad. Cant. 4. St. 291.

L'Hore spogliando de lor fregi i prati
 Tutto di rose *imporporare* il Cielo.
 Thyer.

372. *Thee, Father, first they sung &c.*] This hymn seems to be composed somewhat in the spirit and manner of the hymn to Hercules in the 8th book of the *Æneid*; but is as much superior as the subject of the one transcends that of the other.

377. *Thron'd*

Thee, Father, first they sung Omnipotent,
 Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
 Eternal King; thee Author of all being,
 Fountain of light, thyself invisible 375
 Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sitst
 Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st
 The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
 Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine,
 Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear, 380
 Yet dazle Heav'n, that brightest Seraphim

Approach

377. *Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st*] The word *but* here is the same as *except, unless*; *inaccessible but when thou shad'st*, that is then only accessible, when thou shad'st &c. Perhaps Milton had in view what Ovid says of Phœbus when his son Phaeton came to him, Met. II. 39.

—circum caput omne micantes
 Deposuit radios, propiusque accedere jussit. *Pearce.*

380. *Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,*] Milton has the same thought of darkness occasion'd by glory, V. 599. *Brightness had made invisible.* This also explains his meaning here; the excess of brightness had the effect of darkness, invisibility. What an idea of glory! the skirts only not to be look'd on by the beings nearest to God, but when doubly

or trebly shaded by a cloud and both wings. What then is the full blaze! *Richardson.*
 In like manner Tasso describing the Almighty in Heaven, Cant. 9. St. 57.

Quivi ei così nel suo splendor s'invol-
 ve,
 Che v'abbaglian la vista anco i più degni.

The same thought in Spenser's Hymn of heavenly Beauty, but more languidly express'd,

With the great glory of that wondrous light
 His throne is all encompassed a-
 round,
And hid in his own brightness from the sight
 Of all that look thereon &c.

Thyer.

382. *Approach*

Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.
 Thee next they sang of all creation first,
 Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
 In whose conspicuous count'nance, without cloud
 Made visible, th' almighty Father shines, 386
 Whom else no creature can behold; on thee
 Impres'd th' effulgence of his glory' abides,
 Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests.
 He Heav'n of Heav'ns and all the Pow'rs therein
 By thee created, and by thee threw down 391
 Th' aspiring Dominations: thou that day
 Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst not spare,
 Nor stop thy flaming chariot wheels, that shook
 Heav'n's everlasting frame, while o'er the necks 395
 Thou drov'st of warring Angels disarray'd.

Back

382. *Approach not,*] So Ovid Met. II. 22.

Consistitque procul, neque enim
 propiora ferebat
 Lumina.

but with both wings veil their eyes.
 So they are represented in Isaiah's
 vision of the throne of God:
Above it stood the Seraphims; each
one had six wings; with twain he
cover'd his face, &c. Isa. VI. 2.

383. — *of all creation first,*] So

in Col. I. 15. *the first-born of every*
creature or of all creation, πᾶσις
κτίσεως; and Rev. III. 14. *the be-*
ginning of the creation of God.

387. *Whom else no creature can*
behold;] No creature can
 otherwise behold the Father but in
 and through the Son. *No man hath*
seen God at any time; the only begot-
ten Son which is in the bosom of the
Father, he hath declared him, John
I. 18. But He that hath seen me,
hath seen the Father, John XIV. 9.

398. *Thee*

Back from pursuit thy Pow'rs with loud acclame
 Thee only' extoll'd, Son of thy Father's might,
 To execute fierce vengeance on his foes, 399
 Not so on Man: Him through their malice fall'n,
 Father of mercy' and grace, thou didst not doom
 So strictly, but much more to pity' incline :
 No sooner did thy dear and only Son
 Perceive thee purpos'd not to doom frail Man
 So strictly, but much more to pity' inclin'd, 405
 He to appease thy wrath, and end the strife
 Of mercy' and justice in thy face discern'd,
 Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat
 Second to thee, offer'd himself to die
 For Man's offense. O unexampled love, 410
 Love no where to be found less than Divine!

Hail

398. *Thee only' extoll'd,*] We must of which see before in the note upon I. 169.

not understand it thus, Thy Powers returning from pursuit extoll'd, &c. but Thy Powers extoll'd thee returning from pursuit, and *thee only*; for he was the *sole victor*, all the rest stood silent eye-witnesses of his *almighty acts*, VI. 880. &c. So perfectly doth this hymn of the good Angels agree with the account given by Raphael in Book VI. and whenever mention is made of the good Angels joining in the pursuit, it is by the evil Angels, the reason

406. *He to appease thy wrath,*] As an ingenious person observes, *than* or *but* must be understood before *He* to complete the sense. Such omissions are frequent in poetry, and this may have a beauty here, as it expresses the readiness of the Son to interpose on Man's behalf immediately upon perceiving the Father's gracious purpose.

Hail Son of God, Saviour of Men, thy name
 Shall be the copious matter of my song
 Henceforth, and never shall my harp thy praise
 Forget, nor from thy Father's praise disjoin. 415

Thus they in Heav'n, above the starry sphere,
 Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent.
 Mean while upon the firm opacous globe
 Of this round world, whose first convex divides
 The luminous inferior orbs inclos'd 420
 From Chaos and th' inroad of Darkneſs old,

Satan

412. *Hail Son of God,*] So in the conclusion of the hymn to Hercules mention'd before. *Æn. VIII.* 301.

Salve vera Jovis proles, decus addite Divis.

413. —*the copious matter of my song*] Dr. Bentley reads here *our song*; but why may not Milton take the liberty us'd in the ancient chorus, where sometimes the plural, and sometimes the singular number is used? Or it may be said that Milton speaks in his own person, or rather narrates than gives us the words as the words of the Angels. If we read it over, we shall see this plainly; *Thee first they sung*, ver. 372. and again, *Thee next they sang*, ver. 383; and this accounts for what Dr. Bentley objects to ver. 381. that *Seraphim* are mention'd.

Pearce.

It is to be noted that the ending of this hymn is in imitation of the hymns of Homer and Callimachus, who always promise to return in future hymns. *Richardson.*

418. *Mean while upon the firm &c.*] Satan's walk upon the outside of the universe, which at a distance appeared to him of a globular form, but upon his nearer approach looked like an unbounded plain, is natural and noble: as his roaming upon the frontiers of the creation between that mass of matter, which was wrought into a world, and that shapeless unformed heap of materials, which still lay in Chaos and confusion, strikes the imagination with something astonishingly great and wild. *Addison.*

431. *As when a vultur &c.*] This simile is very apposite and lively, and corresponds exactly in all the particulars. Satan coming from

Satan alighted walks: a globe far off
 It seem'd, now seems a boundless continent
 Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night
 Starless expos'd, and ever-threatning storms 425
 Of Chaos blust'ring round, inclement sky;
 Save on that side which from the wall of Heaven,
 Though distant far, some small reflection gains
 Of glimmering air less vex'd with tempest loud:
 Here walk'd the Fiend at large in spacious field. 430
 As when a vultur on Imaus bred,

Whose

from Hell to Earth in order to destroy mankind, but lighting first on the bare convex of this world's outermost orb, *a sea of land* as the poet calls it, is very fitly compared to a vultur flying, in quest of his prey, tender lambs or kids new-yeen'd, from the barren rocks to the more fruitful hills and streams of India, but lighting in his way on the plains of Sericana, which were in a manner *a sea of land* too, the country being so smooth and open that carriages were driven (as travelers report) with sails and wind. *Imaus* is a celebrated mountain in Asia; its name signifies *snowy* in the language of the inhabitants according to Pliny, Lib. 6. cap. 21. *incolarum lingua nivofum significante*; and therefore it is said here *whose snowy ridge*. It is the boundary to the east of the Western Tartars,

who are called *roving*, as they live chiefly in tents, and remove from place to place for the convenience of pasturage, their herds of cattle and what they take in hunting being their principal subsistence. *Ganges* and *Hydaspes* are famous rivers of India; and *Serica* is a region betwixt China to the east and the mountain Imaus to the west: and what our author here says of the *Chineses*, he seems to have taken from Heylin's Cosmography, p. 867. where it is said, "Agreeable unto the observation of modern writers, the country is so plain and level, that they have carts and coaches driven with sails, as ordinarily as drawn with horses, in these parts." Our author supposes these carriages to be made of *cane*, to render the thing somewhat more probable. It may be thought the less incredible,

But in his way lights on the barren plains
 Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
 With sails and wind their cany waggons light:
 So on this windy sea of land, the Fiend 440
 Walk'd up and down alone, bent on his prey;
 Alone, for other creature in this place

Living

of machinery which fills the poems both of Homer and Virgil with such circumstances as are wonderful, but not impossible, and so frequently produce in the reader the most pleasing passion that can rise in the mind of man, which is admiration. If there be any instance in the *Æneid* liable to exception upon this account, it is in the beginning of the third book, where *Æneas* is represented as tearing up the myrtle that dropped blood. To qualify this wonderful circumstance, Polydorus tells a story from the root of the myrtle, that the barbarous inhabitants of the country having pierced him with spears and arrows, the wood which was left in his body took root in his wounds, and gave birth to that bleeding tree. This circumstance seems to have the marvelous without the probable, because it is represented as proceeding from natural causes, without the interposition of any God, or other supernatural power capable of producing it. The spears and arrows grow of themselves, without so much as the modern help of an enchantment. If we look into the

fiction of Milton's fable, though we find it full of surprising incidents, they are generally suited to our notions of the things and persons described, and tempered with a due measure of probability. I must only make an exception to the Limbo of Vanity, with his episode of Sin and Death, and some of the imaginary persons in his Chaos. These passages are astonishing, but not credible; the reader cannot so far impose upon himself, as to see a possibility in them; they are the description of dreams and shadows, not of things or persons. I know that many critics look upon the stories of Circe, Polypheme, the Sirens, nay the whole *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, to be allegories; but allowing this to be true, they are fables, which considering the opinions of mankind that prevailed in the age of the poet, might possibly have been according to the letter. The persons are such as might have acted what is ascribed to them, as the circumstances in which they are represented, might possibly have been truths and realities. This appearance of probability is so absolutely

Living or lifeless to be found was none;
 None yet, but store hereafter from the earth
 Up hither like aerial vapors flew 445
 Of all things transitory' and vain, when sin
 With vanity had fill'd the works of men;
 Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
 Built their fond hopes of glory' or lasting fame,
 Or happiness in this or th' other life; 450
 All who have their reward on earth, the fruits
 Of

requisite in the greater kinds of poetry, that Aristotle observes the ancient tragic writers made use of the names of such great men as had actually lived in the world, tho' the tragedy proceeded upon adventures they were never engaged in, on purpose to make the subject more credible. In a word, besides the hidden meaning of an epic allegory, the plain literal sense ought to appear probable. The story should be such as an ordinary reader may acquiesce in, whatever natural, moral, or political truth may be discovered in it by men of greater penetration.

443. — *lifeless*] Milton writes it *liveless*; but I conceive the word to be compounded of *less* and the substantive *life*, and not of the verb *live*; *lifeless* without life, as *fearless* without fear, *listless* without list or desire, *peerless*, *rutbless*, *shapeless*, &c.

Addison.

444. *None yet, &c.*] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verse and fifty four more which follow as an insertion of the editor; but I think there can be no doubt of their genuineness, whatever there may be of their goodness. Mr. Richardson thinks the Paradise of Fools is finely imagin'd, but it must be own'd that it is formed more upon the taste of the Italian poets than of the Ancients.

457. — *and in vain,*] To wander in vain as commonly understood would be a weak expression, but it has the force of the Greek *αὐτὰρ*, the Latin *frustrà*, *temerè*, *fortuito*, *nullo consilio*, at random.

Richardson.

459. *Not in the neighb'ring moon, as some have dream'd;*] Ariosto particularly, who in his Orlando Furioso, Cant. 34. St. 70, &c. gives a much larger description of things lost upon earth and treasur'd up

Of painful superstition and blind zeal,
 Nought seeking but the praise of men, here find
 Fit retribution, empty as their deeds;
 All th' unaccomplish'd works of Nature's hand, 455
 Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mix'd,
 Dissolv'd on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,
 Till final dissolution, wander here,
 Not in the neighb'ring moon, as some have
 dream'd ;

Those

up in the moon, than our poet here
 makes of the Limbo of Vanity.
 The reader may have a taste of it
 in the following stanza's of Har-
 rington's translation,

A store-house strange, that what
 on earth is lost
 By fault, by time, by fortune, there
 is found,
 And like a merchandise is there
 ingroft,
 In stranger sort than I can well
 expound ;
 Nor speak I sole of wealth, or
 things of cost,
 In which blind fortune's pow'r
 doth most abound,
 But e'en of things quite out of for-
 tune's pow'r,
 Which wilfully we waste each day
 and hour.

The precious time that fools mis-
 pend in play,
 The vain attempts that never take
 effect,

The vows that finners make and
 never pay,
 The counsels wise that careless
 men neglect,
 The fond desires that lead us oft
 astray,
 The praises that with pride the
 heart infect,
 And all we lose with folly and
 mispending,
 May there be found unto this place
 ascending.

And so he proceeds in enumerating
 other particulars, the vanity of ti-
 tles, false flatteries, fond loves,
 great men's promises, court-ser-
 vices, death-bed alms, &c. and
 men's wits kept in jars like oil.
 Our late great English poet has
 likewise made fine use of this no-
 tion in his Rape of the Lock,
 Cant. 5. as indeed it seems to be
 fitter for a mock-heroic poem than
 for the true epic.

Those argent fields more likely habitants, 460
 Translated Saints, or middle Spirits hold
 Betwixt th' angelical and human kind.
 Hither of ill-join'd sons and daughters born
 First from the ancient world those giants came
 With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd:
 The builders next of Babel on the plain 466
 Of

Some thought it mounted to the
 lunar sphere,

Since all things lost on earth are
 treasur'd there.

There hero's wits are kept in
 pond'rous vases,

And beau's in snuff-boxes and
 tweezer-cases.

There broken vows, and death-
 bed alms are found,

And lover's hearts with ends of
 ribband bound,

The courtier's promises, and sick
 man's pray'rs,

The smiles of harlots, and the
 tears of heirs,

Cages for gnats, and chains to
 yoke a flea,

Dry'd butterflies, and tomes of
 casuistry.

460. *Those argent fields &c.*] There is no question I believe now among philosophers, that the moon is inhabited; but it is greatly to be question'd whether this notion of our author be true, that the inhabitants there are *translated Saints* or *Spirits* of a middle nature between Angels and Men; for as the moon

is certainly less considerable in itself than our earth, it is not likely that its inhabitants should be so much more considerable.

463. *Hither of ill-join'd sons and daughters born &c.*] He means *the sons of God* ill-join'd with *the daughters of men*, alluding to that text of Scripture, Gen. VI. 4. *There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bore children to them; the same became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown:* where by *the sons of God* some Fathers and Commentators have understood *Angels*, as if the Angels had been enamour'd and married to women; but the true meaning is that the posterity of Seth and other patriarchs, who were worshippers of the true God, and therefore call'd *the sons of God*, intermarried with the idolatrous posterity of wicked Cain.

467. *Of Sennaar,*] Or Shinar, for they are both the same name of this province of Babylonia. But Milton follows the Vulgate as he frequently

Of Sennaar, and still with vain design
 New Babels, had they wherewithal, would build :
 Others came single ; he who to be deem'd
 A God, leap'd fondly into Ætna flames,
 Empedocles ; and he who to enjoy
 Plato's Elysium, leap'd into the sea,
 Cleombrotus ; and many more too long,

Embryo's

frequently does in the names of places.

471. *Empedocles* ;] The scholar of Pythagoras, a philosopher and poet, born at Agrigentum in Sicily : he wrote of the nature of things in Greek, as Lucretius did in Latin verse. He stealing one night from his followers threw himself into the flaming Ætna, that being no where to be found, he might be esteemed to be a God, and to be taken up into Heaven ; but his iron pattens, being thrown out by the fury of the burning mountain, discover'd his defeated ambition, and ridiculed his folly. *Hör. de Art. Poet.* 464.

— Deus immortalis haberi
 Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem
 frigidus Ætnam
 Infiluit. *Hume.*

473. *Cleombrotus* ;] The name is rightly placed the last word in the sentence, as *Empedocles* was before. He was called Ambraciota of Ambracia, a city of Epirus in Greece. Having read over Plato's book of the Soul's immortality and happi-

ness in another life, he was so ravish'd with the account of it, that he leap'd from a high wall into the sea, that he might immediately enjoy it. His death is celebrated by Callimachus in one of his epigrams, Ep. 29. which we will subjoin with Frischlinus his translation.

Εἰπας ἦλθες χαῖρε, Κλεομβροτῶ
 ὦ ἄμβρακιωτης,
 Ἦλὰτ' ἀφ' ὕψους τειχεῶ εἰς
 αἶδην.
 Ἀξίον εἶδεν ἰδὼν θάνατον κακόν,
 ἀλλὰ Πλάτων
 Ἐν τοῦ περὶ ψυχῆς γράμμι' ἀνα-
 λεξάμεν.

Phœbe valeicens, de rupe Cleom-
 brotus alta
 Ambraciota, Stygis vivus adivit
 aquas.

Funere nil dignum passus : solum-
 que Platonis
 De vita mentis perpete legit
 opus.

And from hence other authors seem
 to have taken his story, as Cicero
Tusc. Disp. I. 34. Callimachi qui-
 dem

Embryo's and idiots, eremites and friers 474
 White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery.
 Here pilgrims roam, that stray'd so far to seek
 In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heaven;
 And they who to be sure of Paradise

Dying

dem epigramma in Ambraciotam
 Cleombrotum est: quem ait, cum
 ei nihil accidisset adversi, e muro
 se in mare abjecisse lecto Platonis
 libro: and Ovid Ibis. ver. 493.

Vel de præcipiti venias in Tartara
 saxo,
 Ut qui Socraticum de nece le-
 git opus.

473. — *and many more too long,*] Poorly and deficiently express'd for, *and more too long to name.* Bentley. It seems as if a line were by mistake of the printer left out here; for (as Dr. Bentley says) it is *deficiently express'd.* Besides Milton had been mentioning those who *came single*; and therefore he could not fall upon the mention of *embryo's, idiots, hermits, and friers* without some other verse interpos'd, which should finish the account of those who *came single*, and contain a verb for the nominative cases *embryo's, idiots, &c.* which at present is wanting. *Pearce.*

A very ingenious person questions, whether Milton by this appearance of inaccuracy and negligence did not design to express his contempt of their *trumpery* as he calls it, by hustling it all together in this dis-

order and confusion. We have the same artful negligence in Paradise Regain'd, II. 182.

Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
 In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,
 In wood or grove by mossy fountain side,
 In valley or green meadow to way-lay
 Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,
 Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
 Or Amymone, Syrinx, *many more*
Too long, then lay'st thy scapes on names ador'd.

475. *White, black, and gray,*] So named according to their habits, white friers or Carmelites, black friers or Dominicans, gray friers or Franciscans, of their founders St. Francis, St. Dominic, and mount Carmel where that order pretend they were first instituted. Our author here, as elsewhere, shows his dislike and abhorrence of the church of Rome, by placing the religious orders *with all their trumpery*, cowls, hoods, reliques, beads, &c. in the Paradise of Fools, and not only

Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
 Or in Franciscan think to pass disguis'd; 480
 They pass the planets sev'n, and pass the fix'd,
 And that crystallin sphere whose balance weighs
 The trepidation talk'd, and that first mov'd;

And

only placing them there, but making them the principal figures.

476. *Here pilgrims &c.*] Those who had gone upon pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to visit our Lord's sepulchre: but to such persons that may be said, which was to the women after his resurrection, Luke XXIV. 5, 6. *Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here but is risen;* to which text our author seems to allude in this passage.

482. *And that crystallin sphere &c.*] He speaks here according to the ancient astronomy, adopted and improv'd by Ptolomy. *They pass the planets sev'n*, our planetary or solar system, *and beyond this pass the fix'd*, the firmament or sphere of the fix'd stars, *and beyond this that crystallin sphere*, the crystallin Heaven, clear as crystal, to which the Ptolemaics attributed a sort of libration or shaking (the *trepidation* so much talk'd of) to account for certain irregularities in the motion of the stars, *and beyond this that first mov'd*, the primum mobile, the sphere which was both the first mov'd and the first mover, communicating its motions to all the lower spheres; and beyond this was the empyrean Heaven, the

seat of God and the Angels. This passage may receive some farther light and illustration from another of the same nature in Tasso, where he describes the descent of the Arch-Angel Michael from Heaven, and mentions this crystallin and all the other spheres but only inverting the order, as there the motion is downwards, and here it is upwards, Cant. 9. St. 60, 61.

Passa il foco, e la luce &c.

He pass'd the light, and shining
 fire assign'd

The glorious seat of his selected
 crew,

The mover first, and circle crys-
 talline,

The firmament where fixed stars
 all shine.

61.

Unlike in working then in shape
 and show,

At his left hand, Saturn he left
 and Jove,

And those untruly errant call'd I
 trow,

Since he errs not who them doth
 guide and move. Fairfax.

And when our poet mentions *St. Peter at Heaven's wicket with his keys*,
 he

And now Saint Peter at Heav'n's wicket seems
 To wait them with his keys, and now at foot 485
 Of Heav'n's ascent they lift their feet, when lo
 A violent cross wind from either coast
 Blows them transverse ten thousand leagues awry
 Into the devious air; then might ye see
 Cows, hoods, and habits with their wearers tost 490
 And flutter'd into rags, then reliques, beads,
 Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,
 The sport of winds: all these upwhirl'd aloft
 Fly o'er the backside of the world far off
 Into a Limbo large and broad, since call'd 495
 The

he certainly intends (as Mr. Thyer observes) to ridicule the fond conceit of the Romanists, that St. Peter and his successors are in a particular manner intrusted with the keys of Heaven. And he makes use of the low phrase of *Heaven's wicket*, the better to expose the notions of those whom he places here in the Paradise of Fools.

489. — *then might ye see*] This is one of the passages which furnishes Dr. Bentley here with objections against fifty-five verses of Milton. To the words *might ye see* he says; how could any one of his readers *see* them, unless he is himself suppos'd a *fool*? But was not Satan there? and he is no fool in this poem: it is one thing to be

there as an inhabitant, and another as a spectator. Milton means if any body was present there so as to be able to see what pass'd, he would see *cows, hoods, &c.* It is very common among poets to talk thus to their readers; *Then might ye see* is no more than *Then might be seen*. See Virgil, *Æn.* VIII. 676.

Pearce.

This manner of speaking, which puts the second person indefinitely, is very frequent among the poets, as Virgil *Æn.* IV. 401.

Migrantes cernas —

upon which Servius says, *Honesti figura si rem tertiæ personæ in secundam transferas. Mugire videbis* *Æn.* IV. 490. that is, *videbit*

The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown
 Long after, now unpeopled, and untrod.
 All this dark globe the Fiend found as he pass'd,
 And long he wander'd, till at last a gleam
 Of dawning light turn'd thither-ward in haste 500
 His travel'd steps: far distant he descries
 Ascending by degrees magnificent
 Up to the wall of Heav'n a structure high;
 At top whereof, but far more rich appear'd
 The work as of a kingly palace gate, 505
 With frontispiece of diamond and gold
 Embellish'd; thick with sparkling orient gems

The

aut poterit videre aliquis. Æn. VIII.
 691.

— pelago credas innare revulſas
 Cycladas; that is Credat quis.

See Cowley's Davideis II. Note 17.

493. *The ſport of winds:*] Ludi-
 bria ventis. Virg. Æn. VI. 75.

495. *Into a Limbo large and broad,*
 The *Limbus patrum* as it is call'd,
 is a place that the Schoolmen ſup-
 poſed to be in the neighbourhood
 of Hell, where the ſouls of the
 patriarchs were detain'd, and thoſe
 good men who died before our Sa-
 viour's reſurrection. Our author
 gives the ſame name to his Para-
 diſe of Fools, and more rationally
 places it beyond *the backſide of the*
world.

501: *His travel'd ſteps:*] Tir'd
 ſteps, from *travagliato* (Italian.)
Richardſon.

506. *With frontiſpiece of diamond*
and gold:] Imitated from
 Ovid, Met. II. 1.

Regia ſolis erat ſublimibus alta co-
 lumnis,

Clara micante auro, flammasque
 imitante pyropo.

The ſun's bright palace, on high
 columns rais'd,

With burniſh'd gold and flaming
 jewels blaz'd. Addiſon.

507.—*with ſparkling orient gems]*
 Dr. Bentley would read *ardent*
 gems, becauſe *orient* is proper to
 ſay upon earth only: but *ſparkling*
 and

The portal shone, inimitable on earth
 By model, or by shading pencil drawn.
 The stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw 510
 Angels ascending and descending, bands
 Of guardians bright, when he from Esau fled
 To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz
 Dreaming by night under the open sky, 514
 And waking cry'd, This is the gate of Heaven.
 Each stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood
 There always, but drawn up to Heav'n sometimes
 Viewless; and underneath a bright sea flow'd

Of

and *ardent* are too near akin to be both used together, and since (as the Doctor allows) the best gems come from the East Indies, it may be allow'd to Milton to mean by *orient* gems no more than the *best* and *most precious* ones. Milton very frequently uses the word *orient* in such a sense as this, and Dr. Bentley generally corrects it, tho' he has made no objection to the expression in l. 546.

With *orient* colors waving.

Poets, who write of things out of this world, must use epithets and metaphors drawn from things in this world, if they would make themselves understood. Pearce.

Why do not then the blossoms of the field

Which are array'd with much more *orient* hue.

Spenser's Hymn of Beauty.

I have transcribed these lines to defend, against Dr. Bentley's remark, Milton's application of the word *orient*. Thyer.

510. *The stairs, the degrees mention'd before, ver. 502. were such as whereon Jacob saw &c.*] A comparison fetch'd from Gen. XXVIII.

12, 13. *And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set upon the earth, and the top of it reached to Heaven, and behold the Angels of God ascending and descending on it; and behold the Lord stood above it. &c.* But this line

To Padan-Aram in the field of Luz, must not be understood as if *Padan-Aram*

Of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon
 Who after came from earth, sailing arriv'd 520
 Wafted by Angels, or flew o'er the lake
 Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds.
 The stairs were then let down, whether to dare
 The Fiend by easy' ascent, or aggravate
 His sad exclusion from the doors of bliss: 525
 Direct against which open'd from beneath,
 Just o'er the blissful seat of Paradise,
 A passage down to th' Earth, a passage wide,
 Wider by far than that of after-times

Over

Aram was in the field of Luz; but he was flying to Padan-Aram or the country of Aram, that is Syria; and by the way rested and dreamed this dream in the field of Luz, for so the adjoining city was called at the first; Jacob upon this occasion gave it the name of Bethel, by which it was better known afterwards. The passage was wrong pointed in all the editions, for there should be no comma after Luz: the comma should be after Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz being to be join'd on to dreaming in the next verse.

518. — *and underneath a bright sea flow'd*] The author himself explains this, in the argument of this book, to be meant of *the water above the firmament*. He mentions it again VII. 619. *Heylin*.

521. *Wafted by Angels, &c.*] As Lazarus was *carried by Angels*, Luke XVI. 22; and Elijah was rapt up *in a chariot of fire and horses of fire*, 2 Kings II. 11.

525. — *doors*] Milton writes this word *dore* and *dores* except only in one instance in I. 504. of the second edition, which he alter'd from the first edition: but the other approaches nearer in sound to the original word, if it be deriv'd from the Saxon *duru*, the German *dure*, *dura*, *tura*; and all as Junius says from the Greek *θυρα*, *janua*. And yet I think we commonly pronounce it *dore* tho' we constantly write it *door*. But in all such cases we want an advantage, that the French have enjoy'd, of an Academy to fix and settle our language. Some proposals were made for erecting

Over mount Sion, and, though that were large, 530
 Over the Promis'd Land to God so dear,
 By which, to visit oft those happy tribes,
 On high behests his Angels to and fro
 Pass'd frequent, and his eye with choice regard
 From Paneas the fount of Jordan's flood 535
 To Beërsaba, where the Holy Land
 Borders on Egypt and th' Arabian shore;
 So wide the opening seem'd, where bounds were set
 To darkness, such as bound the ocean wave.
 Satan from hence, now on the lower stair 540
 That scal'd by steps of gold to Heaven gate,
 Looks down with wonder at the sudden view

Of

erecting such an Academy to the Lord Treasurer Oxford at the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne; and it is a pity they were never carried into execution.

534. — *and his eye with choice regard*] Dr. Pearce thinks that after *regard* a verse seems to be wanting to describe what *his eye* did *with choice regard*: but it may be understood thus, his eye *pass'd frequent*, as well as his Angels to and fro on high behests or commands, and survey'd *from Paneas*, a city at the foot of a mountain of the same name, part of mount Libanus where the river Jordan has its source, to *Beërsaba* or Beer-

sheba, that is the whole extent of the Promis'd Land from Paneas in the north to Beersheba in the south, where the Holy Land is bounded by Egypt and Arabia. The limits of the Holy Land are thus express'd in Scripture, *from Dan even unto Beersheba*, Dan at the northern and Beersheba at the southern extremity; and the city that was called *Dan* was afterwards named *Paneas*. So *wide the opening seem'd*, that is so wide as I have represented it, wider than the passage over mount Sion and the Promis'd Land; So *wide the opening seem'd*, where the same divine power fixed the limits of darkness, that said to the

the

Of all this world at once. As when a scout
 Through dark and desert ways with peril gone
 All night, at last by break of chearful dawn 545
 Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,
 Which to his eye discovers unaware
 The goodly prospect of some foreign land
 First seen, or some renown'd metropolis
 With glist'ring spires and pinnacles adorn'd, 550
 Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams:
 Such wonder feis'd, though after Heaven seen,
 The Spi'rit malign, but much more envy feis'd,
 At sight of all this world beheld so fair. 554
 Round he surveys (and well might, where he stood
 So

the proud ocean, *Hitherto shalt thou come and no farther.*

540. *Satan from hence, &c.*] Satan, after having long wander'd upon the surface, or outmost wall of the universe, discovers at last a wide gap in it, which led into the creation, and is described as the opening through which the Angels pass to and fro into the lower world upon their errands to mankind. His sitting upon the brink of this passage, and taking a survey of the whole face of nature that appeared to him new and fresh in all its beauties, with the simile illustrating this circumstance, fills the mind of the reader with as surprising and

glorious an idea as any that arises in the whole poem. He looks down into that vast hollow of the universe, with the eye, or (as Milton calls it) with the ken of an Angel. He surveys all the wonders in this immense amphitheatre that lie between both the poles of Heaven, and takes in at one view the whole round of the creation.

Addison.

555. *Round he surveys &c.*] Satan is here represented as taking a view of the whole creation from east to west, and then from north to south; but poetry delights to say the most common things in an uncommon manner. *Round he surveys, as well he*

A a

mights

So high above the circling canopy
 Of night's extended shade) from eastern point
 Of Libra to the fleecy star that bears
 Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
 Beyond th' horizon; then from pole to pole 560
 He views in breadth, and without longer pause
 Down right into the world's first region throws

His

might in his present situation, so high above the circling canopy of night's extended shade. Dr. Bentley objects to the expression of circling canopy, when the shade of night must needs be a cone: but as Dr. Pearce replies, to Satan who look'd down upon it from such an highth, it appear'd not a cone as it really was, but a circle. In this situation then he surveys from eastern point of Libra, one of the twelve signs exactly opposite to Aries, to the fleecy star, Aries or the Ram, that is from east to west, for when Libra rises in the east, Aries sets full west; and Aries is said to bear Andromeda, because that constellation represented as a woman is placed just over Aries, and therefore when Aries sets he seems to bear Andromeda far off Atlantic seas, the great western ocean, beyond th' horizon; then from pole to pole he views in breadth, that is from north to south, and that is said to be in breadth, because the Ancients knowing more of the earth from east to west than from north to south, and so having a

much greater journey one way than the other, one was called length or longitude, the other breadth or latitude. It is fine, as it is natural, to represent Satan as taking a view of the world before he threw himself into it.

562. *Downright into the world's &c.]* Satan after having survey'd the whole creation, immediately *without longer pause* throws himself into it, and is describ'd as making two different motions. At first he drops down perpendicularly some way into it, *downright into the world's first region throws his flight precipitant*, and afterwards *winds his oblique way*, turns and winds this way and that, if he might any where espy the seat of Man; for tho' in ver. 527 it is said that the passage was *just over Paradise*, yet it is evident that Satan did not know it, and therefore as it was natural for him to do, winds about in search of it *through the pure marble air*. The first epithet *pure* determines the sense of the second, and shows why the air is compared to *marble*, namely for

His flight precipitant, and winds with ease
 Through the pure marble air his oblique way
 Amongst innumerable stars, that shone
 Stars distant, but nigh hand seem'd other worlds;
 Or other worlds they seem'd, or happy iles,
 Like those Hesperian gardens fam'd of old,
 Fortunate fields, and groves, and flow'ry vales,

Thrice

for its clearness and whiteness, without any regard to its hardness: and the word *marmor*, *marble*, is derived from a Greek word *μαρμαρειν* that signifies to shine and glister. And as Milton uses the expression of the *marble air*, so Virgil does likewise of the *marble sea*, Georg. I. 254.

(Waller) has said in his verses upon his mistresses passing through a croud of people;

The yielding *marble* of a snowy breast.

And what is nearer to our purpose, Othello in Shakespear is represented as swearing Act III.

Et quando infidum remis impellere
marmor
 Conveniat:

— Now by yond *marble* Heaven.

And Æn. VI. 729.

Et quæ *marmoreo* fert monstra sub
 æquore pontus:

It is common with the Ancients, and those who write in the spirit and manner of the Ancients, in their metaphors and similes, if they agree in the main circumstance, to have no regard to lesser particulars.

And elsewhere he calls Orpheus's neck *marble*, Georg. IV. 523.

565. — *that shone*

Tum quoque *marmorea* caput a
 cervice revulsum.

Stars distant,] They appeared by their shining to be stars. 'Tis a Greek expression, as Plato in an epigram on his friend Stella preserved by Diogenes Laertius. *You shone whilst living a morning star, but dead you now shine Hesperus among the shades.* Richardson.

And Ovid in like manner speaks of Narcissus his *marble hands*, Met. III. 481.

Nudaque *marmoreis* percussit pec-
 tora palmis.

568. *Like those Hesperian gardens*] So call'd of *Hesperus*, *Vesper*, because placed in the west under the

And a famous poet of our own

A a 2

evening

Thrice happy iles, but who dwelt happy there 570
 He stay'd not to inquire: above them all
 The golden sun in splendor likest Heaven
 Allur'd his eye: thither his course he bends
 Through the calm firmament, (but up or down,
 By center, or eccentric, hard to tell, 575
 Or longitude,) where the great luminary
 Aloof the vulgar constellations thick,
 That from his lordly eye keep distance due,
 Dispenses light from far; they as they move
 Their starry dance in numbers that compute 580
 Days

evening star. Those famous gardens were the iles about Cape Verd in Africa, whose most western point is still call'd *Hesperium cornu*. Others will have 'em the Canaries.

Hume.

573. — *thither his course he bends* &c.] His flight between the several worlds that shined on every side of him, with the particular description of the sun, are set forth in all the wantonness of a luxuriant imagination. His shape, speech, and behaviour upon his transforming himself into an Angel of light, are touch'd with exquisite beauty. The poet's thought of directing Satan to the sun, which in the vulgar opinion of mankind is the most conspicuous part of the creation, and the placing in it an Angel, is a circumstance finely con-

trived, and the more adjusted to a poetical probability, as it was a received doctrine among the most famous philosophers, that every orb had its *Intelligence*, and as an Apostle in sacred Writ is said to have seen such an Angel in the sun. Addison.

574. — (*but up or down, By center, or eccentric, hard to tell, Or longitude,*) These words (as Dr. Pearce observes) should be included in a parenthesis, and then the construction of the rest will be plain and easy. Satan had now passed the fix'd stars, and was directing his course towards the sun; but it is hard to tell (says the poet) whether his course was *up or down*, that is north or south, for so *up and down* signifies in IX. 78. and X.

Days months and years, tow'ards his all-cheering lamp
 Turn swift their various motions, or are turn'd
 By his magnetic beam, that gently warms
 The universe, and to each inward part
 With gentle penetration, though unseen, 585
 Shoots invifible virtue ev'n to the deep;
 So wondrously was fet his ftation bright.
 There lands the Fiend, a spot like which perhaps
 Aftronomer in the fun's lucent orb
 Through his glaz'd optic tube yet never faw. 590
 The place he found beyond expreffion bright,
 Compar'd

X. 675, the north being uppermoft in our globes,

— hic vertex nobis femper fublimis: Virg. Georg. I. 242.

or whether it was *by center*, or *eccentric*, towards the center, or from the center, it not being determin'd whether the fun is the center of the world or not; or whether it was by *longitude*, that is in length, east or weft, as appears from IV. 539. and VII. 373.

580. — [in numbers] That is in measures. Richardson.

586. Shoots *invifible* virtue ev'n to the deep;] Dr. Bentley fays *invifible* makes mere tautology with *though unseen*; but I think not; the words *though unseen* relate to *penetration*, and *invifible* is the epithet to *virtue*, which is a diftinct

thing from the *penetration* before mention'd, and which might have been vifible, though the other was not fo. But the Doctor fays that *invifible* fpoils the measure of the verfe. Milton feems to have thought this no blemifh to his poem, for he frequently in the beginning of a verfe choofes this artificial negligence of measure: So in II. 302, 880. III. 358. XI. 79, 377. There is no need therefore of reading with Dr. Bentley *Shoots vital virtue*, &c.

Pearce.

The number of fyllables in this verfe feems not ill contriv'd to exprefs the depth to which the fun's beams penetrated.

590. Through his glaz'd optic tube] The fpo in the fun are vifible with a telefcop: but aftronomer perhaps never yet faw through his

Compar'd with ought on earth, metal or stone;
 Not all parts like, but all alike inform'd
 With radiant light, as glowing ir'on with fire;
 If metal, part seem'd gold, part silver clear; 595
 If stone, carbuncle most or chrysolite,
 Ruby or topaz, to the twelve that shone
 In Aaron's breast-plate, and a stone besides
 Imagin'd rather oft than elsewhere seen,

That

glaz'd optic tube, that is his telescope, such a spot as Satan now he was in the sun's orb. The poet mentions this glass the oftner in honor of Galileo, whom he means here by the *astronomer*.

592. — *metal or stone*;] In the first editions it is *medal or stone*, and Mr. Richardson justifies it, as the repetition of the same word immediately after is avoided: but for that very reason it appears that this is an error of the press, and that it ought to be read *metal or stone*, as both *metal* and *stone* are repeated afterwards; ver. 595. *If metal*, so and so; and ver. 596. *If stone*, so and so.

593. *Not all parts like, &c.*] Ovid has given us a description of the palace of the sun, but few have described the sun himself: and I know not whether our author has shown more fancy or more judgment in the description. An ordinary poet would in all probability have insisted chiefly upon its excessive heat; but that was no-

thing to Satan who was come from the hotter region of Hell; and therefore Milton judiciously omits it, and enlarges upon the riches of the place, the gold and silver and precious stones which abounded therein, and by these means exhibits a pleasing picture instead of a disagreeable one.

597. — *to the twelve that shone &c.*] A friend of Dr. Pearce's observing that *carbuncle* and *topaz* were two of the twelve stones plac'd in Aaron's breast-plate, thinks that Milton wrote

Ruby or topaz, *two o' th' twelve* that shone, &c.

o' th' for *of the* is not unfrequent in Milton: in XI. 432. we read *i' th' midst*, and in the *Mask Queen o' th' wood*. But it is not very likely that the poet should say *two o' th' twelve*, and not intend the two last mention'd of the four, but the first and the last. And there is very good reason to think that not *two* only,

That stone, or like to that which here below 600
 Philosophers in vain so long have fought,
 In vain, though by their pow'rful art they bind
 Volatil *Hermès*, and call up unbound
 In various shapes old *Proteus* from the sea,
 Drain'd through a limbec to his native form. 605
 What wonder then if fields and regions here
 Breathe forth Elixir pure, and rivers run

Potable

only, but *four* of the twelve stones in Aaron's breastplate are here mention'd. For what we translate the *sardius*, Exod. XXVIII. 17. is render'd in the margin of our Bibles the *ruby*; and what we call the *beryl*, Exod. XXVIII. 20. the *Seventy*, the *Vulgate*, and most of the versions, and *Josephus*, and many others take for a *chrysolite*. This alteration therefore of Dr. Pearce's friend cannot be admitted, and Mr. Fenton's reading is much worse, *or the twelve*, which cannot be said after some of the twelve have been already mention'd. The passage may be understood thus without any alteration, Ruby or topaz *to the twelve*, that is, *and all the rest reckoning to the twelve*, that shone in Aaron's breast-plate. The poet had particularly mention'd some of the stones in Aaron's breast-plate, and now he includes all the rest *to the number twelve*. Such a concise manner of speaking is not unusual with our author.

602. — *though by their pow'rful art they bind &c.*] Tho' by their pow'rful art they bind and fix quicksilver, and change their matter, unbound, unfix'd, into as many various shapes as *Proteus*, till it be reduced at last to its first original form. *Hermès*, another word for Mercury or quicksilver, which is very fluid, and volatil, and hard to be fixed. *Proteus*, a Sea-God, who could transform himself into various shapes, till being closely press'd he return'd to his own proper form. By this the Ancients understood the first principle of things and the subject matter of nature; and our poet therefore very fitly employs this metaphor or similitude to express the matter, which the chemists make experiments upon thro' all its mutations, and which they drain thro' their limbecs or stills, till it resume its native and original form.

606. *What wonder then &c.*] And if chemists can do so much, what wonder then if in the sun it

Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch
 Th' arch-chemic sun, so far from us remote,
 Produces, with terrestrial humor mix'd, 610
 Here in the dark so many precious things
 Of color glorious and effect so rare?
 Here matter new to gaze the Devil met
 Undazled; far and wide his eye commands;
 For fight no obstacle found here, nor shade, 615
 But all sun-shine, as when his beams at noon
 Culminate from th' equator, as they now
 Shot upward still direct, whence no way round
 Shadow

self is the true philosopher's stone, the grand Elixir, and rivers of liquid gold; when the sun, the chief of chemists, tho' at so great a distance, can perform such wonders upon earth, and produce so many precious things? The thought of making the sun the chief chemist or alchemist seems to be taken from Shakespear, King John, Act III.

To solemnize this day, the glorious sun
 Stays in his course, and plays the alchemist,
 Turning with splendor of his precious eye
 The meager cloddy earth to glittering gold.

606. — and regions here] Dr. Bentley reads *there* in this place

and two others which follow in the next page: but is it likely that the same mistake should creep into three different places? Is it not more probable that Milton speaking of the sun said *here*, because he was then describing it, and expressing its nature? This is poetical and common with Milton, as may be seen in many instances. See my note on II. 362. where I show that Milton frequently uses the word *here*, not meaning thereby a place present to him when he is speaking, but that place only which he is then speaking of.

Pearce,

616. — as when his beams at noon
 Culminate from th' equator, as they
 now

Shot upward still direct,] The first *as* is used by way of similitude, in

Shadow from body' opaque can fall; and th' air,
 No where so clear, sharpen'd his visual ray 620
 To objects distant far, whereby he soon
 Saw within ken a glorious Angel stand,
 The same whom John saw also in the sun:
 His back was turn'd, but not his brightness hid;
 Of beaming sunny rays a golden tiar 625
 Circled his head, nor less his locks behind
 Illustrious on his shoulders fledge with wings
 Lay waving round; on some great charge employ'd
 He seem'd, or fix'd in cogitation deep.

Glad

in the sense of *like as*; There was no shadow but all sun-shine, like *as when his beams at noon culminate from th' equator*, that is are vertical and shoot directly from the equator, which is the reason why those who live under the equator, under the line, are called *Afcii*, and at noon cast no shadows. The other *as* is used by way of reason, in the sense of *for as much as*; There was no shadow but all sun-shine, for *as much as his beams shot now directly upward*.

623. *The same whom John saw also in the sun:] And I saw an Angel standing in the sun.* Rev. XIX. 17.

625. — *a golden tiar*] A golden coronet of shining rays circled his head, yet nevertheless did not

hinder his lovely locks, that hung behind over his shoulders adorn'd with wings, from waving themselves into curls and rings. *Tiar* of *Tiara*, the Persian word for a round cap, high and ending in a point, the usual covering and ornament the eastern princes wore on their heads. *Hume*.

627. — *fledge with wings*] We now commonly say *fiedg'd*, but our author uses *fledge* again in VII. 420. but *feather'd soon and fledge &c.* He prefers it doubtless as of a softer sound; and there are several such words that want mollifying in our language.

628. — *employ'd*] Milton constantly spells this word *imploy'd*, but the French word from whence it is deriv'd is *employer*.

634. *But*

Glad was the Spi'rit impure, as now in hope 630
 To find who might direct his wand'ring flight
 To Paradise the happy feat of Man,
 His journey's end and our beginning woe.
 But first he casts to change his proper shape,
 Which else might work him danger or delay: 635
 And now a stripling Cherub he appears,
 Not of the prime, yet such as in his face
 Youth smil'd celestial, and to every limb
 Suitable grace diffus'd, so well he feign'd:

Under

634. *But first he casts &c.*] He here by the pen of Milton. In considers. The metaphor seems to Spenser there is a similar description of a young Angel. Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 5.
 to be taken from casting the eye around every way. Spenser has the same expression, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 40.

He cast at once him to avenge for all.

And Milton himself again, XII. 43.
Richardson.

636. — *a stripling Cherub*] The evil Spirit, the better to disguise his purpose, assumes the appearance of a stripling Cherub, not of one of those of the prime order and dignity, for such could not so well be supposed to be ignorant of what Satan wanted now to be inform'd. And a finer picture of a young Angel could not be drawn by the pencil of Raphael than is

Beside his head there sat a fair young man,
 Of wondrous beauty, and of freshest years,
 Whose tender bud to blossom new began,
 And flourish fair above his equal peers:
 His snowy front curled with golden hairs,
 Like Phœbus' face adorn'd with sunny rays,
 Divinely shone; and two sharp winged shears,
 Decked with diverse plumes, like painted jays,
 Were fixed at his back, to cut his airy ways.

In

Under a coronet his flowing hair 640

In curls on either cheek play'd; wings he wore
Of many a color'd plume sprinkled with gold,
His habit fit for speed succinct, and held
Before his decent steps a silver wand.

He drew not nigh unheard; the Angel bright, 645

Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turn'd,
Admonish'd by his ear, and strait was known
Th' Arch-Angel Uriël, one of the seven
Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,

Stand

In Tasso likewise, when the Angel Gabriel is sent to rouse the Christian army, he appears as a stripling, Cant. 1. St. 13.

Tra giovane, e fanciullo età con-
fine
Prese, et ornò di raggi il biondo
crine.

A stripling seem'd he thrice five
winters old,
And radiant beams adorn'd his
locks of gold. Fairfax.

But there doth not seem to be any particular reason for it in that place, as there is in the passage before us.

643. *His habit fit for speed succinct,*] If the author meant that Satan had clothes on as well as wings, it is contrary to his usual manner of

representing the Angels; but I rather understand it that the *wings he wore* were *his habit*, and they were certainly a habit *fit for speed succinct*, but *succinct* I understand with Dr. Pearce, not in its first and literal sense *girded* or *tuck'd up*; but in the metaphorical sense, *ready* and *prepar'd*; as Fabius in Inst. Orat. II. 2. says *Proni succinctique &c.*

644. *His decent steps*] The word *decent* in its common acceptation in our language will, I think, scarcely come up to what our poet is here describing, and therefore we ought in justice to him to recur to its Latin original. Hor. Od. III. XXVII. 53.

Antequam turpis macies decentes
Occupet malas. Thyer.

650. — and

Stand ready at command, and are his eyes 650
 That run through all the Heav'ns, or down to th'Earth
 Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,
 O'er sea and land: him Satan thus accosts.

Uriel, for thou of those sev'n Spi'rits that stand
 In sight of God's high throne, gloriously bright, 655
 The first art wont his great authentic will
 Interpreter through highest Heav'n to bring,
 Where all his fons thy embassy attend;
 And here art likeliest by supreme decree
 Like honor to obtain, and as his eye 660
 To visit oft this new creation round;
 Unspeakable desire to see, and know
 All these his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,
 His chief delight and favor, him for whom
 All these his works so wondrous he ordain'd, 665
 Hath

650. — *and are his eyes &c.*] An expression borrow'd from Zech. IV. 10. *Those seven, they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth.* The Jews therefore believed there were seven principal Angels, who were the captains and leaders as it were of the heavenly host. See Tobit XII. 15. Rev. I. 4. V. 6. VIII. 2.

654. *Uriel,*] His name is derived from two Hebrew words

which signify *God is my light.* He is mention'd as a good Angel in the second book of Esdras, chapters 4 and 5; and the Jews and some Christians conceive him to be an Angel of light according to his name, and therefore he has properly his station in the sun.

663. — *but chiefly Man,*
His chief delight and favor, him
for whom &c.] Dr. Bentley reads

Hath brought me from the quires of Cherubim
 Alone thus wand'ring. Brightest Seraph, tell
 In which of all these shining orbs hath Man
 His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,
 But all these shining orbs his choice to dwell; 670
 That I may find him, and with secret gaze
 Or open admiration him behold,
 On whom the great Creator hath bestow'd
 Worlds, and on whom hath all these graces pour'd;
 That both in him and all things, as is meet, 675
 The universal Maker we may praise;
 Who justly hath driv'n out his rebel foes
 To deepest Hell, and to repair that loss
 Created this new happy race of Men
 To serve him better: wise are all his ways. 680
 So spake the false dissembler unperceiv'd;

For

reads *and favorite whom*, and says that *Man his chief favor* is not English. But, as Dr. Pearce replies, by *favor* surely may be meant the object of his favor; as by *delight* is plainly meant not his delight itself, but the object of his delight. And as Mr. Upton observes, it is only using the abstract for the concrete. So Terence uses *scelus* for *sceleratus*, Andria, Act. V. *Scelus*

quem hic laudat. And Virgil, *Æn.* V. 541.

Nec bonus Eurytio prælato indit honori:

honor is the honorable person, *prælato* which was prefer'd before him.

678. — *that loss*] This is Milton's own reading in both his editions. Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton read not so well *their loss*.

683. *Hy-*

For neither Man nor Angel can discern
 Hypocrisy, the only' evil that walks
 Invisible, except to God alone, 684
 By his permissive will, through Heav'n and Earth:
 And oft though wisdom wake, suspicion sleeps
 At wisdom's gate, and to simplicity
 Resigns her charge, while goodness thinks no ill
 Where no ill seems: Which now for once beguil'd
 Uriel, though regent of the sun, and held 690
 The sharpest fought Spi'rit of all in Heaven;
 Who to the fraudulent impostor foul
 In his uprightness answer thus return'd.

Fair Angel, thy desire which tends to know
 The works of God, thereby to glorify 695
 The great Work-Master, leads to no excess
 That reaches blame, but rather merits praise

The

683. *Hypocrisy, &c.*] What is said here of hypocrisy is censur'd as a digression, but it seems no more than is absolutely necessary; for otherwise it might be thought very strange, that the evil Spirit should pass undiscover'd by the Arch-Angel Uriel, the regent of the sun, and the sharpest-fought Spirit in Heaven, and therefore the poet endeavors to account for it by saying, that hypocrisy cannot be discern'd by Man or Angel, it is invisible to all but God, &c.: But yet the evil Spirit did not pass wholly undiscover'd, for though Uriel was not aware of him now, yet he found reason to suspect him afterwards from his furious gestures in the mount.

686. *And oft though wisdom wake, &c.*] He must be very critically splenetic indeed, who will not pardon this little digressional observation. There is not in my opinion a nobler sentiment, or one more poetically

The more it seems excess, that led thee hither
 From thy empyreal mansion thus alone,
 To witness with thine eyes what some perhaps 700
 Contented with report hear only' in Heaven:
 For wonderful indeed are all his works,
 Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all
 Had in remembrance always with delight;
 But what created mind can comprehend 705
 Their number, or the wisdom infinite
 That brought them forth, but hid their causes deep?
 I saw when at his word the formless mass,
 This world's material mold, came to a heap:
 Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar 710
 Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd;
 Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
 Light shone, and order from disorder sprung:

Swift

poetically express'd, in the whole poem. What great art has the poet shown in taking off the dryness of a mere moral sentence by throwing it into the form of a short and beautiful allegory! *Thyer.*

694. *Fair Angel, &c.*] In the answer which this Angel returns to the disguis'd evil Spirit, there is such a becoming majesty as is altogether suitable to a superior being. The part of it, in which he represents himself as present at the cre-

ation, is very noble in itself, and not only proper where it is introduced, but requisite to prepare the reader for what follows in the seventh book. In the following part of the speech he points out the earth with such circumstances, that the reader can scarce forbear fancying himself employ'd on the same distant view of it. *Addison.*

713. — and order from disorder sprung:] So Plato in *Timæo* Εἰς ταῦτιν αὐτοὺς ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας

Swift to their several quarters hasted then
 The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire; 715
 And this ethereal quintessence of Heaven
 Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
 That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to stars
 Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move;
 Each had his place appointed, each his course; 720
 The rest in circuit walls this universe.
 Look downward on that globe, whose hither side
 With light from hence, though but reflected, shines;
 That place is Earth the seat of Man, that light
 His day, which else as th' other hemisphere 725
 Night would invade; but there the neighb'ring
 moon

(So

ταξίας, which Tully renders in Latin thus, *Id ex inordinato in ordinem adduxit.* Cicero de Univ. So also Philo the Jew after his master Plato, *Επειδη γαρ την αναντακλον και συγκεχυμενην ουσαν εις ταξιν εξ αταξίας, και εκ συγχυσεως εις διακεισιν αγων ο κοσμοπλασης, κοσμεν ηξιστα.* It would be no small pleasure to the curious reader to compare Uriel's account of the creation with that in Plato's *Timæus*. This instance plainly shows that Milton had that in his eye. *Thyer.*

715. *The cumbrous elements,*] Even

air and fire are so in comparison of the ethereal quintessence, celestial fire, or pure spirit. *Richardson.*

716. *And this ethereal quintessence of Heaven*] The four elements hasted to their quarters, but this fifth essence flew upward. It should be *this*, as it is in Milton's own editions: and not *the ethereal quintessence*, as it is in Bentley's, Fenton's, and some other editions. For the Angel who speaks is in the sun, and therefore says *this*, as the sun was a part of this ethereal quintessence. And this notion our author borrow'd from

(So call that opposit fair star) her aid
 Timely' interposes, and her monthly round
 Still ending, still renewing, through mid Heaven,
 With borrow'd light her countenance triform 730
 Hence fills and empties to inlighten th' Earth,
 And in her pale dominion checks the night.
 That spot to which I point is Paradise,
 Adam's abode, those lofty shades his bower.
 Thy way thou canst not miss, me mine requires. 735
 Thus said, he turn'd; and Satan bowing low,
 As to superior Spi'rits is wont in Heaven,
 Where honor due and reverence none neglects,
 Took leave, and tow'ard the coast of earth beneath,
 Down from th' ecliptic, sped with hop'd success, 740
 Throws

from Aristotle and others of the ancient philosophers, who supposed that besides the four elements there was likewise an ethereal quintessence or fifth essence, out of which the stars and Heavens were formed, and its motion was orbicular: *εἶναι δὲ παρὰ τὰ τεσσάρων στοιχεῖα, καὶ ἄλλο πεμπτον, ἐξ ἧς τὰ αἰθερία συνέστανται· ἄλλοιαν δ' αὐτὴ τὴν κίνησιν εἶναι, κυκλοφρεῖαν γάρ*: which are the very words of Diogenes Laertius in his life of Aristotle; and it would be easy to make a parade of learning and multiply quotations, but this is au-
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thority sufficient to justify our author. These stars are *numberless*, as thou seest, (says the Angel) and seest *how they move*; and the rest of this fifth essence that is not formed into stars surrounds and like a wall incloses the universe. Lucret. V. 470.

Et latè diffusus in omnes undique partes
 Omnia sic avido complexu cætera
 sepfit.

730. — *her countenance triform*] Increasing with horns towards the east, decreasing with horns towards the west, and at the full.

B b

741. — *is*

Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel,
Nor stay'd, till on Niphates top he lights.

741. — *in many an aery wheel,*]
This sportive motion is attributed to Satan for joy, that he was now so near his journey's end: and it is very properly taken notice of here, as it is said to have been observed by the Angel Uriel afterwards in IV. 567.

— I describ'd his way,
Bent on all speed, and mark'd his aery gate.

So beautifully do not only the greater, but even the minuter parts of this poem hang together. But Mr. Thyer says — “ I differ from
“ you in your sense of these words.
“ I do not think that Milton intended to describe any sportive
“ motion of Satan's, but only the
“ speediness of his flight. It is a
“ manner of expression familiar to
“ the Italians, and no doubt he
“ borrowed it from them. To
“ give one instance out of many.
“ Ariosto describing the magician
“ Atlante upon his Hippogrif descending in great haste to seize
“ Bradamante, who was fall'n on
“ the ground, uses these terms,

Accelerando il volator le penne
Con larghe mote in terra à por fi
venne.

Orl. Fur. Cant. 4. St. 24.

742. — *on Niphates top he lights.*]
A mountain in the borders of Armenia, not far from the spring of Tigris, as Xenophon affirms upon his own knowledge. The poet lands Satan on this mountain, because it borders on Mesopotamia, in which the most judicious describers of Paradise place it.

Hume.

I must not conclude my reflections upon this third book of Paradise Lost, without taking notice of that celebrated complaint of Milton with which it opens, and which certainly deserves all the praises that have been given it; tho' as I have before hinted, it may rather be looked upon as excrescence, than as an essential part of the poem. The same observation might be apply'd to that beautiful digression upon hypocrisy, in the same book.

Addison.

The end of the Third Book.

THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

B b 2

THE ARGUMENT.

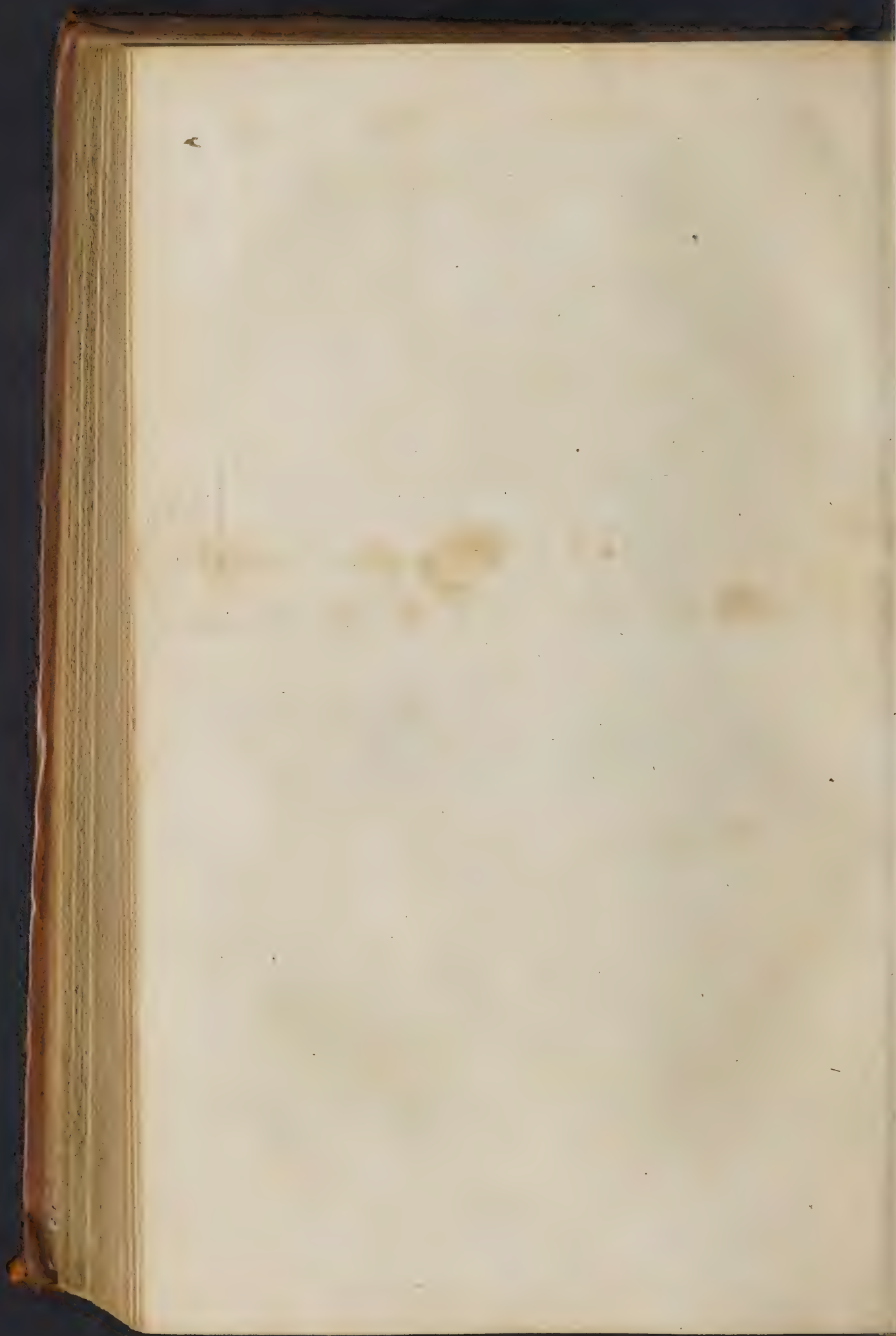
Satan now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprize which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despair; but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise whose outward prospect and situation is described, overleaps the bounds, sits in the shape of a cormorant on the tree of life, as highest in the garden, to look about him. The garden describ'd; Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse, thence gathers that the tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and thereon intends to found his temptation by seducing them to transgress: then leaves them a while, to know further of their state by some other means. Mean while Uriel descending on a sun-beam warns Gabriel, who had in charge the gate of Paradise, that some evil Spirit had escap'd the deep, and pass'd at noon by his sphere in the shape of a good Angel down to Paradise, discovered after by his furious gestures in the mount. Gabriel promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve discourse of going to their rest: their bower describ'd; their evening worship. Gabriel drawing forth his bands of night-watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong Angels to Adam's bower, lest the evil Spirit should be there doing some harm to Adam or Eve sleeping; there they find him at the ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel; by whom question'd, he scornfully answers, prepares resistance, but hinder'd by a sign from Heaven, flies out of Paradise.



F. Hayman inv. et del.

J. S. Müller sc.

Book 4.



PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IV.

O For that warning-voice, which he who saw
 Th' Apocalyps heard cry in Heav'n aloud,
 Then

Those, who know how many volumes have been written on the poems of Homer and Virgil, will easily pardon the length of my discourse upon Milton. The Paradise Lost is looked upon, by the best judges, as the greatest production, or at least the noblest work of genius in our language, and therefore deserves to be set before an English reader in its full beauty. For this reason, tho' I have endeavor'd to give a general idea of its graces and imperfections in my six first papers, I thought myself obliged to bestow one upon every book in particular. The three first books I have already dispatched, and am now entering upon the fourth. I need not acquaint my reader that there are multitudes of beauties in this great author, especially in the descriptive parts of his poem, which I have not touched upon, it being my intention to point out those only, which appear to me the most exquisite, or those which are not so obvious to ordinary readers. Every one that has read the critics who have written upon the Odyssey, the Iliad, and the Æneid, knows very well, that

though they agree in their opinions of the great beauties in those poems, they have nevertheless each of them discovered several master-strokes, which have escaped the observation of the rest. In the same manner, I question not, but any writer who shall treat of this subject after me, may find several beauties in Milton, which I have not taken notice of. I must likewise observe, that as the greatest masters of critical learning differ among one another, as to some particular points in an epic poem, I have not bound myself scrupulously to the rules which any one of them has laid down upon that art, but have taken the liberty sometimes to join with one, and sometimes with another, and sometimes to differ from all of them, when I have thought that the reason of the thing was on my side.

Addison.

1. *O for that warning voice, &c.*] The poet opens this book with a wish in the manner of Shakespear, *O for a Muse of fire &c.* Prolog. to Henry V. *O for a falkner's voice &c.* Romeo and Juliet, Act II. and in order to raise the horror and at-

Then when the Dragon, put to second rout,
 Came furious down to be reveng'd on men,
Woe to th' inhabitants on earth! that now, 5
 While time was, our first parents had been warn'd
 The coming of their secret foe, and scap'd,
 Haply so scap'd his mortal snare: for now
 Satan, now first inflam'd with rage, came down,
 The tempter ere th' accuser of man-kind, 1
 To wreck on innocent frail man his loss
 Of that first battel, and his flight to Hell:
 Yet not rejoicing in his speed, though bold
 Far off and fearless, nor with cause to boast,
 Begins his dire attempt, which nigh the birth 15
 Now rolling boils in his tumultuous breast,

And

tention of his reader, introduces his relation of Satan's adventures upon earth by wishing that the same warning voice had been utter'd now at Satan's first coming, that St. John, who in a vision saw the *Apocalyps* or Revelation of the most remarkable events which were to befall the Christian Church to the end of the world, heard when the Dragon (*that old Serpent, called the Devil and Satan*) was put to second rout. Rev. XII. 12. *Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea, for the Devil is come down unto you, having great wrath.*

10. — *th' accuser of man-kind,*]

As he is represented in that same chapter of the Revelation, which the poet is still alluding to. *For the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night, ver. 10.*

13. *Yet not rejoicing in his speed,*] Does not this confirm what I have observed of ver. 741. of the preceding book, and prove that Milton did not intend by it to attribute any sportive motion to Satan for joy that he was so near his journey's end? *Thyer.*

No more than II. 1011. *But glad that now his sea should find a shore,* and III. 740. *sped with hop'd success,* prove

And like a devilish engin back recoils
 Upon himself; horror and doubt distract
 His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir
 The Hell within him; for within him Hell 20
 He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
 One step no more than from himself can fly
 By change of place: now conscience wakes despair
 That slumber'd, wakes the bitter memory
 Of what he was, what is, and what must be 25
 Worse; of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue.
 Sometimes tow'ards Eden, which now in his view
 Lay pleasant, his griev'd look he fixes sad;
 Sometimes tow'ards Heav'n and the full-blazing sun,
 Which now sat high in his meridian tower: 30
 Then

prove the contrary. Satan was *bold far off and fearless*, and as he drew nearer, was pleas'd *with hop'd success*; but now he is come to earth to *begin his dire attempt*, he does not *rejoice* in it, his heart misgives him, *horror and doubt distract* him. This is all very natural.

24. — the memory
 Of what he was, what is, and
 what must be] Dr. Bentley
 reads *theory* instead of *memory*: be-
 cause he does not understand what
 is the *memory* of a thing present or
 future. But if the Doctor will al-
 low that it is sense to say *μνησθαι*
αυθραπτον, or *remember that you*

must die, we may keep the word
memory here, and prefer it to his
theory. Memory is *recordatio*, or
 the thinking or reflecting upon any
 thing, as well present and future
 as past. Pearce.

Thus Virgil says of his bees, that
remembering the winter coming on
 they lay by provisions in the sum-
 mer, Georg. IV. 156.

*Venturæque hyemis memores æstate
 laborem*

*Experiuntur, et in medium quæ-
 sita reponunt.*

30. — meridian tower:] At
 noon the sun is lifted up as in a
 B b 4 tower.

Then much revolving, thus in fighs began.

O thou that with surpassing glory crown'd,
 Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God
 Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars
 Hide their diminish'd heads; to thee I call, 35
 But with no friendly voice, and add thy name
 O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
 That bring to my remembrance from what state
 I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere;
 Till pride and worse ambition threw me down 40
 Warring in Heav'n against Heav'n's matchless king:
 Ah

tower. The metaphor is used by Virgil in his *Culex*, ver. 41.

*Ignæus æthereas jam sol penetrâ-
 rat in arces.*

Spenser in his admirable translation of that poem has follow'd him punctually.

The fiery sun was mounted now
 on high

Up to the heav'nly tow'rs.

Richardson.

32. *O thou &c.*] Satan being now within prospect of Eden, and looking round upon the glories of the creation, is filled with sentiments different from those which he discover'd while he was in Hell. The place inspires him with thoughts more adapted to it: He reflects upon the happy condition

from whence he fell, and breaks forth into a speech that is soften'd with several transient touches of remorse and self-accusation: but at length he confirms himself in impenitence, and in his design of drawing Man into his own state of guilt and misery. This conflict of passions is raised with a great deal of art, as the opening of his speech to the sun is very bold and noble. This speech is, I think, the finest that is ascribed to Satan in the whole poem.

Addison.

When Milton design'd to have made only a tragedy of the *Paradise Lost*, it was his intention to have begun it with the first ten lines of the following speech, which he show'd to his nephew Edward Philips and others, as Philips informs us in his account of the

Ah wherefore! he deserv'd no such return
 From me, whom he created what I was
 In that bright eminence, and with his good
 Upbraided none; nor was his service hard.
 What could be less than to afford him praise,
 The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,
 How due! yet all his good prov'd ill in me,
 And wrought but malice; lifted up so high
 I sdeind subjection, and thought one step higher 50
 Would set me hig'h'est, and in a moment quit
 The debt immense of endless gratitude,

So

the life of his uncle. And what a noble opening of a play would this have been! The lines were certainly too good to be lost, and the author has done well to employ them here, they could not have been better employ'd any where. Satan is made to address the sun, as it was the most conspicuous part of the creation; and the thought is very natural of addressing it like the God of this world, when so many of the Heathen nations have worshipped and adored it as such.

40. *Till pride and worse ambition*] Pride is a kind of excessive and vicious self-esteem, that raises men in their own opinions above what is just and right: but ambition is that which adds fuel to this flame, and claps spurs to these furious and

inordinate desires that break forth into the most execrable acts to accomplish their haughty designs; which makes our author stigmatize ambition as a worse sin than pride:

Hume.

Dr. Bentley reads *and curs'd ambition*, because he thinks it hard to say whether *pride* or *ambition* is worse: but Milton seems to mean by *pride* the vice consider'd in itself, and only as it is the temper of the proud man; and by *ambition* the vice that carry'd him to aim at being equal with God: and was not this vice the worst of the two? I observe that Satan always lays the blame on his *ambition*, as in ver. 61 and 92. Pearce.

50. *I sdeind*] For disdain'd; an imitation of the Italian *sdegnare*.

Hume.

The

So burdensome still paying, still to owe,
 Forgetful what from him I still receiv'd,
 And understood not that a grateful mind 55
 By owing owes not, but still pays, at once
 Indebted and discharg'd; what burden then?
 O had his pow'rful destiny ordain'd
 Me some inferior Angel, I had stood
 Then happy; no unbounded hope had rais'd 60
 Ambition. Yet why not? some other Power
 As great might have aspir'd, and me though mean
 Drawn to his part; but other Pow'rs as great
 Fell not, but stand unshaken, from within
 Or from without, to all temptations arm'd. 65
 Hadst thou the same free will and pow'r to stand?
 Thou hadst: whom hast thou then or what to' accuse,
 But Heav'n's free love dealt equally to all?
 Be then his love accurs'd, since love or hate,

To

The same word is used by Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, B. 5. Cant. 5. St. 44. and other places.

55. *And understood not*] This verb is to be connected with the other verbs in ver. 50. *I sdein'd* and *thought*.

55. — *a grateful mind*
By owing owes not, but still pays,] Satan here has anticipated a sentence, afterwards us'd by Cicero;

Gratiam autem et qui retulerit, habere, et qui habeat, retulisse. *Bentley*.

79. *O then at last relent:*] There is no fault to be found with this reading, but I am sometimes inclin'd to think that the author might have given it

O then at last *repent*:
 because of what follows,
 — is there no place
 Left for *repentance*,

and

To me alike, it deals eternal woe. 70

Nay curs'd be thou; since against his thy will
Chose freely what it now so justly rues.

Me miserable! which way shall I fly

Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?

Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell; 75

And in the lowest deep a lower deep

Still threatening to devour me opens wide,

To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heaven.

O then at last relent: is there no place

Left for repentance, none for pardon left? 80

None left but by submission; and that word

Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame

Among the Spi'rits beneath, whom I seduc'd

With other promises and other vaunts

Than to submit, boasting I could subdue 85

Th' Omnipotent. Ay me, they little know

How

and again, ver. 93.

But say I could *repent*, &c.

And it is not improbable, that he
had Shakespear in his thoughts,
Hamlet, Act III.

Or if we retain the word *relent*, we
may suppose that Satan could not
at first bring himself to say *repent*,
and therefore makes use of the
softer term *relent*.

Try, what repentance: what can
it not?

Yet what can it, when one cannot
repent?

81. — and that word

Disdain forbids me,] Disdain for-

bids me that word *submission*.

Bentley.

112. By

How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
 Under what torments inwardly I groan,
 While they adore me on the throne of Hell.
 With diadem and scepter high advanc'd, 90
 The lower still I fall, only supreme
 In misery; such joy ambition finds.
 But say I could repent and could obtain
 By act of grace my former state; how soon 94
 Would highth recall high thoughts, how soon unsay
 What feign'd submission swore? ease would recant
 Vows made in pain, as violent and void.
 For never can true reconciliation grow,
 Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep:
 Which would but lead me to a worse relapse 100
 And heavier fall: so should I purchase dear
 Short intermission bought with double smart.

This

112. *By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign;*] This passage has occasion'd much perplexity and confusion, but it may easily be understood thus. *Evil be thou my good;* be thou all my delight, all my happiness; *by thee I bold at least divided empire with Heav'n's king* at present, I ruling in Hell as God in Heaven: *by thee* I say; he is made to repeat it with emphasis, to add the greater force to his diabolical sentiment, and to mark it more strongly to the reader: and in a short time *will reign perhaps more than half*, in this new world as well as in Hell; *as Man ere long and this new world shall know.* And he is very properly made to conclude his speech with this, as this was now his main business and the end of his coming hither.

114. — *each*

This knows my punisher; therefore as far
 From granting he, as I from begging peace:
 All hope excluded thus, behold in stead 105
 Of us out-cast, exil'd, his new delight,
 Mankind created, and for him this world.
 So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,
 Farewel remorse: all good to me is lost;
 Evil be thou my good; by thee at least 110
 Divided empire with Heav'n's king I hold,
 By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign;
 As Man ere long, and this new world shall know.

Thus while he spake, each passion dimm'd his face
 Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and despair; 115
 Which marr'd his borrow'd visage, and betray'd
 Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld.

For heav'nly minds from such distempers foul

Are

114.—*each passion dimm'd his face*
Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy,
and despair;] Each passion,
 ire, envy, and despair, dimm'd
 his countenance which was thrice
 chang'd with pale through the suc-
 cessive agitations of these three
 passions. For that paleness is the
 proper hue of envy and despair
 every body knows, and we always
 reckon that sort of anger the most
 deadly and diabolical, which is ac-

companied with a pale livid coun-
 tenance. It is remarkable that in
 the argument to this book we
 read, instead of *ire, fear, envy and*
despair; and as *fear* may be justi-
 fy'd by ver. 18. *horror and doubt*
distract, and other places; so is
anger warranted by ver. 9. and by
 his cursing God and himself, and
 by his threatening of Man in the
 close of his speech.

Are ever clear. Whereof he soon aware,
 Each perturbation smoothen'd with outward calm,
 Artificer of fraud; and was the first 121
 That practis'd falsehood under faintly show,
 Deep malice to conceal, couch'd with revenge:
 Yet not enough had practis'd to deceive
 Uriel once warn'd; whose eye pursued him down
 The way he went, and on th' Assyrian mount 126
 Saw him disfigur'd, more than could befall
 Spirit of happy sort: his gestures fierce
 He mark'd and mad demeanour, then alone,
 As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen. 130
 So on he fares, and to the border comes
 Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
 Now nearer, crowns with her inclosure green,

As

126. — on th' Assyrian mount]
 Dr. Bentley reads *Armenian mount*:
 but Niphates is by Pliny reckon'd
 between Armenia and Assyria, and
 therefore may be called *Assyrian*.
 It is plain from Milton's account of
 the situation of Eden, ver. 210,
 285, that Eden was in Assyria;
 and it is plain from comparing III.
 742. with IV. 27. that Niphates
 was not far from Eden; so that
 Milton must have plac'd it in Assy-
 ria, at least on the borders of it.

Pearce.

132. — where delicious Paradise,

&c.] Satan is now come to the bor-
 der of Eden, where he has a nearer
 prospect of Paradise, which the
 poet represents as situated in a
 champaign country upon the top of
 a steep hill, called the Mount of
 Paradise. The sides of this hill
 were overgrown with thickets and
 bushes, so as not to be passable;
 and over-head above these, on the
 sides of the hill likewise, grew the
 loftiest trees, and as they ascended
 in ranks shade above shade, they
 formed a kind of natural theatre,
 the rows of trees rising one above
 another

As with a rural mound, the champain head
 Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides 135
 With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
 Access deny'd; and over head up grew
 Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,
 Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
 A sylvan scene, and as the ranks ascend 140
 Shade above shade, a woody theatre
 Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops
 The verd'rous wall of Paradise up sprung:
 Which to our general sight gave prospect large
 Into his nether empire neighb'ring round. 145
 And higher than that wall a circling row
 Of goodliest trees loaden with fairest fruit,
 Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,
 Appear'd,

another in the same manner as the benches in the theatres and places of public shows and spectacles. And yet higher than the highest of these trees grew up the verdurous wall of Paradise, a green inclosure like a rural mound, like a bank set with a hedge, but this hedge grew not up so high as to hinder Adam's prospect into the neighbouring country below, which is called his *empire*, as the whole earth was his *dominion*, V. 751. But above this hedge or green wall grew a circling row of the

finest fruit trees; and the only entrance into Paradise was a gate on the eastern side. This account in prose may perhaps help the reader the better to understand the description in verse.

140. *A sylvan scene,*] So Virgil, *Æn. I. 164.*

Tum sylvis scena coruscis
 Desuper, horrentique atrum nemus
 imminet umbra. *Hume.*

147. — *with fairest fruit,*
Blossoms and fruits at once of golden
hue,] Dr. Bentley reads *fruits*
 in

Appear'd, with gay enamel'd colors mix'd:
 On which the sun more glad impress'd his beams
 Than in fair evening cloud, or humid bow, 151
 When God hath show'd the earth; so lovely seem'd
 That landskip: And of pure now purer air
 Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
 Vernal delight and joy, able to drive 155
 All sadness but despair: now gentle gales

Fanning

in the first verse, because *fruits* follows in the next: but I should choose to read *fruit* in both places; because I observe that when Milton speaks of what is hanging on the trees, he calls it *fruit* in the singular number (when gather'd, in the plural) as in V. 341. *fruit of all kinds*. See also VIII. 307. and IV. 422. and in IV. 249. he repeats this very thought again thus,

Others whose *fruit* burnish'd with
 golden rind &c.

and in the Mask we have

To fave her *blossoms*, and defend
 her *fruit*. Pearce.

We may add another instance from
 the Paradise Lost, VII. 324.

— and spread
 Their branches hung with copious
fruit, or gemm'd
 Their *blossoms*.

151. *Than in fair evening cloud,*]

Dr. Bentley reads *Than on fair evening cloud*.

152. — *so lovely seem'd*
That landskip:] And now if we compare our poet's topography of Paradise with Homer's description of Alcinous's gardens, or with that of Calypso's shady grotto, we may without affectation affirm, that in half the number of verses that they consist of, our author has outdone them. But to make a comparison more obvious to most understandings, read the description of *the bower of bliss* by a poet of our own nation and famous in his time; but 'tis *impar congressus*, and rime fetter'd his fancy. Spenser's Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 12. St. 42. &c. Hume.

This description exceeds any thing I ever met with of the same kind, but the Italians, in my opinion, approach the nearest to our English poet; and if the reader will give himself the trouble to read over Ariosto's picture of the garden of Paradise, Tasso's garden of Armida,

Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense
 Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
 Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
 Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past 160
 Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
 Sabeian odors from the spicy shore
 Of Araby the blest; with such delay
 Well pleas'd they slack their course, and many a league
 Chear'd

mida, and Marino's garden of Venus, he will, I think, be persuaded that Milton imitates their manner, but yet that the copy greatly excels the originals. *Thyer.*

158.—and whisper whence they stole

Those balmy spoils.] This fine passage is undoubtedly taken from as fine a one in Shakspeare's Twelfth Night at the beginning

— like the sweet south
 That breathes upon a bank of
 violets,
 Stealing and giving odor.

Mr. Thyer is still of opinion, that Milton rather alluded to the following lines of Ariosto's description of Paradise, where speaking of the *dolce aura* he says

E quella à i fiori, à i pomi, e à
 la verzura
 Gli odor diversi depredando giva,
 E di tutti facera una mistura,
 Che di soavità à l'alma notriva.

Orl. Fur. C. 34. St. 51.

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The two first of these lines express the air's stealing of the native perfumes, and the two latter that vernal delight which they give to the mind. Besides it may be further observ'd that this expression of the air's stealing and dispersing the sweets of flowers is very common in the best Italian poets. To instance only in one more.

Dolce confusione di mille odori
 Sparge, e 'nvola volando aura
 predace.

Adon. di Marino C. 1. St. 13.

163. — with such delay

Well pleas'd they slack their course,]

The north-east winds blowing contrary to those who have doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and are past the island *Mozambic* on the eastern coast of Africa near the continent, and are sailing forwards, they must necessarily *slack their course*; but yet they are well enough *pleas'd with such delay*, as it gives them the pleasure of smelling such delicious odors, *Sabeian odors*, from Saba,

C c

Chear'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles :
 So entertain'd those odorous sweets the Fiend 166
 Who came their bane, though with them better pleas'd
 Than Asmodeüs with the fishy fume
 That drove him, though enamour'd, from the spouse
 Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent 170
 From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.

Now to th' ascent of that steep savage hill
 Satan had journey'd on, pensive and slow;
 But further way found none, so thick intwin'd,
 As one continued brake, the undergrowth 175
 Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplex'd

All

Saba, a city and country of Arabia Felix *Araby the blest*, the most famous for frankincense. Sabæi Arabum propter thura clarissimi. Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 6. C. 28. and Virg. Georg. II. 117.

— folis est thurea virga Sabæis.

168. *Than Asmodeüs with &c.*] Asmodeüs was the evil Spirit, enamour'd of Sarah the daughter of Raguel, whose seven husbands he destroy'd; but after that she was married to the son of Tobit, he was driven away by the fumes of the heart and liver of a fish; *the which smell when the evil Spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the Angel bound him.* See the book of Tobit, Chap. VIII.

173. *Satan had journey'd on, &c.*] The evil Spirit proceeds to make his discoveries concerning our first parents, and to learn after what manner they may be best attack'd. His bounding over the walls of Paradise; his sitting in the shape of a cormorant upon the tree of life, which stood in the center of it and overtopped all the other trees of the garden; his alighting among the herd of animals, which are so beautifully represented as playing about Adam and Eve, together with his transforming himself into different shapes, in order to hear their conversation, are circumstances that give an agreeable surprise to the reader, and are devised with great art to connect that series of

of

All path of man or beast that pass'd that way:
 One gate there only was, and that look'd east
 On th' other side: which when th' arch-felon saw,
 Due entrance he disdain'd, and in contempt, 180
 At one flight bound high over leap'd all bound
 Of hill or highest wall, and sheer within
 Lights on his feet. As when a prowling wolf,
 Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
 Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve 185
 In hurdled cotes amid the field secure,
 Leaps o'er the fence with ease into the fold:
 Or as a thief bent to unhord the cash

Of

of adventures, in which the poet
 has engaged this artificer of fraud.

Addison.

177. *All path of man or beast
 that pass'd that way:]* Satan
 is now come to the ascent of the
 hill of Paradise, which was so over-
 grown with thicket and under-
 wood, that neither man nor beast
 could pass that way. *That pass'd
 that way,* that would have pass'd
 that way, a remarkable manner
 of speaking, somewhat like that
 in II. 642. *So seem'd far off the fly-
 ing Fiend,* that is (speaking strictly)
 would have seem'd if any one had
 been there to have seen him. And
 the like manner of speaking we
 may observe in the best classic au-
 thors, as in Virg. *Æn.* VI. 467.

Talibus Æneas ardentem et torva
 tuentem

Lenibat dictis animum, lacrimas-
 que ciebat.

Lenibat animum, did appease her
 mind, that is would have appeas'd
 her mind, for what he said was
 without the desir'd effect. So Eu-
 ripides in *Ion.* 1326.

Ηκυσας ὡς μ' ἐκείνην ἦδε μὴ-
 χαναις ;

Have you heard how she kill'd me,
 that is, would have kill'd me ?

183.—*As when a prowling wolf,]*
 A *wolf* is often the subject of a
 simile in Homer and Virgil, but
 here is consider'd in a new light,
 and perhaps never furnish'd out a
 stronger

Of some rich burgher, whose substantial doors,
 Cross-barr'd and bolted fast, fear no assault, 190
 In at the window climbs, or o'er the tiles :
 So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold ;
 So since into his church lewd hirelings climb.
 Thence up he flew, and on the tree of life,
 The middle tree and highest there that grew, 195
 Sat like a cormorant; yet not true life
 Thereby regain'd, but sat devising death
 To them who liv'd; nor on the virtue thought

Of

stronger resemblance; and the hint of this and the additional simile of a thief seems to have been taken from those words of our Saviour in St. John's gospel, X. 1. *He that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.*

193. — *lewd hirelings*] The word *lewd* was formerly understood in a larger acceptation than it is at present, and signified profane, impious, wicked, vicious, as well as wanton: and in this larger sense it is employ'd by Milton in the other places where he uses it, as well as here; I. 490.

— than whom a Spirit more *lewd*:
 and VI. 182.

Yet *lewdly* dar'ft our ministring
 upbraid.

195. *The middle tree and highest there that grew,*] *The tree of life also in the midst of the garden, Gen. II. 9. In the midst is a Hebrew phrase, expressing not only the local situation of this inlivening tree, but denoting its excellency, as being the most considerable, the tallest, goodliest, and most lovely tree in that beauteous garden planted by God himself: So Scotus, Duran, Valesius, &c. whom our poet follows, affirming it the highest there that grew. To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God, Rev. II. 7.*

Hume.

196. *Sat like a cormorant;*] The thought 'of Satan's transformation into a cormorant, and placing himself on the tree of life, seems raised upon that passage in the Iliad, where two deities are described, as perching

Of that life-giving plant, but only us'd
 For prospect, what well us'd had been the pledge
 Of immortality. So little knows 201
 Any, but God alone, to value right
 The good before him, but perverts best things
 To worst abuse, or to their meanest use.
 Beneath him with new wonder now he views 205
 To all delight of human sense expos'd
 In narrow room Nature's whole wealth, yea more,
 A Heav'n on Earth: for blissful Paradise

Of

perching on the top of an oak in the shape of vulturs. *Addison.*

The poet had compared Satan to a vultur before, III. 431. and here again he is well liken'd to a cormorant, which being a very voracious sea-fowl, is a proper emblem of this destroyer of mankind.

196. — *yet not true life &c.]* The poet here moralizes, and reprehends Satan for making no better use of the tree of life. He sat upon it, but did not thereby regain true life to himself, but sat devising death to others who were alive. Neither did he think at all on the virtues of the tree, but used it only for the convenience of prospect, when it might have been used so as to have been a pledge of immortality. And so he perverted the best of things to *worst abuse*, by sitting upon the tree of life devising death, or to *meanest*

use, by using it only for prospect, when he might have applied it to nobler purposes. But what use then would our author have had Satan to have made of the tree of life? Would eating of it have alter'd his condition, or have render'd him more immortal than he was already? What other use then could he have made of it, unless he had taken occasion from thence to reflect duly on life and immortality, and thereby had put himself in a condition to regain true life and a happy immortality? If the poet had not some such meaning as this, it is not easy to say what is the sense of the passage. Mr. Thyer thinks that the *well us'd* in this passage relates to our first parents, and not to Satan: but I conceive that *well us'd* and *only us'd* must both refer to the same person; and what *ill use* did our first parents make

Of God the garden was, by him in th' east
 Of Eden planted; Eden stretch'd her line 210
 From Auran eastward to the royal towers
 Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian kings,
 Or where the sons of Eden long before
 Dwelt in Telassar: in this pleasant soil
 His far more pleasant garden God ordain'd; 215
 Out of the fertil ground he caus'd to grow
 All trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste;
 And

make of the tree of life? They did not use it ill before the fall, and after the fall they were not permitted to use or eat of it at all.

209. *Of God the garden was, by him in th' east*

Of Eden planted;] So the sacred text, Gen. II. 8. *And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden,* that is eastward of the place where Moses writ his history, tho' Milton says *in th' east of Eden*; and then we have in a few lines our author's topography of Eden. This province (in which the terrestrial Paradise was planted) extended from *Auran* or *Haran* or *Charran* or *Charrae*, a city of Mesopotamia near the river Euphrates, extended, I say, from thence eastward to *Seleucia*, a city built by Seleucus one of the successors of Alexander the great, upon the river Tigris. Or in other words, this province was the same, where the children of Eden dwelt in *Telassar* (as Isaiah

says Chap. XXXVII. 12.) which *Telassar* or *Talatha* was a province and a city of the children of Eden, placed by Ptolomy in Babylonia, upon the common stream of Tigris and Euphrates. See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronol. p. 275. So that our author places Eden, agreeably to the accounts in Scripture, somewhere in Mesopotamia.

215. *His far more pleasant garden*] In the description of Paradise, the poet has observed Aristotle's rule of lavishing all the ornaments of diction on the weak unactive parts of the fable, which are not supported by the beauty of sentiments and characters. Accordingly the reader may observe, that the expressions are more florid and elaborate in these descriptions, than in most other parts of the poem. I must farther add, that tho' the *drawings* of gardens, rivers, rainbows, and the like dead pieces of nature, are justly censured in an heroic

And all amid them stood the tree of life,
 High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit
 Of vegetable gold; and next to life, 220
 Our death the tree of knowledge grew fast by,
 Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill.
 Southward through Eden went a river large,
 Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggy hill
 Pass'd underneath ingulf'd; for God had thrown
 That mountain as his garden mold high rais'd 226
 Upon

heroic poem, when they run out into an unnecessary length; the description of Paradise would have been faulty, had not the poet been very particular in it, not only as it is the scene of the principal action, but as it is requisite to give us an idea of that happiness from which our first parents fell. The plan of it is wonderfully beautiful, and formed upon the short sketch which we have of it in holy Writ. Milton's exuberance of imagination has poured forth such a redundancy of ornaments on this seat of happiness and innocence, that it would be endless to point out each particular. I must not quit this head without further observing, that there is scarce a speech of Adam and Eve in the whole poem, wherein the sentiments and allusions are not taken from this their delightful habitation. The reader, during their whole course of action, always finds himself in the

walks of Paradise. In short, as the critics have remarked that in those poems, wherein shepherds are actors, the thoughts ought always to take a tincture from the woods, fields, and rivers; so we may observe, that our first parents seldom lose sight of their happy station in any thing they speak or do; and, if the reader will give me leave to use the expression, that their thoughts are always *Paradisiacal*. Addison.

223. *Southward through Eden went a river large,*] This is most probably the river formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, which flows *southward*, and must needs be a *river large* by the joining of two such mighty rivers. Upon this river it is supposed by the best commentators that the terrestrial Paradise was situated. Milton calls this river Tigris in IX. 71.

Upon the rapid current, which through veins
 Of porous earth with kindly thirst up drawn,
 Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
 Water'd the garden; thence united fell 230
 Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
 Which from his darksome passage now appears,
 And now divided into four main streams,
 Runs diverse, wand'ring many a famous realm
 And country, whereof here needs no account; 235
 But rather to tell how, if Art could tell,

How

233. *And now divided into four main streams,]* This is grounded upon the words of Moses, Gen. II. 10. *And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.* Now the most probable account that is given of these four rivers we conceive to be this. The river that water'd the garden of Eden was, as we think, the river formed by the junction of Euphrates and Tigris; and this river was parted into four other main streams or rivers; two above the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris before they are join'd, and two below the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris after they are parted again; for Euphrates and Tigris they were still called by the Greeks and Romans, though in the time of Moses they were named Pison and Gihon. Our

poet expresses it as if the river had been parted into four other rivers below the garden; but there is no being certain of these particulars, and Milton, sensible of the great uncertainty of them, wisely avoids giving any farther description of the countries thro' which the rivers flow'd, and says in the general that no account needs to be given of them here.

238. *Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,]* Pactolus, Hermus, and other rivers are described by the poets as having golden sands; but the description is made richer here, and the water rolls on the choicest pearls as well as sands of gold. So in III. 507. we have *orient gems*; see the note there. We have likewise *orient pearl* in Shakespear, Richard III. Act IV. and in Beaumont and Fletcher, The faithful Shepherdess, Act III. And in the

How from that saphir fount the crisped brooks,
 Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
 With mazy error under pendent shades
 Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed 240
 Flow'rs, worthy' of Paradise, which not nice Art
 In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
 Pour'd forth profuse on hill and dale and plain,
 Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
 The open field, and where the unpierc'd shade 245
 Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs: Thus was this place
 A

the Fox Mosca asks Corvino, who had brought a rich pearl as a present to old Volpone; *Is your pearl orient, Sir?* Act I.

244. *Both where the morning sun first warmly smote*

The open field,] This is a manner of expression unusual in our language, and plainly borrow'd from the Italian poets, with whom it is very common. Ariosto *Orl. Fur.* Cant. 8. St. 20.

Percote il sole ardente il vicin colle.

Cant. 10. St. 35.

Percote il sol nel colle, e fa ritorno. Tbyer.

246. *Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs:*] A person must be acquainted with the Italian language to discern the force and exact propriety of this term. It is a word which their poets make use

of to describe any thing shaded. Thus Boiardo describing a fleet of ships going to put to sea. *Orl. Inam.* Cant. 29.

De le sue vele e tanto speffa l'ombra

Che sotto a quelle il mar e fatto bruno

So also Ariosto I remember upon a like occasion,

— sotto le vele il mar s'imbruni.

To these instances may be added from Tasso *Gier. Lib.* Cant. 14. St. 70.

Quinci ella in cima à una montagna ascende

Disabitata, e d'ombre oscura, e bruna.

In like manner to express the approach of the evening they say *su l'imbrunir*, or if they would say it grows

A happy rural feat of various view;
 Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm,
 Others whose fruit burnish'd with golden rind
 Hung amiable, Hesperian fables true, 250
 If true, here only', and of delicious taste:
 Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks
 Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd,

Or

grows dusky or gloomy — *Il tempo comincia ad imbrunirsi.* Thyer.

248, *Groves whose rich trees &c.*] There were groves bearing aromatics, and there were others bearing fruit for sustenance. The former are called *rich trees*, as *odorous gums and balm* carry usually a higher price than *fruit*; and they are said to *weep* gums and balm by a beautiful metaphor not unusual in poetry: as Ovid says of the myrrh-tree, Met. X. 500.

*Flet tamen, et tepidæ manant ex
 arbore guttæ,
 Est honor et lacrymis.*

250. — *Hesperian fables true, &c.*] Dr. Bentley prefers *apples* to *fables*, and asks how *fables* can be true any where? If they cannot, I wonder how the Doctor in his edition of Phædrus, suffer'd the following passage to stand without any censure,

*Hanc emendare, si tamen possum,
 volo
 Vera fabella.*

The first and most proper sense of the word *fabula*, as all the dictionaries inform us, is something commonly talked of, whether true or false: and if Milton us'd the word *fable* so here, the sense is clear of the objection. But the Doctor would rather throw out the words *Hesperian apples* (or *fables*) *true*, *If true, here only*, because (says he) *the Hesperian apples* are represented by the poets as of solid gold, far from being of *delicious taste*. This objection is answer'd by reading, as I think we ought to do, the whole passage thus,

Others, whose fruit burnish'd with
 golden rind

Hung amiable, (Hesperian fables
 true,

If true, here only) and of delicious
 taste. Pearce.

Fables, stories as XI. 11. What is said of the Hesperian gardens is true here only; if all is not pure invention, this garden was meant: and moreover these fruits have a
 delicious

Or palmy hilloc; or the flow'ry lap
 Of some irriguous valley spread her store, 255
 Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose:
 Another side, umbrageous grots and caves
 Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine
 Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
 Luxuriant; mean while murm'ring waters fall 260
 Down

delicious taste, those there had none. *Richardson.*

255. — *irriguous valley*] Well-water'd, full of springs and rills: it is the epithet of a garden in Horace, Sat. II. IV. 16.

thorns and thistles, Gen. III. 18. and from hence the general opinion has prevailed that there were no thorns before; which is enough to justify a poet in saying the rose was without thorns or prickles.

Irriguo nihil est elutius horto.

Hume.

256. *Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose:*] Dr. Bentley rejects this verse, because he thinks it a jejune identity in the poet to say *The flow'ry lap — spread flow'rs*: but, as Dr. Pearce observes, tho' the expression be not very exact, it is not so bad as Dr. Bentley represents it; for the construction and sense is, *The flow'ry lap of some valley spread her store*, which store was what? why *flow'rs* of every color or *hue*. Dr. Bentley objects too to the latter part of the verse, *and without thorn the rose*, and calls it a puerile fancy. But it should be remember'd, that it was part of the curse denounced upon the earth for Adam's transgression, that it should *bring forth*

257. *Another side, umbrageous grots and caves*] Another side of the garden was umbrageous grots and caves &c. Or on another side were shady grots and caves, &c. the præposition being omitted as is not unusual with our author. See I. 282 and 723. *On one side* were groves of aromatics, others of fruit, and betwixt them lawns or downs. *On another side* were shady grotto's and caves of cool recess. Our author indeed has not mention'd *one side* before, but without that he often makes use of the expression, *on th' other side*, as you may see in II. 108, 706. IV. 985. IX. 888. — as Virgil frequently says *in parte alia*, *in another part*, though he has not said expressly *in one part* before, Æn. I. 474. VIII. 682. IX. 521.

261. — *dispers'd*,

Down the slope hills, dispers'd, or in a lake,
 That to the fringed bank with myrtle crown'd
 Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.
 The birds their quire apply; airs, vernal airs,
 Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune 265
 The trembling leaves, while universal Pan

Knit

261. — *dispers'd, or in a lake,*] The waters fall disperfed, or unite their streams in a lake, that presents her clear looking-glass, holds her crystal mirror to the fringed bank crown'd with myrtle. He makes the lake we may observe a person, and a critic like Dr. Bentley may find fault with it; but it is usual with the poets to personify lakes and rivers, as Homer does the river Scamander and Virgil the Tiber; and Milton himself makes a person of the river of blifs, and a female person too, III. 359. as he does here of the lake. This language is certainly more poetical; and I suppose he thought *Her crystal mirror* sounded smother and better than *Its crystal mirror*, or even *His crystal mirror*.

266. — *while universal Pan &c.*] While universal Nature link'd with the graceful seasons danc'd a perpetual round, and throughout the earth yet unpolluted led eternal spring. All the poets favor the opinion of the world's creation in the spring. Virg. Georg. II. 338.

Ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat

Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
 Cum primum lucem pecudes haurere &c.

Ov. Met. I. 107.

Ver erat æternum, placidique tepentibus auris
 Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine femine flores.

That the Graces were taken for the beautiful seasons in which all things seem to dance and smile in an universal joy is plain from Horace, Od. IV. VII. 1.

Diffugere nives, redeunt jam gramina campis —
 Gratia cum nymphis geminisque fororibus audet
 Ducere nuda choros.

And Homer joins both the Graces and Hours hand in hand with Harmony, Youth, and Venus in his Hymn to Apollo. *Hume.* The Ancients personiz'd every thing. *Pan* is nature, the *Graces* are the beautiful seasons, and the *Hours* are the time requisite for the production and perfection of things. Milton only says in a most poetical manner

Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance
 Led on th' eternal spring. Not that fair field
 Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flowers,
 Herself a fairer flow'r by gloomy Dis 270
 Was gather'd, which cost Ceres all that pain
 To seek her through the world; nor that sweet grove
 Of

manner (as Homer in his Hymn to Apollo had done before him) that now all nature was in beauty, and every hour produc'd something new, without any change for the worse. *Richardson.*

268. — *Not that fair field &c.]* Not that fair field of Enna in Sicily, celebrated so much by Ovid and Claudian for its beauty, from whence *Proserpin* was carried away by the gloomy God of Hell *Dis* or Pluto, which occasion'd her mother *Ceres* to seek her all the world over; nor that sweet grove of *Daphne* near Antioch, the capital of Syria, seated on the banks of the river *Orontes*, together with the *Castalian* spring there, of the same name with that in Greece, and extoll'd for its prophetic qualities; nor the island *Nysa*, encompass'd with the river *Triton* in Africa, where *Cham* or Ham the son of Noah, therefore called *old*, (who first peopled Egypt and Lybia, and among the Gentiles goes by the name of *Ammon* or *Lybian Jove*) hid his mistress *Amalthea* and her beautiful son *Bacchus* (therefore called *Dionysus*) from his

stepdame *Rhea's eye*, the stepdame of Bacchus and wife of the Libyan Jove according to some authors, particularly Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 3. and Sir Walter Raleigh's Hist. B. 1. ch. 6. sect. 5. tho' different from others; nor mount *Amara*, where the kings of *Abassinia* or *Abyssinia* (a kingdom in the upper Ethiopia) keep their children guarded, a place of most delightful prospect and situation, inclos'd with alabaster rocks, which it is a day's journey to ascend, supposed by some (tho' so far distant from the true Paradise) to be the seat of Paradise under the *Ethiopian* or equinoctial line near the springs of the river *Nile*: Not any nor all of these could vy with this Paradise of Eden; this exceeded all that historians have written or poets have feign'd of the most beautiful places in the world. By the way we should observe his manner of pronouncing *Proserpin* with the accent upon the second syllable, like the Latin, and as Spenser and the old English authors pronounce it, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 2.

And

Of Daphne by Orontes, and th' inspir'd
 Castalian spring, might with this Paradise
 Of Eden strive; nor that Nyseian ile 275
 Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
 Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Lybian Jove,
 Hid Amalthea and her florid son
 Young Bacchus from his stepdame Rhea's eye;
 Nor where Abassin kings their issue guard, 280
 Mount Amara, though this by some suppos'd
 True Paradise under the Ethiop line
 By Nilus head, inclos'd with shining rock,
 A whole day's journey high, but wide remote
 From this Assyrian garden, where the Fiend 285
 Saw

And sad Proserpin's wrath, them
 to affright;

but not as it is commonly used at
 this time, as in Cato,

So Pluto feis'd of Proserpin con-
 vey'd.

285. — *Assyrian garden,*] Mil-
 ton here follows Strabo, who com-
 prehends Mesopotamia in the an-
 cient Assyria. *Richardson.*

288. *Two of far nobler shape &c.*] The description of Adam and Eve, as they first appeared to Satan, is exquisitely drawn, and sufficient to make the fallen Angel gaze upon them with all that astonishment

and those emotions of envy, in which he is represented. There is a fine spirit of poetry in the lines which follow, wherein they are described as sitting on a bed of flowers by the side of a fountain, amidst a mixed assembly of animals.

Addison.

293. *Truth, wisdom, sanctitude se-
 vere and pure,
 (Severe but in true filial freedom
 plac'd)*

Whence true authority in men;] The middle verse ought to have been put thus in a parenthesis; for the *true authority in men* arises not from *filial freedom*, but from their having *truth, wisdom, and sancti-
 tude*

Saw undelighted all delight, all kind
 Of living creatures new to sight and strange.
 Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,
 Godlike erect, with native honor clad
 In naked majesty seem'd lords of all, 290
 And worthy seem'd; for in their looks divine
 The image of their glorious Maker shone,
 Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure,
 (Severe but in true filial freedom plac'd)
 Whence true authority in men; though both 295
 Not equal, as their sex not equal seem'd;
 For contemplation he and valor form'd,
 For softness she and sweet attractive grace,

He

tude severe and pure, that is strict holiness; which are qualities that give to magistrates *true authority*, that proper authority which they may want who yet have legal authority. This is Milton's meaning: and for explaining the word *severe*, he inserts a verse to show that he does not mean such a *sanctitude* or holiness as is rigid and austere, but such as is *plac'd in filial freedom*; alluding to the scriptural expressions, which represent good Christians as *free* and as the *sons of God*: on which foundation our obedience (from whence our sanctitude arises) is a *filial*, and not a slavish one; a reverence ra-

ther than a fear of the Deity. From hence we may see that Dr. Bentley had no sufficient reason to change *severe* in the first verse into *serene*, and to throw out the second verse entirely. Pearce.

297. *For contemplation he and valor form'd,*

For softness she and sweet attractive grace,] The curious reader may please to observe upon these two charming lines, how the numbers are varied, and how artfully *he* and *she* are placed in each verse, so as the tone may fall upon them, and yet fall upon them differently. The author might have given both exactly the same tone, but every ear

He for God only, she for God in him :
 His fair large front and eye sublime declar'd 300
 Absolute rule; and hyacinthin locks
 Round from his parted forelock manly hung
 Clustring,

ear must judge this alteration to be
 much for the worse.

For valor he and contemplation
 form'd,
 For softness she and sweet attrac-
 tive grace.

299. *He for God only, she for God
 in him:]* The author gave
 it thus, says Dr. Bentley,

He for God only, she for God *and*
 him.

The opposition demonstrates this,
 and ver. 440, Eve speaks to Adam,

— O thou *for whom*
 And from whom I was form'd —

Dr. Pearce approves this reading of
 Dr. Bentley, and to the proof which
 he brings, adds X. 150.

— made of thee
 And *for thee*.

And indeed, tho' some have ende-
 vor'd to justify the common read-
 ing, yet this is so much better, that
 we cannot but wish it was admitted
 into the text.

301. — *hyacinthin locks]* Thus
 Minerva in Homer gives Ulysses
 hyacinthin locks to make him more
 beautiful,

Καδ' δε καρητῶ
 Ουλας ηνε κομας, ὑακινθινῳ αν-
 θει ομοιας. Odyss. VI. 231.

Back from his brows a length of
 hair unfurls,
 His hyacinthin locks descend in
 wavy curls. Broome.

Eustathius interprets hyacinthin
 locks by black locks, and Suidas
 by very dark brown; and Milton
 in like manner means brown or
 black locks, distinguishing Adam's
 hair from Eve's in the color as well
 as in other particulars. It is pro-
 bable the hyacinth among the An-
 cients might be of a darker color
 than it is among us.

303. *Clustring,]* His hair hung
clustring, or like bunches of grapes;
 as her's was like the young shoots
 or *tendrils* of the *wine*. They are
 oppos'd, you see, the one to the
 other.

303. — *his shoulders broad:]*
 Broad shoulders are always assign'd
 to the ancient heroes; in Homer
 they have *ευρεας ωμους*, in Virgil
latus humeros. But I wonder that
 Milton has given no indication
 that Adam had a beard; not the
 least down or blossom on his chin,
 the first access to manhood; which
 the Greek and Latin poets dwell
 on, as the principal part of manly
 beauty :

Clustring, but not beneath his shoulders broad :

She as a veil down to the slender waste

Her unadorned golden tresses wore

305

Dishevel'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd

As

beauty : and our Spenfer, B. 2. Cant. 12. St. 79. and B. 3. Cant. 5. St. 29.

Bentley.

His beard is a particular that the poet could not have forgot, but I suppose he purposely omitted it, because Raphael and the principal painters always represent him without one; I believe no one remembers ever to have seen a good print or picture of him with one, and Milton frequently fetches his ideas from the works of the greatest masters in painting.

304. *She as a veil down to the slender waste*

Her unadorned golden tresses &c.]

In like manner Marino paints his Venus. Adon. Cant. 8. St. 47.

Onde a guisa d'un vel dorato, e folto

Celando il bianco seu trà l'onde loro

In mille minutissimi ruscelli

Dal capo scaturir gli aurei capelli.

The poet has, I think, showed great judgment and delicacy in avoiding in this place the entring into a circumstantial description of Eve's beauty. It was, no doubt, a very tempting occasion of giving an indulgent loose to his fancy; since the most lavish imagination

could not possibly carry too high the charms of Woman, as she first came out of the hands of her heavenly Maker. But as a picture of this kind would have been too light and gay for the graver turn of Milton's plan, he has very artfully mentioned the charms of her person in general terms only, and directed the reader's attention more particularly to the beauty of her mind. Most great poets have labor'd in a particular manner the delineation of their Beauties (Ariosto's Alcina, Tasso's Armida, and Spenfer's Belphebe) and 'tis very probable that the portrait of Eve would have rival'd them all, if the chaste correctness of our author's Muse had not restrain'd him.

Thyer.

305. — *golden tresses*] This sort of hair was most admir'd and celebrated by the Ancients, I suppose as it usually betokens a fairer skin and finer complexion. It would be almost endless to quote passages to this purpose in praise of Helen and the other famous beauties of antiquity. Venus herself, the Goddess of beauty, is described of this color and complexion; and therefore is stiled *golden Venus*, χρυσὴ Ἀφροδίτη by Homer, and *Venus aurea* by Virgil. As Milton had

D d

the

As the vine curls her tendrils, which imply'd
 Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway,
 And by her yielded, by him best receiv'd,
 Yielded with coy submission, modest pride, 310
 And sweet reluctant amorous delay.
 Nor those mysterious parts were then conceal'd,
 Then was not guilty shame, dishonest shame
 Of nature's works, honor dishonorable,
 Sin-bred, how have ye troubled all mankind 315
 With

the taste of the Ancients in other things, so likewise in this particular. He must certainly have preferred this to all other colors, or he would never have bestow'd it upon Eve, whom he design'd as a pattern of beauty to all her daughters. And possibly he might at the same time intend a compliment to his wife; for I remember to have heard from a gentleman who had seen his widow in Cheshire, that she had hair of this color. It is the more probable, that he intended a compliment to his wife in the drawing of Eve; as it is certain, that he drew the portrait of Adam not without regard to his own person, of which he had no mean opinion.

307. — which imply'd
Subjection.] The poet manifestly alludes to St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, Chap. XI. *Doth not even nature itself teach you* (says the Apostle) *that if a man have*

long hair, it is a shame unto him? And therefore Milton gives Adam locks, that *hung clustring, but not beneath his shoulders broad.* But if a woman have long hair (continues the Apostle) *it is a glory to her, for her hair is given her for a covering or veil* as it is render'd in the margin: and therefore our author gives Eve very long hair, *she wore her golden tresses as a veil down to the slender waste.* And this long hair the Apostle considers as an argument and token of her subjection, a covering, a veil, in sign that she is under the power of her husband; and for the same reason the poet says that it *imply'd subjection*: such excellent use doth he make of the sacred Writings. The poet adds that this subjection was *requir'd by him with gentle sway, and yielded by her, but it was best receiv'd by him, when yielded with coy submission, modest pride, and sweet reluctant amorous delay, which is express'd*

With shows instead, mere shows of seeming pure,
And banish'd from man's life his happiest life,
Simplicity and spotless innocence!

So pass'd they naked on, nor shunn'd the sight
Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill: 320

So hand in hand they pass'd, the loveliest pair

That ever since in love's embraces met;

Adam the goodliest man of men since born

His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

Under

press'd with more elegance than that admir'd passage in Horace, which no doubt Milton had in his thoughts, Od. II. XII. 26.

— *facili sævitia negat*
Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupat.

314. — *honor dishonorable,*] He alludes to 1 Cor. XII. 23. *And those members of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor.* But the honor paid to those parts is really a dishonor, a token of our fall, and an indication of our guilt. Innocent nature made no such distinction. *Sin-bred, how have ye troubled &c.* Should we not read,

Sin-bred, how have you troubled—

for what is he speaking to besides Shame?

323. *Adam the goodliest man of men &c.*] These two lines are censur'd by Mr. Addison, and

are totally rejected by Dr. Bentley, as implying that Adam was one of his sons, and Eve one of her daughters: but this manner of expression is borrow'd from the Greek language, in which we find sometimes the superlative degree used instead of the comparative. The meaning therefore is, that Adam was a goodlier man than any of his sons, and Eve fairer than her daughters. So Achilles is said to have been *ωκυμωρωτατος* αλλων Iliad. I. 505. that is more short-liv'd than others. So Nireus is said to have been the handsomest of the other Grecians, Iliad. II. 673.

— *ὅς καλλίς* αὐτῇ ὑπο Ἰλίου
ἦλθε,

Τῶν αλλων Δαναων—

And the same manner of speaking has pass'd from the Greeks to the Latins. So a freed woman is call'd in Horace, Sat. I. I. 100. *fortissima Tyndaridarum*, not that she was one

D d 2

of

Under a tuft of shade that on a green 325
 Stood whisp'ring soft, by a fresh fountain side
 They sat them down; and after no more toil
 Of their sweet gard'ning labor than suffic'd
 To recommend cool Zephyr, and made ease
 More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite 330
 More grateful, to their supper fruits they fell,
 Nectarin fruits which the compliant boughs
 Yielded them, side-long as they sat recline
 On the soft downy bank damask'd with flowers:
 The favory pulp they chew, and in the rind 335
 Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream;
 Nor gentle purpose, nor indearing smiles

Wanted,

of the Tyndaridæ, but more brave than any of them. And as Dr. Pearce observes, so Diana is said by one of the poets to have been *comitum pulcherrima*, not one of her own companions, but more handsome than any of them. And I believe a man would not be corrected for writing false English, who should say *the most learned of all others* instead of *more learned than all others*.

337. *Nor gentle purpose, &c.*] This also from Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 8. St. 14.

He 'gan make *gentle purpose* to his dame.

B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 30.

Fair seemly pleasure each to other makes

With goodly *purposes* there as they fit. *Thyer*.

345. — *th' unwieldy elephant*] Mind the accent of *unwieldy* in the first syllable. The author knew the common pronunciation to be in the second, as VII. 411. *Wallowing unwieldy*. But with great art and judgment following his principals Homer and Virgil, he made the verse itself *unwieldy*, that the reader might feel it as well as understand it. *Bentley*.

347. *His*

Wanted, nor youthful dalliance as beseems
 Fair couple, link'd in happy nuptial league,
 Alone as they. About them frisking play'd 340
 All beasts of th' earth, since wild, and of all chase
 In wood or wilderness, forest or den;
 Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw
 Dandled the kid; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
 Gambol'd before them; th' unwieldy elephant 345
 To make them mirth us'd all his might, and wreath'd
 His lithe proboscis; close the serpent fly
 Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine
 His breasted train, and of his fatal guile
 Gave proof unheeded; others on the grass 350
 Couch'd,

347. *His lithe proboscis;*] His limber trunk, so pliant and useful to him, that Cicero calls it *elephantorum manum*, the elephants hand.

Hume.

348. *Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine*

His breasted train, &c.] *Insinuating*, wrapping, or rolling up, and as it were imbricating himself. Virgil frequently uses the words *sinuosus* and *sinuare* to express the winding motions of this animal. *With Gordian twine*, with many intricate turnings and twistings, like the famous Gordian knot, which no bo-

dy could untie, but Alexander cut it with his sword. *His breasted train*, his plaited twisted tail. *And of his fatal guile gave proof unheeded;* That intricate form into which he put himself was a sort of symbol or type of his fraud, tho' not then regarded. Hume and Richardson.

We may observe that the poet is larger in the description of the serpent, than of any of the other animals, and very judiciously, as he is afterwards made the instrument of so much mischief; and at the same time an intimation is given of *his fatal guile*, to prepare the reader for what follows.

Couch'd, and now fill'd with pasture gazing fat,
 Or bedward ruminating; for the fun
 Declin'd was hasting now with prone career
 To th' ocean iles, and in th' ascending scale
 Of Heav'n the stars that usher evening rose: 355
 When Satan still in gaze, as first he stood,
 Scarce thus at length fail'd speech recover'd sad.

O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold!
 Into our room of bliss thus high advanc'd
 Creatures of other mold, earth-born perhaps, 360
 Not

351. *Couch'd,*] Let the reader observe how artfully the word *couch'd* is placed, so as to make the found expressive of the sense,

— others on the grass

Couch'd. —

Such a rest upon the first syllable of the verse is not very common, but is very beautiful when it is so accommodated to the sense. The learned reader may observe a beauty of the like kind in these verses of Homer, *Iliad*. I. 51.

ΑΥΤΑΡ ΕΠΕΙΤ' ΑΥΤΟΙΣΙ ΒΕΛΤ' ΕΧΕ-
 ΠΕΥΚΕΣ ΕΦΙΕΙΣ
 ΒΑΛΛ' ΑΙΕΙ ΔΕ ΠΥΡΡΑΙ ΝΕΚΥΩΝ ΚΑΙ-
 ΟΥΛΟ ΘΑΜΕΙΑΙ.

and *Iliad*. V. 146.

ΤΟΝ Δ' ΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΞΙΦΕΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΩ ΚΛΗΙ-
 ΔΑ ΠΑΡ' ΩΜΟΝ
 ΠΛΗΞ'

and again, ver. 156.

— ΠΑΤΕΙ ΔΕ ΥΟΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΗΔΕΑ
 ΛΥΓΕΑ
 ΛΕΠ'.

and in several other places.

And the English reader may see similar instances in our English Homer. Pope's Homer, B. 16. ver. 445.

Chariots on chariots roll; the
 clashing spokes
 Shock; | while the madding steeds
 break short their yokes.

And in the Temple of Fame, ver. 85.

Amphion there the loud creating
 lyre
 Strikes, | and behold a sudden
 Thebes aspire!

And it is observable that this pause

Not Spirits, yet to heav'nly Spirits bright
 Little inferior; whom my thoughts pursue
 With wonder, and could love, so lively shines
 In them divine resemblance, and such grace
 The hand that form'd them on their shape hath pour'd.
 Ah gentle pair, ye little think how nigh 366
 Your change approaches, when all these delights
 Will vanish and deliver ye to woe,
 More woe, the more your taste is now of joy;
 Happy, but for so happy ill secur'd 370

Long

is usually made upon the verb, to mark the action more strongly to the reader.

352. *Or bedward ruminating:*] Chewing the cud before they go to rest. *Hume.*

354. *To th' ocean isles,*] The islands in the western ocean; for that the sun set in the sea, and rose out of it again, was an ancient poetic notion, and is become part of the phraseology of poetry. *And in th' ascending scale of Heav'n,* The balance of Heaven or Libra is one of the twelve signs, and when the sun is in that sign, as he is at the autumnal equinox, the days and nights are equal, as if weigh'd in a balance:

Libra diei somnique pares ubi fecerit horas:

Virg. Georg. I. 208.

and from hence our author seems to have borrow'd his metaphor of the *scales* of Heaven, weighing night and day, the one ascending as the other sinks.

357. *Scarce thus at length fail'd speech recover'd sad.*] Tho' Satan came in quest of Adam and Eve, yet he is struck with such astonishment at the sight of them, that it is a long time before he can recover his speech, and break forth into this soliloquy: and at the same time this dumb admiration of Satan gives the poet the better opportunity of enlarging his description of them. This is very beautiful.

362. *Little inferior;*] For this there is the authority of Scripture. *Thou hast made him a littler lower than the Angels,* Psal. VIII. 5. Heb. II. 7.

D d 4

389. *Yet*

Long to continue, and this high feat your Heaven
 Ill fenc'd for Heav'n to keep out such a foe
 As now is enter'd; yet no purpos'd foe
 To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,
 Though I unpitied: League with you I seek, 375
 And mutual amity so strait, so close,
 That I with you must dwell, or you with me
 Henceforth; my dwelling haply may not please,
 Like this fair Paradise, your sense, yet such
 Accept your Maker's work; he gave it me, 380
 Which I as freely give; Hell shall unfold,
 To entertain you two, her widest gates,
 And send forth all her kings; there will be room,
 Not like these narrow limits, to receive
 Your numerous offspring; if no better place, 385
 Thank him who puts me loath to this revenge
 On you who wrong me not for him who wrong'd.
 And

389. — *yet public reason just, &c.*] Public reason *compels me*, and that public reason is honor and empire enlarg'd with revenge, by conquering this new world. And thus Satan is made to plead *public reason just*, and *necessity to excuse his devilish deeds*; *the tyrant's plea*, as the poet calls it, probably with a view to his own times, and particularly to the plea for ship-money.

395. *Then from his lofty stand on that high tree &c.*] The tree of life, higher than the rest, where he had been perching all this while from ver. 196. And then for the transformations which follow, what changes in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* are so natural, and yet so surprising as these? He is well liken'd to the fiercest beasts, the lion and the tiger, and Adam and Eve in their native

And should I at your harmless innocence
Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,
Honor and empire with revenge enlarg'd,
By conqu'ring this new world, compels me now
To do what else though damn'd I should abhor.

390

So spake the Fiend, and with necessity,
The tyrant's plea, excus'd his devilish deeds.
Then from his lofty stand on that high tree
Down he alights among the sportful herd
Of those four-footed kinds, himself now one,
Now other, as their shape serv'd best his end
Nearer to view his prey, and unespied
To mark what of their state he more might learn
By word or action mark'd: about them round
A lion now he stalks with fiery glare;
Then as a tiger, who by chance hath spy'd
In some purlieu two gentle fawns at play,

395

Strait

native innocence to two gentle
fawns,

did not do it for want of attention,
and that it was not merely the ef-
fect of his blindness. See instances
of it in my note on III. 147. and
we have another following here,
ver. 405.

400. *To mark what of their state
he more might learn*

By word or action mark'd:] Tho'
the poet uses *mark* and *mark'd* too,
yet such repetitions of the same
word are common with him; so
common that we may suppose he

Strait *couches* close, then rising
changes oft

His *couchant* watch. *Pearce.*

410. *Turn'd*

Strait couches close, then rising changes oft 405
 His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground,
 Whence rushing he might surest seize them both
 Grip'd in each paw: when Adam first of men
 To first of women Eve thus moving speech,
 Turn'd him all ear to hear new utterance flow. 410

Sole partner, and sole part, of all these joys,
 Dearer thyself than all; needs must the Power
 That made us, and for us this ample world,
 Be infinitely good, and of his good
 As liberal and free as infinite; 415
 That rais'd us from the dust and plac'd us here
 In all this happiness, who at his hand
 Have nothing merited, nor can perform

Ought

410. *Turn'd him all ear &c.*] A pretty expression borrow'd from the Latin,

Totum te cupias, Fabulle, nasum.
Bentley.

So in the Mask, *I was all ear.*

Richardson.

411. *Sole partner, &c.*] The speeches of these two first lovers flow equally from passion and sincerity. The professions they make to one another are full of warmth, but at the same time founded upon truth. In a word they are the galantries of Paradise. *Addison.*

Sole partner, and sole part, of all these joys,

So the passage ought to be read (I think) with a comma after *part*; and *of* here signifies *among*. The sense is, among all these joys Thou alone art my partner, and (what is more) Thou alone art part of me, as in ver. 487.

*Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee clame
 My other half.*

Of in Milton frequently signifies *among*. The want of observing this

Ought whereof he hath need, he who requires
 From us no other service than to keep 420
 This one, this easy charge, of all the trees
 In Paradise that bear delicious fruit
 So various, not to taste that only tree
 Of knowledge, planted by the tree of life;
 So near grows death to life, whate'er death is, 425
 Some dreadful thing no doubt; for well thou know'st
 God hath pronounc'd it death to taste that tree,
 The only sign of our obedience left
 Among so many signs of pow'r and rule
 Conferr'd upon us, and dominion given 430
 Over all other creatures that possess
 Earth, air, and sea. Then let us not think hard

One

this made Dr. Bentley read *best part for sole part*, thinking that *sole part* is a contradiction, and so it is as he understands of here, to be the mark of the genitive case govern'd of *part*. Pearce.

421. *This one, this easy charge, &c.*] It was very natural for Adam to discourse of this, and this was what Satan wanted more particularly to learn; and it is express'd from God's command, Gen. II. 16, 17. *Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that*

thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die. And in like manner when Adam says afterwards

— *dominion given*
Over all other creatures that possess
Earth, air, and sea,

it is taken from the divine commission, Gen. I. 28. *Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.* These things are so evident, that it is almost superfluous to mention them. If we take notice of them, it is that every reader may be sensible

One easy prohibition, who enjoy
 Free leave so large to all things else, and choice
 Unlimited of manifold delights: 435
 But let us ever praise him, and extol
 His bounty, following our delightful task
 To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers,
 Which were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet.

To whom thus Eve reply'd. O thou for whom 440
 And from whom I was form'd flesh of thy flesh,
 And without whom am to no end, my guide
 And head, what thou hast said is just and right.
 For we to him indeed all praises owe,
 And daily thanks; I chiefly who enjoy 445

So

fible how much of Scripture our author hath wrought into this divine poem.

449. *That day I oft remember, &c.*] The remaining part of Eve's speech, in which she gives an account of herself upon her first creation, and the manner in which she was brought to Adam, is I think as beautiful a passage as any in Milton, or perhaps in any other poet whatsoever. These passages are all work'd off with so much art, that they are capable of pleasing the most delicate reader without offending the most severe. A poet of less judgment and invention than this great author would have

found it very difficult to have filled these tender parts of the poem with sentiments proper for a state of innocence; to have described the warmth of love and the professions of it without artifice or hyperbole; to have made the man speak the most endearing things without descending from his natural dignity, and the woman receiving them without departing from the modesty of her character; in a word, to adjust the prerogatives of wisdom and beauty, and make each appear to the other in its proper force and loveliness. This mutual subordination of the two sexes is wonderfully kept up in the whole poem,

So far the happier lot, enjoying thee
 Præeminent by so much odds, while thou
 Like comfort to thyself canst no where find.
 That day I oft remember, when from sleep
 I first awak'd, and found myself repos'd 450
 Under a shade on flow'rs, much wond'ring where
 And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
 Not distant far from thence a murm'ring sound
 Of waters issued from a cave, and spread
 Into a liquid plain, then stood unmov'd 455
 Pure as th' expanse of Heav'n; I thither went
 With unexperienc'd thought, and laid me down
 On the green bank, to look into the clear

Smooth

poem, as particularly in this speech of Eve, and the lines following it. The poet adds, that the Devil turned away at the sight of so much happiness.

Addison. *That day I oft remember,* From this as well as several other passages in the poem it appears, that the poet supposes Adam and Eve to have been created, and to have lived many days in Paradise before the fall. See IV. 639, 680, 712. V. 31. &c.

450. *I first awak'd,*] As death is often compar'd to *sleep*, so our coming into life may well be liken'd to *waking*: And Adam speaks in the same figure, VIII. 253.

As new wak'd from soundest sleep, &c.

If we compare his account of himself upon his creation with this here given by Eve, the beauty and propriety of each will appear to greater advantage.

451. *Under a shade on flow'rs,*] The first edition has *under a shade on flow'rs*, the second *under a shade of flow'rs*; and the subsequent editions vary in like manner, some exhibiting *on flow'rs*, others *of flow'rs*; but *repos'd on flow'rs* under a shade seems to be much better than *a shade of flow'rs*.

458. — *to look into the clear Smooth lake,*] It has been asked, sarcastically

Smooth lake, that to me seem'd another sky.
 As I bent down to look, just opposit 460
 A shape within the watry gleam appear'd,
 Bending to look on me: I started back,
 It started back; but pleas'd I soon return'd,
 Pleas'd it return'd as soon with answ'ring looks
 Of sympathy and love: there I had fix'd 465
 Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,
 Had not a voice thus warn'd me, What thou seest,
 What there thou seest, fair Creature, is thyself;
 With thee it came and goes: but follow me,
 And I will bring thee where no shadow stays 470
 Thy coming, and thy soft embraces, he
 Whose image thou art; him thou shalt enjoy
 Inseparably thine, to him shalt bear

Multitudes

sarcastically enough, (Spectator, Vol. 5. N^o 325.) whether some moral is not couch'd under this place, where the poet lets us know, that the first woman immediately after her creation ran to a looking-glass, and became so enamour'd of her own face, that she had never removed to view any of the other works of nature, had not she been led off to a man. However that be, this account that Eve gives of her coming to a lake, and there falling in love with her own image, when

she had seen no other human creature, is much more probable and natural, as well as more delicate and beautiful, than the famous story of Narcissus in Ovid, from whom our author manifestly took the hint, and has expressly imitated some passages, but has avoided all his puerilities without losing any of his beauties, as the reader may easily observe by comparing both together, Met. III. 457.

Spem mihi nescio quam vultu promittis amico:

Cumque

Multitudes like thyself, and thence be call'd
 Mother of human race. What could I do, 475
 But follow strait, invisibly thus led?
 Till I espy'd thee, fair indeed and tall,
 Under a platan; yet methought less fair,
 Less winning soft, less amiably mild,
 Than that smooth watry image: back I turn'd; 480
 Thou following cry'dst aloud, Return fair Eve,
 Whom fly'st thou? whom thou fly'st, of him thou art,
 His flesh, his bone; to give thee be'ing I lent
 Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart
 Substantial life, to have thee by my side 485
 Henceforth an individual solace dear;
 Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee clame
 My other half: with that thy gentle hand

Seis'd

Cumque ego porrexi tibi brachia,
 porrigis ultro:

Cum risi, arrides: lacrymas quo-
 que sæpe notavi

Me lacrymante tuas. —

Ista repercussæ, quam cernis, ima-
 ginis umbra est:

Nil habet ista fui: tecum venitque
 manetque;

Tecum discedet, si tu discedere
 possis.

478. *Under a platan;*] The plane
 tree so named from the breadth of

its leaves, Πλάτυς, Greek, broad;
 a tree useful and delightful for its
 extraordinary shade, Virg. Georg.
 IV. 146.

Jamque ministrantem *platanum* po-
 tantibus umbram. *Hume.*

483. *His flesh, his bone;*] The
 Scripture expression; *bone of my
 bones and flesh of my flesh*, Gen. II.
 23. as afterwards when he calls her
Part of my soul — my other half, it
 is from Horace,

Animæ dimidium meæ. Od. I. III. 8.

492. So

Seis'd mine; I yielded, and from that time see
 How beauty is excell'd by manly grace
 And wisdom, which alone is truly fair.

490

So spake our general mother, and with eyes
 Of conjugal attraction unprov'd,
 And meek surrender, half embracing lean'd
 On our first father; half her swelling breast
 Naked met his under the flowing gold
 Of her loose tresses hid: he in delight

495

Both

492. *So spake our general mother,
 and with eyes*

*Of conjugal attraction unprov'd,
 &c.]* Spenser, *Fairy Queen*,

B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 16.

But with glad thanks and un-
 proved truth.

What a charming picture of love and innocence has the poet given us in this paragraph! There is the greatest warmth of affection, and yet the most exact delicacy and decorum. One would have thought that a scene of this nature could not with any consistency have been introduced into a divine poem, and yet our author has so nicely and judiciously cover'd the soft description with the veil of modesty, that the purest and chastest mind can find no room for offense. The *meek surrender* and the *half-embrace-ment* are circumstances inimitable. An Italian's imagination would have hurried him the length of

ten or a dozen stanzas upon this occasion, and with its luxuriant wildness chang'd Adam and Eve into a Venus and Adonis. *Thyer.*

494. ——— *embracing]* Milton sometimes spells the word *embrace* after the French *embrasser*, and sometimes *imbrace* after the Italian *imbracciare*; but the former has now prevail'd universally.

499. ——— *as Jupiter &c.]* As the Heaven smiles upon the air, when it makes the clouds and every thing fruitful in the spring. This seems to be the meaning of the allegory; for Jupiter is commonly taken for the Heaven or æther, and Juno for the air, tho' some understand by them the air and earth. However that be, the congress of Jupiter and Juno was accounted the great cause of fruitfulness. Homer in the fourteenth book of the *Iliad* enlarges much upon the story of their loves, more than enough to give occasion to this simile,

Both of her beauty and submissive charms
 Smil'd with superior love, as Jupiter
 On Juno smiles, when he impregns the clouds 500
 That shed May flow'rs; and press'd her matron lip
 With kisses pure: aside the Devil turn'd
 For envy, yet with jealous leer malign
 Ey'd them askance, and to himself thus plain'd.

Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two 505
 Imparadis'd in one another's arms,

The

simile, and describes the earth putting forth her fairest flowers as the immediate effect of them. And Virgil likewise in describing the spring employs the same kind of images, and represents Jupiter operating upon his spouse for the production of all things, Georg. II. 325.

Tum pater omnipotens fecundis
 imbribus æther
 Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit, et omnes
 Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fœtus.

For then almighty Jove descends,
 and pours
 Into his buxom bride his fruitful
 show'rs;
 And mixing his large limbs with
 hers, he feeds
 Her births with kindly juice, and
 fosters teeming seeds. Dryden.

That expression of *the clouds shedding flow'rs* is very poetical, and not un-
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like that fine one in the Psalms of *the clouds dropping fatness*, Psal. LXXV. 12. and it is said *May flow'rs* to signify that this is done in the spring, as Virgil describes it. And then follows *and press'd her matron lip*, where the construction is *Adam smil'd with superior love, and press'd her matron lip*, the simile being to be understood as included in a parenthesis. *Her matron lip* evidently signifies her married lip, in distinction from a maiden or a virgin lip, as Ovid Fast. II. 828. speaking of Lucretia then married, says *matronæ cheeks*,

Et matronales erubuere genæ.

It implies that she was married to him, and that therefore their kisses were lawful and innocent. It was the innocence of their loves that made the Devil turn aside for envy.

506. *Imparadis'd in one another's arms,*] *Imparadis'd* has been remark'd as a word first coin'd by
 E e Milton

The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill
 Of blifs on blifs; while I to Hell am thrust,
 Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,
 Among our other torments not the least, 510
 Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines.
 Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd
 From their own mouths: all is not theirs it seems;
 One fatal tree there stands of knowledge call'd,
 Forbidden them to taste: Knowledge forbidden? 515
 Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord
 Envy them that? can it be sin to know?
 Can it be death? and do they only stand
 By ignorance? is that their happy state,
 The proof of their obedience and their faith? 520
 O fair foundation laid whereon to build
 Their ruin! Hence I will excite their minds

With

Milton. But Sir Philip Sidney has it in *Arcadia*, p. 109. *So this im-paradis'd neighbourhood made Zel-mané's soul cleave unto her.* And the Italians had prior possession *Imparadisato*. Bentley.

509. *Where neither joy nor love,*] This sentence has no exit, unless you'll say without sense, where neither joy nor love *pines*. He gave it therefore

Where's neither joy nor love,
Where's contracted for *where is*.

Bentley.

But Milton often leaves out the word *is*, as in VIII. 621. and *without love no happiness*. Pearce.

515. — *Knowledge forbidden?*] This is artfully perverted by Satan, as if some useful and necessary knowledge was forbidden: where-

as

With more desire to know, and to reject
 Envious commands, invented with design
 To keep them low whom knowledge might exalt
 Equal with Gods: aspiring to be such, 526
 They taste and die: what likelier can ensue?
 But first with narrow search I must walk round
 This garden, and no corner leave unspy'd; 529
 A chance but chance may lead where I may meet
 Some wand'ring Spi'rit of Heav'n by fountain side,
 Or in thick shade retir'd, from him to draw
 What further would be learn'd. Live while ye may,
 Yet happy pair; enjoy, till I return,
 Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed. 535

So saying, his proud step he scornful turn'd,
 But with fly circumspection, and began [roam.
 Through wood, through waste, o'er hill, o'er dale, his
 Mean

as our first parents were created with perfect understanding, and the only knowledge that was forbidden was the knowledge of evil by the commission of it.

Pearce says that without any alteration or any pun we may read

* 530. *A chance but chance may lead*
 Dr. Bentley censures this jingle, and thinks it unbecoming Satan at so serious a juncture to catch at puns; therefore proposes to read *some lucky chance may lead &c.* Dr.

A chance (but chance) may lead &c
 that is *a chance*, and it can be only *a chance, may lead &c.* But this sort of jingle is but too common with Milton. This here is not much unlike the *forte fortuna* of the Latins.

Mean while in utmost longitude, where Heaven
 With earth and ocean meets, the setting sun 540
 Slowly descended, and with right aspect
 Against the eastern gate of Paradise
 Level'd his evening rays: it was a rock
 Of alabaster, pil'd up to the clouds,
 Conspicuous far, winding with one ascent 545
 Accessible from earth, one entrance high;
 The rest was craggy cliff, that overhung

Still

539. — *in utmost longitude,*] At the utmost length, at the farthest distance. Longitude is length, as in V. 754.

— from one entire globe
 Stretch'd into longitude;

and it is particularly apply'd to the distance from east to west. See the notes upon III. 555. 574.

541. *Slowly descended,*] Dr. Bentley objects to this verse for a frivolous reason, and reads *Had low descended*, because the sun passes equal spaces in equal times. This is true (as Dr. Pearce replies) in philosophy, but in poetry it is usual to represent it otherwise. But I have a stronger objection to this verse, which is that it seems to contradict what is said before, ver. 353.

The sun — was *hasting now with
 prone career*
 To th' ocean illes,

and to reconcile them I think we must read *Had low descended* or perhaps *Lowly descended*, or understand it as Dr. Pearce explains it, that the sun descended *slowly* at this time, because Uriel its Angel came on a sun-beam to Paradise, and was to return on the same beam; which he could not well have done, if the sun had mov'd on with its usual rapidity of course.

549. — *Gabriel*] One of the Arch-Angels, sent to show Daniel the vision of the four monarchies and the seventy weeks, Dan. VH. and IX. and to the Virgin Mary to reveal the incarnation of our Saviour, Luke I. His name in the Hebrew signifies *the man of God*, or *the strength and power of God*; well by our author posted as chief of the angelic guards placed about Paradise. *Hume.*

551. — *heroic games*] They were not now upon the watch, they awaited night; but their arms were

Still as it rose, impossible to climb.
 Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,
 Chief of th' angelic guards, awaiting night; 550
 About him exercis'd heroic games
 Th' unarmed youth of Heav'n, but nigh at hand
 Celestial armoury, shields, helms, and spears,
 Hung high with diamond flaming, and with gold.
 Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even 555
 On a sun beam, swift as a shooting star

In

were ready. The Angels would not be idle, but employ'd themselves in these noble exercises. So the soldiers of Achilles during his quarrel with Agamemnon, and so the infernal Spirits, when their chief was gone in search of the new creation, II. 528. *Richardson.*

555. — *gliding through the even*] That is thro' that part of the hemisphere, where it was then evening. Evening (says Dr. Bentley) is no place of space to glide thro': no more is day or night, and yet in the sense, which I have given to *even*, Milton says in the next verse but one *thwarts the night*, and elsewhere speaks of *the confines of day*. Pearce.

In ver. 792. Uriel is said to be arriv'd from *the sun's decline*, which is no more a place than the evening, but beautifully poetical; and justify'd by Virgil, Georg. IV. 59. where a swarm of bees sails thro' the glowing summer:

Nare per æstatem liquidam suspexeris agmen. *Richardson.*

556. *On a sun beam,*] Uriel's gliding down to the earth upon a sun-beam, with the poet's device to make him *descend*, as well in his return to the sun, as in his coming from it, is a prettiness that might have been admired in a little fanciful poet, but seems below the genius of Milton. The description of the host of armed Angels walking their nightly round in Paradise, is of another spirit,

So saying, on he led his radiant files

Dazling the moon;

as that account of the hymns which our first parents used to hear them sing in these their midnight walks, is altogether divine, and inexpressibly amusing to the imagination. *Addison.*

As Uriel was coming from the sun

E e 3

to

In autumn thwarts the night, when vapors fir'd
 Impress the air, and shows the mariner
 From what point of his compass to beware
 Impetuous winds : he thus began in haste. 560

Gabriel, to thee thy course by lot hath given
 Charge and strict watch, that to this happy place
 No evil thing approach or enter in.

This

to the earth, his coming upon a sun-beam was the most direct and level course that he could take ; for the sun's rays were now pointed right against the eastern gate of Paradise, where Gabriel was sitting, and to whom Uriel was going. And the thought of making him glide *on a sun beam*, I have been inform'd, is taken from some capital picture of some great Italian master, where an Angel is made to descend in like manner. I since recollect, it is from a picture of Annibal Caracci in the King of France's cabinet.

556.—*swift as a shooting star &c.*] Homer in like manner compares Minerva's descent from Heaven to a shooting star, Iliad. IV. 74.

Βη δὲ κατ' ἐλυμποιο κερηνων
 αἶΐασα.

Οιον δ' ἀστὲρ ἠκε Κερνὴ παῖς
 ἀγκυλομήτης,

Ἡ γαυτῆσι τέρας, ἢε σέατῳ εὐρεῖ
 λαών,

Δαμπερὺν τὲ δὲ τὲ πολλοὶ ἀπο
 πινθίρες ἰεῖναι.

Where Dr. Clarke says, Non τὸν

λεγομένην κομήτην, ut Scholiaſtes male (and ſo likewiſe Mr. Pope tranſlates it) ſed ſtellæ trajectionem. The fall of Phaeton is illuſtrated with the ſame compariſon by Ovid, Met. II. 320.

Volvitur in præceps, longoque per
 æra tractu

Fertur ; ut interdum de cœlo ſtella
 ſereno,

Eſſi non cecidit, potuit cecidiſſe
 videri.

The breathleſs Phaeton, with
 flaming hair,

Shot from the chariot, like a fal-
 ling ſtar,

That in a ſummer's evening from
 the top

Of Heav'n drops down, or ſeems
 at leaſt to drop. Addiſon.

Milton adds that this ſhooting ſtar *thwarts* or *crosses* the night in *au-
 tumn*, becauſe then theſe phæno-
 mena are moſt common after the
 heat of ſummer, when the vapors
 taking fire make violent impreſſions
 and agitations in the air, and they
 uſually portend tempeſtuous wea-
 ther,

This day at highth of noon came to my sphere
 A Spirit, zealous, as he seem'd, to know 565
 More of th' Almighty's works, and chiefly Man,
 God's latest image: I describ'd his way
 Bent all on speed, and mark'd his aery gate;
 But in the mount that lies from Eden north,
 Where he first lighted, soon discern'd his looks 570
 Alien

ther, as Virgil himself has noted
 long ago, Georg. I. 365.

Sæpe etiam stellas vento impen-
 dente videbis
 Præcípites cælo labi, noctisque per
 umbram
 Flammæ longos a tergo al-
 bescere tractus.

And oft before tempestuous winds
 arise,

The seeming stars fall headlong
 from the skies;

And shooting through the dark-
 ness gild the night

With sweeping glories, and long
 trails of light. Dryden.

560. — *he thus began in haste.*] This abruptness is here very elegant and proper to express the haste that he was in.

561. — *thy course by lot*] He speaks as if the Angels had their particular courses and offices assign'd them by lot, as the priests had in the service of the temple. See 1 Chron. XXIV. and Luke I. 8, 9.

563. *No evil thing approach or enter in.*] Dr. Bentley objects, that the natural order is inverted, *enter after approach*; for if the very approach was stopt, the entrance was impossible. But the order seems rightly observed in the common reading, if we allow the sense to be this, Not to suffer any *evil thing to approach*, or at least to *enter in*. Pearce.

567. *God's latest image:*] For the first was Christ, and before Man were the Angels. So in III. 151. Man is called God's *youngest son*.

567. — *I describ'd his way*] Some read *descry'd*, but *describ'd* is properest. He *describ'd* to Satan or show'd him the way to Paradise, as it is said he did in III. 722, 733. *and mark'd his aery gate*; For it was sportive in many an aery wheel, as we read in the conclusion of the third book; and it was well taken notice of there, as such use is made of it here. And the same we may observe of the turbulent passions discover'd in him on mount Niphates in this book, ver. 125—

Alien from Heav'n, with passions foul obscur'd:
 Mine eye pursued him still, but under shade
 Lost sight of him: one of the banish'd crew,
 I fear, hath ventur'd from the deep, to raise
 New troubles; him thy care must be to find. 575

To whom the winged warrior thus return'd.
 Uriel, no wonder if thy perfect sight,
 Amid the sun's bright circle where thou sitst,
 See far and wide: in at this gate none pass
 The vigilance here plac'd, but such as come 580
 Well known from Heav'n; and since meridian hour
 No creature thence: if Spi'rit of other sort,

So

130. Uriel mark'd them then, and reports them now.

590. *Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now rais'd*] He supposes, that he slides back on the same beam that he came upon; which sun-beam he considers not as a flowing punctum of light, but as a continued rod extending from sun to earth. The extremity of this rod, while Uriel was discoursing, and the sun gradually descending, must needs be raised up higher than when he came upon it; and consequently the rod bore him *slope downward* back again. This has been represented as a pretty device, but below the genius of Milton, [See Mr. Addison's remark on

ver. 556.] To make Uriel *descend*, for more ease and expedition, both in his way *from* the sun, and *to* the sun again. But Milton had no such device here: he makes Uriel come from the sun, not on a *descending*, but on a *level* ray, ver. 541, from the sun's *right aspect* to the east in the very margin of the horizon. Here's no trick then or device; but perhaps a too great affectation to show his philosophy; as in the next lines, on this common occasion of the sun's setting, he starts a doubt whether that is produc'd in the Ptolemaic or Copernican way. But this little foible he makes ample amends for.

Bentley.

592. Be-

So minded, have o'erleap'd these earthy bounds
On purpose, hard thou know'st it to exclude
Spiritual substance with corporeal bar.

585

But if within the circuit of these walks,
In whatsoever shape he lurk, of whom
Thou tell'st, by morrow dawning I shall know.

So promis'd he; and Uriel to his charge
Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now rais'd
Bore him slope downward to the sun now fall'n 591
Beneath th' Azores; whether the prime orb,
Incredible how swift, had thither roll'd
Diurnal, or this less volúbil earth,

By

592. *Beneath th' Azores;*] They are islands in the great Atlantic or western ocean; nine in number; commonly call'd the Terceras, from one of them. Some confound the Canaries with them.

Hume and Richardson.

592. — *whether the prime orb, &c.*] The sun was *now fall'n beneath th' Azores*, with three syllables, for so it is to be pronounc'd: *whether*, not *whither* as in Milton's own editions, *the prime orb*, the sun, *had roll'd thither diurnal*, that is in a day's time, with an incredible swift motion; *or this less volúbil earth*, with the second syllable long as it is in the Latin *volubilis*,

Impubesque manus mirata volubile buxum.

Virg. Æn. VII. 382.

he writes it *voluble* when he makes the second syllable short as in IX. 436. *by shorter flight to the east, had left him there* at the Azores, it being a less motion for the earth to move from west to east upon its own axis according to the system of Copernicus, than for the Heavens and heavenly bodies to move from east to west according to the system of Ptolomy. Our author in like manner, III. 575. questions whether the sun was in the center of the world or not, so scrupulous was he in declaring for any system of philosophy.

598. *Now*

By shorter flight to th' east, had left him there 595
 Arraying with reflected purple' and gold
 The clouds that on his western throne attend.
 Now came still evening on, and twilight gray
 Had in her sober livery all things clad;
 Silence accompanied; for beast and bird, 600
 They to their grassy couch, these to their nests
 Were flunk, all but the wakeful nightingale;
 She all night long her amorous descant sung;
 Silence was pleas'd: now glow'd the firmament

With

598. *Now came still evening on,* &c.] This is the first evening in the poem; for the action of the preceding books lying out of the sphere of the sun, the time could not be computed. When Satan came first to the earth, and made that famous soliloquy at the beginning of this book, the sun was *high in his meridian tower*; and this is the evening of that day; and surely there never was a finer evening; words cannot furnish out a more lovely description. The greatest poets in all ages have as it were vy'd one with another in their descriptions of evening and night; but for the variety of numbers and pleasing images I know of nothing parallel or comparable to this to be found among all the treasures of ancient or modern poetry. There is no need to point out the beauties of it; it must charm every body,

who does but read it or hear it. I can recollect only one description fit to be mention'd after this, and that is of a fine moonshiny night by way of similitude in Homer, Iliad VIII. 551. where Mr. Pope has taken more than ordinary pains to make the translation excellent as the original.

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν κελύφῃ ἀστὴρ φαεινὸς
 ἀμφὶ σελήνῳ
 φαίνεται ἀειπρεπὲς, ὅτε τ' ἐπλετο
 νύκτι μὲν αἶθερ,
 ἐκ τ' ἔφανε πᾶσαι σκοπιαί, καὶ
 πρῶτον ἀκροί,
 καὶ νῆπαι· κελυβοῦ δ' ἀρ' ὑπερ-
 ραγὴν ἀσπτεῖτο αἶθερ,
 πᾶν δὲ τ' εἶδεται ἀσπερ γέ-
 γνηθε δὲ τε φρενὰ ποικίλῃ.

As when the moon, refulgent lamp
 of night,
 O'er Heav'n's clear azure spreads
 her sacred light,

When

With living saphirs : Hesperus, that led 605
 The starry host, rode brightest, till the moon
 Rising in clouded majesty, at length
 Apparent queen unveil'd her peerless light,
 And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.

When Adam thus to Eve. Fair Consort, th'hour
 Of night, and all things now retir'd to rest 611
 Mind us of like repose, since God hath set
 Labor and rest, as day and night, to men
 Successive ; and the timely dew of sleep

Now

When not a breath disturbs the
 deep serene,
 And not a cloud o'ercasts the so-
 lemn scene ;
 Around her throne the vivid pla-
 nets roll,
 And stars unnumber'd gild the
 glowing pole,
 O'er the dark trees a yellower
 verdure shed,
 And tip with silver every moun-
 tain's head ;
 Then shine the vales, the rocks in
 prospect rise,
 A flood of glory bursts from all
 the skies :
 The conscious swains, rejoicing in
 the sight,
 Eye the blue vault, and bless the
 useful light,

Milton's description, we see, leaves
 off, where Homer's begins ; and
 tho' the quotation is somewhat

long, yet I am persuaded the rea-
 der cannot but be pleas'd with it,
 as it is a sort of continuation of the
 same beautiful scene.

598. — *and twilight gray*] Milton
 is very singular in the frequent and
 particular notice which he takes
 of the twilight, whenever he has
 occasion to speak of the evening.
 I do not remember to have met
 with the same in any other poet ;
 and yet there is, to be sure, some-
 thing so agreeable in that soft and
 gentle light, and such a peculiar
 fragrance attends it in the summer
 months, that it is a circumstance
 which adds great beauty to his de-
 scription. I have often thought
 that the weakness of our poet's
 eyes, to which this kind of light
 must be vastly pleasant, might be
 the reason that he so often intro-
 duces the mention of it. *Thyer.*

614. — *and the timely dew of sleep*
Now

Now falling with soft slumbrous weight inclines 615
 Our eye-lids: other creatures all day long
 Rove idle unemploy'd, and less need rest;
 Man hath his daily work of body' or mind
 Appointed, which declares his dignity,
 And the regard of Heav'n on all his ways; 620
 While other animals unactive range,
 And of their doings God takes no account.
 To morrow ere fresh morning streak the east
 With first approach of light, we must be risen,
 And at our pleasant labor, to reform 625
 Yon flow'ry arbors, yonder alleys green,
 Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
 That mock our scant manuring, and require

More

Now falling with soft slumbrous weight inclines

Our eye-lids:] Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 1. St. 36.

The drooping night thus creepeth on them fast,

And the sad humor loading their eye-lids,

As messenger of Morpheus on them cast

Sweet slumbring dew, the which to sleep them bids. Thyer.

627. *Our walk*] In the first edition it was *our walks*, in the second and all following *our walk*.

628. *That mock our scant manuring.*] Manuring is not here to be understood in the common sense, but as working with hands, as the French *manouvreur*; 'tis, as immediately after, to lop, to rid away what is scatter'd. Richardson.

635. *My Author and Disposer,*] For *whom and from whom I was form'd* in our poet's own words, ver. 440. *My Author*, the author of my being, out of whom I was made. Hume.

We have another view of our first parents in their evening discourses, which are full of pleasing images and

More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth:
 Those blossoms also, and those dropping gums, 630
 That lie bestrown unfightly and unsmooth,
 Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease;
 Mean while, as Nature wills, night bids us rest.

To whom thus Eve with perfect beauty' adorn'd.
 My Author and Disposer, what thou bidst 635
 Unargued I obey; so God ordains;
 God is thy law, thou mine: to know no more
 Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.
 With thee conversing I forget all time;
 All seasons and their change, all please alike. 640
 Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,
 With charm of earliest birds; pleasant the sun,

When

and sentiments suitable to their condition and characters. The speech of Eve in particular is dressed up in such a soft and natural turn of the words, as cannot be sufficiently admired. *Addison.*

640. *All seasons and their change,*]
 We should understand here the seasons of the day, and not of the year. So in VIII. 69. we read

His *seasons*, hours, or days, or months, or years :

and in IX. 200. he says Adam and Eve partake *the season prime for sweetest sents*, that is the morning.

It was now an *eternal spring*, ver. 268. and we shall read in X. 677. of the changes made after the fall,

—— to bring in change
 Of seasons to each clime; else had the spring
 Perpetual smil'd on earth with verdant flowers.

And we may farther observe, that Eve in the following charming lines mentions *morning, evening, night*, the times of the day, and not the seasons of the year.

641. *Sweet is the breath of morn,*
 &c.] Mr. Dryden in his preface to Juvenal

When first on this delightful land he spreads
 His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,
 Glift'ring with dew; fragrant the fertil earth 645
 After soft show'rs; and sweet the coming on
 Of grateful evening mild; then silent night
 With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,
 And these the gems of Heav'n, her starry train:
 But neither breath of morn, when she ascends 650
 With charm of earliest birds; nor rising sun
 On this delightful land; nor herb, fruit, flower,
 Glift'ring with dew; nor fragrance after showers;
 Nor grateful evening mild; nor silent night
 With this her solemn bird, nor walk by moon, 655
 Or glittering star-light without thee is sweet.
 But wherefore all night long shine these? for whom
 This

Juvenal has observed upon our author, that he could not find any elegant turns in him either on the words or on the thoughts. But Mr. Addison in one of the Tatlers (N^o 114.) quotes this delightful passage in vindication of Milton, and remarks that the variety of images in it is infinitely pleasing, and the recapitulation of each particular image, with a little varying of the expression, makes one of the finest turns of words he had ever seen. He farther observes, that tho' the sweetness of these verses has something in it of a pastoral, yet it excels the ordinary kind, as much as the scene of it is above an ordinary field or meadow. 648. *With this her solemn bird,* The nightingale, *most musical, most melancholy,* as he says elsewhere. She is call'd *the solemn nightingale,* VII. 435. 660. *Daughter of God and Man, accomplish'd Eve,*] Mr. Pope in his excellent notes upon Homer, B. 1. ver. 97. observes, that those appellations of praise and honor, with which the heroes in Homer

This glorious fight, when sleep hath shut all eyes?

To whom our general ancestor reply'd.

Daughter of God and Man, accomplish'd Eve, 660

These have their course to finish round the earth,

By morrow evening, and from land to land

In order, though to nations yet unborn,

Ministring light prepar'd, they set and rise;

Lest total darkness should by night regain 665

Her old possession, and extinguish life

In nature and all things, which these soft fires

Not only' inlighten, but with kindly heat

Of various influence foment and warm,

Temper or nourish, or in part shed down 670

Their stellar virtue on all kinds that grow

On earth, made hereby apter to receive

Perfection

so frequently salute each other, were agreeable to the stile of the ancient times, as appears from several of the like nature in Scripture. Milton has not been wanting to give his poem this cast of antiquity, throughout which our first parents almost always accost each other with some title, that expresses a respect to the dignity of human nature.

661. *These have their course*] I have presum'd to make a small alteration here in the text, and read *These*, though in most other edi-

tions and even in Milton's own I find *Those*; because it is said before, ver. 657.

But wherefore all night long shine *these*?

and afterwards, ver. 674.

These then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
Shine not in vain;

both which passages evince that *Those* here is an error of the press.

671. *Their stellar virtue*] As Milton was an universal scholar, so he

Perfection from the sun's more potent ray.
 These then, though unbeheld in deep of night, 674
 Shine not in vain; nor think, though men were none,
 That Heav'n would want spectators, God want praise:
 Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
 Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:
 All these with ceaseless praise his works behold
 Both day and night: how often from the steep 680
 Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
 Celestial voices to the midnight air,
 Sole, or responsive each to others note,
 Singing their great Creator? oft in bands 684
 While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk
 With heav'nly touch of instrumental sounds

In

he had not a little affectation of showing his learning of all kinds, and makes Adam discourse here somewhat like an adept in astrology, which was too much the philosophy of his own times. What he says afterwards of numberless spiritual creatures walking the earth unseen, and joining in praises to their great Creator, is of a nobler strain, more agreeable to reason and revelation, as well as more pleasing to the imagination, and seems to be an imitation and improvement of old Hesiod's notion of good geniuses, the guardians of mortal men, clothed with air, wand'ring every where through the earth. See Hesiod, I. 120—125.
 682. *Celestial voices to the midnight air,*] Singing to the midnight air. So in Virg. Ecl. I. 57.
 — *canet frondator ad auras.*
 For as Dr. Pearce observes there should be a comma after *note*, that the construction may be *Singing their great Creator to the midnight air*. And this notion of their singing thus by night is agreeable to the account given by Lucretius, IV. 586.

Quorum

In full harmonic number join'd, their songs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven.

Thus talking hand in hand alone they pass'd
On to their blissful bow'r; it was a place 690
Chos'n by the sovran Planter, when he fram'd
All things to Man's delightful use; the roof
Of thickest covert was inwoven shade
Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side 695
Acanthus, and each odorous bushy shrub
Fenc'd up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,
Iris all hues, roses, and jessamin
Rear'd high their flourish'd heads between, and
wrought

Mosaic;

Quorum noctivago strepitu, ludo-
que jocanti
Adfirmant volgò taciturna silentia
rumpi,
Chordarumque sonos fieri, dul-
cesque querelas,
Tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata
canentum.

694. *Laurel and myrtle,*] Virg.
Ecl. II. 54.

Et vos, ô lauri, carpam, et te
proxima myrte,
Sic positæ quoniam suaves misce-
tis odores. *Hume.*

688. *Divide the night,*] Into
watches, as the trumpet did among
the Ancients, founding as the
watch was relieved, which was
called *dividing the night*.

— cum buccina noctem
Divideret. Sil. Ital. VII. 154.
Richardson.

698. *Iris*] The flower-de-luce
so call'd from resembling the colors
of the Iris or rainbow. *Iris all
hues*, that is *if all hues*, as a little
before we have *inwoven shade
laurel and myrtle*, that is inwoven
shade of laurel and myrtle. Such
omissions are frequent in Milton.

Moisaic; underfoot the violet, 700
 Crocus, and hyacinth with rich inlay
 Broider'd the ground, more color'd than with stone
 Of costliest emblem: other creature here,
 Beast, bird, insect, or worm durst enter none;
 Such was their awe of Man. In shadier bower 705
 More sacred and sequester'd, though but feign'd,
 Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor Nymph,

Nor

700. — *the violet,
 Crocus, and hyacinth*] Our author
 has taken this from Homer, who
 makes the same sort of flowers to
 spring up under Jupiter and Juno
 as they lay in conjugal embraces
 upon mount Ida, Iliad. XIV. 347.

Τοισι δ' ὑπο χθων δια φυν νε-
 θεα παλαια,
 Λωτον δ' ερσηνλα, ιδε κρονον,
 ηδ' υακινθον
 Πυκνον και μαλακον· ος απο χθο-
 νος υψος' εεργε.

Glad earth perceives, and from
 her bosom pours
 Unbidden herbs, and voluntary
 flow'rs;
 Thick new-born violets a soft car-
 pet spread,
 And clustering lotos swell'd the ris-
 ing bed,
 And sudden hyacinths the turf
 bestrow,
 And flaming crocus made the moun-
 tain glow.

Where Mr. Pope remarks that in

our author the very turn of Ho-
 mer's verses is observed, and the
 cadence, and almost the words
 finely translated.

703. *Of costliest emblem:*] *Em-
 blem* is here in the Greek and Latin
 sense for inlaid floors of stone or
 wood, to make figures mathemati-
 cal or pictural:

Arte pavimenti atque *emblemate*
 vermiculato. Bentley.

705. — *In shadier bower*] So
 it is in the first edition; in the se-
 cond we read *In shadie bower*, but
 with such a space as is not usual
 between two words, as if the let-
 ter r had occupy'd the room, and
 by some accident had made no
 impression. *In shadier bower* marks
 more strongly the shadiness as well
 as the retiredness of the place, and
 the shadiness is a principal circum-
 stance of the description, and the
 bower is seldom mention'd but it
 is called *shady bower*, III. 734-
 V. 367, 375. *shady lodge*. IV. 720.
shady arborous roof, V. 137. The
 purport

Nor Faunus haunted. Here in close recess
 With flowers, garlands, and sweet-smelling herbs
 Espoused Eve deck'd first her nuptial bed, 710
 And heav'nly quires the hymenæan sung,
 What day the genial Angel to our fire
 Brought her in naked beauty more adorn'd,
 More lovely than Pandora, whom the Gods
 Endow'd with all their gifts, and O too like 715
 In

purport of the simile then is this, There never was a more shady, more sacred and sequester'd bower, though but in fiction, than this was in reality. *Pan*, the God of shepherds, or *Sylvanus*, the God of woods and groves, *Wood-nymph*, or *Faunus*, the tutelary God of husbandmen, were not even feign'd to enjoy a more sweet recess than this of Adam and Eve.

709. *With flowers*,] Milton usually spells it *flours*, but here it is with two syllables *flowers*, which made me imagin that he writ always *flour* when it was to be pronounc'd as one syllable, and *flower* when it was to be pronounc'd as two syllables: but upon farther examination we find, that when he pronounces the word as one syllable, he sometimes spells it *flower* *flow'r*, sometimes *floure*, sometimes *flouer*: and so likewise *bower* he spells differently *bower*, *bowr*; *bowre*; and *shower* likewise *shower*, *showr*, *showre*. It is fitting that all these should be reduced to some

certain standard, and what standard more proper than the present practice, and especially since there are several instances of the same in Milton himself?

714. *More lovely than Pandora*, &c.] The story is this. Prometheus the son of *Japhet* (or *Japetus*) had stol'n fire from Heaven, *Jove's authentic fire*, the original and prototype of all earthly fire, which Jupiter being angry at, to be reveng'd sent him *Pandora*, so call'd because all the Gods had contributed their gifts to make her more charming (for so the word signifies). She was brought by *Hermes* (*Mercury*) but was not received by Prometheus the wiser son of *Japhet* (as the name implies) but by his brother Epimetheus *th' unwiser son*. She entic'd his foolish curiosity to open a box which she brought, wherein were contain'd all manner of evils. *Richardson.*

The epithet *unwiser* does not imply that his brother Prometheus was unwise. Milton uses *unwiser*,

In sad event, when to th' unwiser son
Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she insnar'd
Mankind with her fair looks, to be aveng'd
On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire.

Thus at their shady lodge arriv'd, both stood, 720
Both turn'd, and under open sky ador'd
The God that made both sky, air, earth and heaven,
Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,
And starry pole: Thou also mad'st the night,
Maker omnipotent, and thou the day, 725
Which

as any Latin writer would *imprudentior*, for not so wise as he should have been. So *audacior*, *timidior*, *vehementior*, *iracundior*, &c. mean *bolder*, &c. *quam par est*, than is right and fit, and imply less than *audax*, *timidus*, &c. in the positive degree. *Fortis*.

720. Thus at their shady lodge arriv'd, both stood,

Both turn'd, &c.] A great admirer of Milton observes, that he sometimes places two monosyllables at the end of the line stopping at the fourth foot, to adapt the measure of the verse to the sense; and then begins the next line in the same manner, which has a wonderful effect. This artful manner of writing makes the reader see them *stand* and *turn* to worship God before they went into their bower. If this manner was alter'd, much of the effect of the painting would be lost.

And now arriving at their shady lodge
Both stood, both turn'd, and under open sky
Ador'd the God &c.

723. — the moon's resplendent globe, And starry pole:] Virg. *Æn.* VI. 725.

Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra.

724. — Thou also mad'st the night, &c.] A masterly transition this, which the poet makes to their evening worship. Most of the modern heroic poets have imitated the Ancients, in beginning a speech without premising, that the person said thus and thus; but as it is easy to imitate the Ancients in the omission of two or three words, it requires judgment to do it in such a manner as they shall not be misfed, and that the speech may begin naturally

Which we in our appointed work employ'd
 Have finish'd, happy in our mutual help
 And mutual love, the crown of all our blifs
 Ordain'd by thee, and this delicious place
 For us too large, where thy abundance wants 730
 Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground.
 But thou hast promis'd from us two a race
 To fill the earth, who shall with us extol
 Thy goodness infinite, both when we wake,
 And when we seek, as now, thy gift of sleep. 735
 This

naturally without them. There is a fine instance of this kind out of Homer, in the 23d chapter of Longinus.

Addison.

I conceive Mr. Addison meant Sect. 27. and the instance there given is of Hector being first nam'd, and then of a sudden introduced as speaking, without any notice given that he does so. But the transition here in Milton is of another sort; it is first speaking of a person, and then suddenly turning the discourse, and speaking to him. And we may observe the like transition from the third to the second person in the hymn to Hercules, Virg. Æn. VIII. 291.

— ut duros mille labores
 Pertulerit. Tu nubigenas, invicte,
 bimembres &c.

729. — and this delicious place]
 Dr. Bentley reads *Thou this delicious*

place, that is *Thou mad'st* &c. as in ver. 724. *Thou also mad'st the night.* Dr. Pearce chooses rather to read thus,

— the crown of all our blifs
 Ordain'd by thee *in* this delicious place.

The construction no doubt is somewhat obscure, but without any alteration we may understand the passage with Dr. Pearce thus, *and thou mad'st this delicious place*: or with Mr. Richardson thus, *happy in our mutual help and mutual love*, the chief of all our blifs, thy gift, *and happy in this delicious Paradise*: or thus, *happy in our mutual help and mutual love, the crown of all our blifs, and of this delicious place.*

735.—*thy gift of sleep.*] Dr. Bentley reads *the gift*, and observes that it is word for word from Homer, who has the expression frequently:

F f 3

Корин.

This said unanimous, and other rites
 Observing none, but adoration pure
 Which God likes best, into their inmost bower
 Handed they went; and eas'd the putting off
 These troublesome disguises which we wear, 740
 Strait side by side were laid; nor turn'd I ween
 Adam from his fair spouse, nor Eve the rites
 Mysterious of connubial love refus'd:
 Whatever hypocrites austere talk
 Of purity and place and innocence, 745

Defaming

Κοιμησαντ' ἀρ' ἀπειτα, καὶ ὕπνῳ
 δωρεν ἐλονίστο.

But *thy gift* is right, for in ver. 612. Milton says that *God hath set labor and rest to men successive*; therefore sleep is *God's gift*: and Virgil (whom Milton oftner imitates than Homer) says of sleep,

— dono Divum gratissima serpit.
 Æn. II. 269. Pearce.

736. *This said unanimous, and other rites*

Observing none, but adoration pure Which God likes best,] Here Milton expresses his own favorite notions of devotion, which, it is well known, were very much against any thing ceremonial; and this confirms what was observed in his life, that he was full of the interior of religion, tho' he little regarded the exterior. *Thyer.*

744. *Whatever hypocrites &c.*] Our author calls those, who under a notion of greater purity and perfection decry and forbid marriage as they do in the Church of Rome, *hypocrites*; and says afterwards that it is the doctrine of *our Destroyer*, in allusion to that text of St. Paul, 1 Tim. IV. 1, 2, 3. *Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits and doctrines of Devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, &c.*

750. *Hail wedded Love, &c.*] An ingenious friend has inform'd me, that this address to wedded love is borrow'd from one of Tasso's letters; *O dolce congiunzione de' cuori, o soave unione de gli animi nostri, o legitimo*

Defaming as impure what God declares
 Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.
 Our Maker bids increase; who bids abstain
 But our Destroyer, foe to God and Man?
 Hail wedded Love, mysterious law, true source 750
 Of human offspring, sole propriety
 In Paradise of all things common else.
 By thee adult'rous lust was driv'n from men
 Among the bestial herds to range; by thee
 Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure, 755

Relations

legitimo nodo, &c. The quotation for by *mysterious* he (Dr. Bentley) would swell this note to too great a length; but the reader, who understands Italian, may, if he please, compare the original with our author, and he will easily perceive what an excellent copier Milton was, as judicious in omitting some circumstances as in imitating others. It is in one of Tasso's letters to his relation Signor Hercole Tasso, Lib. 2. p. 150. Edit. In Venetia. 1592.

750. — *mysterious law*,] That is including a mystery in it, in the same sense as *mysterious rites* are spoken of before. He plainly alludes to St. Paul's calling matrimony a *mystery*, Eph. V. 32. No need then for Dr. Bentley's *mysterious league*: and his objection, that a *law* supposed to be *mysterious* is no law at all, is easily answer'd;

for by *mysterious* he (Dr. Bentley) means, itself *hidden* or *conceal'd*; and Milton means, containing some hidden meaning in it, besides the plain precept which appear'd.

Pearce.

752. — *of all things common else*.] Dr. Bentley reads *'mong all things*; but *of* signifies *among* in this place, as it does in ver. 411. and in V. 659. VI. 24. and elsewhere.

Pearce.

753. *By thee adult'rous lust &c.*] Mr. Lauder asserts that these lines are copied from the panegyric on marriage in the *Triumphus Pacis* or congratulatory poem on the peace betwixt Holland and England in 1655 by Caspar Staphorstius:

Auspice te, fugiens alieni subcuba
 lecti,

F f 4

Dira

Relations dear, and all the charities
 Of father, son, and brother first were known.
 Far be' it, that I should write thee sin or blame,
 Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
 Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets, 760
 Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc'd,
 Present, or past, as saints and patriarchs us'd.
 Here love his golden shafts employs, here lights
 His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,
 Reigns here and revels; not in the bought smile 765
 Of

Dira libido hominum tota de gente
 repulsa est:

Ac tantum gregibus pecudum ra-
 tione carentium

Imperat, et sine lege tori furibun-
 da vagatur.

Auspice te, quam jura probant,
 rectumque piumque,

Filius atque pater, fraterque in-
 notuit; et quot

Vincula vicini sociarunt sanguinis,
 a te

Nominibus didicere suam distin-
 guere gentem.

And it is possible that Milton might
 have seen Staphorstius as well as
 Tasso.

756. — and all the charities]
Charities is used in the Latin signi-
 fication, and like *caritates* compre-
 hends all the relations, all the in-
 dearments of consanguinity and af-

finity, as in Cicero. *De Officiis*, I.
 17. *Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi,*
propinqui, familiares; sed omnes
omnium caritates patria una com-
plexa est. It is used likewise in
 this manner in the Italian, and by
 Tasso in the place which our author
 is here imitating, *Ma la charita del*
sgliuolo, e del padre.

761. *Whose bed is undefil'd and*
chaste pronounc'd,] In allu-
 sion to Heb, XIII. 4. *Marriage is*
honorable in all, and the bed undefiled.
 And Milton must have had a good
 opinion of marriage, or he would
 never have had three wives. And
 tho' this panegyric upon wedded
 love may be condemn'd as a di-
 gression, yet it can hardly be call'd
 a digression, when it grows so na-
 turally out of the subject, and is
 introduced so properly, while the
 action

Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unindear'd,
 Casual fruition; nor in court amours,
 Mix'd dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,
 Or serenate, which the starv'd lover sings
 To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain. 770
 These lull'd by nightingales embracing slept,
 And on their naked limbs the flow'ry roof
 Show'rd roses, which the morn repair'd. Sleep on,
 Blest pair; and O yet happiest, if ye seek
 No happier state, and know to know no more. 775
 Now

action of the poem is in a manner suspended, and while Adam and Eve are lying down to sleep; and if morality be one great end of poetry, that end cannot be better promoted than by such digressions as this and that upon hypocrisy at the latter part of the third book.

765. *Reigns here and revels;*] What our author here says of marriage Marino applies in the same terms to Venus in his description of her, Adon. Cant. 2. St. 114. and 'tis probable that Milton alluded to this and other such extravagances of the poets, and meant to say, that what they had extravagantly and falsely applied to loose wanton love, was really true of that passion in its state of innocence.

Quiui Amor si traskulla, e quindi impera. *Thyer.*

769. *Or serenate, which the starv'd lover sings]* We commonly say *serenade* with the French, but Milton keeps, as usual, the Italian word *serenate*, which the starv'd lover sings, *starv'd* as this compliment was commonly pay'd in *sereno*, in clear cold nights. Horace mentions this circumstance, Od. III. X. 1.

Extremum Tanain si biberes,
 Lyce,
 Sævo nupta viro, me tamen as-
 peras
 Projectum ante fores objicere in-
 colis
 Plorares aquilonibus:

and in another of his odes he has preserved a fragment of one of these songs, Od. I. XXV. 7.

Me tuo longas pereunte noctes,
 Lydia, dormis.

776. *Now*

Now had night measur'd with her shadowy cone
 Half way up hill this vast sublunar vault,
 And from their ivory port the Cherubim
 Forth issuing at th' accustom'd hour stood arm'd
 To their night watches in warlike parade, 780
 When Gabriel to his next in pow'r thus spake.

Uzziel, half these draw off, and coast the south
 With strictest watch; these other wheel the north;
 Our

776. *Now had night measur'd with her shadowy cone*] A cone is a figure round at bottom, and lessening all the way ends in a point. This is the form of the shadow of the earth, the base of the cone standing upon that side of the globe where the sun is not, and consequently when 'tis night there. This cone to those who are on the darken'd side of the earth, could it be seen, would mount as the sun fell lower, and be at its utmost highth in the vault of their heaven when it was midnight. The shadowy cone had now arisen half way, consequently supposing it to be about the time when the days and nights were of equal length (as it was X. 329.) it must be now about nine o'clock, the usual time of the Angels setting their sentries, as it immediately follows. This is marking the time very poetically.

Richardson.

777. *Half way up hill*] The expression is something dark, but it's

right. *Half way up hill*, half way towards midnight, the third hour of the night; *th' accustom'd hour* for the first military watch to take their rounds. Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 1.

Phœbus was climbing up the eastern hill. Bentley.

777. — *this vast sublunar vault*,] For the shadow of the earth sweeps as it were the whole arch or vault of Heaven between the earth and moon, and extends beyond the orbit of the moon, as appears from the lunar eclipses.

778. *And from their ivory port &c.*] We cannot conceive that here is any allusion to the ivory gate of sleep, mention'd by Homer and Virgil, from whence false dreams proceeded; for the poet could never intend to insinuate that what he was saying about the angelic guards was all a fiction. As the rock was of alabaster, ver. 543. so he makes the gate of ivory, which

Our circuit meets full west. As flame they part,
 Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear. 785
 From these, two strong and subtle Spi'rits he call'd
 That near him stood, and gave them thus in charge.

Ithuriel and Zephon, with wing'd speed
 Search through this garden, leave unsearch'd no nook;
 But chiefly where those two fair creatures lodge, 790
 Now laid perhaps asleep secure of harm.

This

which was very proper for an eastern gate, as the finest ivory cometh from the east; *India mittit ebur*, Virg. Georg. I. 57. and houses and palaces of ivory are mention'd as instances of magnificence in Scripture, as are likewise doors of ivory in Ovid, Met. IV. 185.

Lemnius extemplo *valvas patefecit eburnas*.

782. *Uzziel*,] The next commanding Angel to Gabriel; his name in Hebrew is *the strength of God*, as all God's mighty Angels are. Hume.

784. — *As flame they part*,] This break in the verse is excellently adapted to the subject. They part as the flame divides into separate wreaths. A short simile, but expressive of their quickness and rapidity, and of their brightness and the splendor of their armour at the same time. Homer in the second book of the Iliad compares the march of the Trojans to the

flame, but this simile is better suited to those beings, of whom the Scripture says, *He maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire*.

785. *Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear*.] *Declinare ad hastam vel ad scutum*. Livy: to wheel to the right or left. Hume. As all the Angels stood in the eastern gate, their right hand was to the north, *to the spear*; their left hand to the south, *to the shield*. From *these* that wheel'd to the spear Gabriel calls out two: He himself then was in that company. *Shield* and *spear* for left hand and right, while the men are supposed in arms, gives a dignity of expression, more than the common words have.

Bentley.

788. *Ithuriel and Zephon*,] Two Angels having their names as indication of their offices. *Ithuriel* in Hebrew *the discovery of God*. *Zephon* in Hebrew *a secret* or *searcher of secrets*. Hume.

796. — and

This evening from the sun's decline arriv'd
 Who tells of some infernal Spirit seen
 Hitherward bent (who could have thought?) escap'd
 The bars of Hell, on errand bad no doubt: 795
 Such where ye find, seize fast, and hither bring.

So saying, on he led his radiant files,
 Dazling the moon; these to the bow'r direct
 In search of whom they fought: him there they found
 Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve, 800
 Assaying by his devilish art to reach
 The organs of her fancy', and with them forge
 Illusions as he list, phantasms and dreams,
 Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint
 Th' animal spirits that from pure blood arise 805
 Like

796. — and hither bring.] Dr. Bentley reads *thither* to the opposite side, the west; where the parting squadrons would meet after their half circuits; and accordingly (says he) they brought Satan thither, to the *western point*, ver. 862. But there are twelve lines since the *west* was mention'd, and that was in another speech, at too great a distance for *thither* to be referred to it. It is not mention'd in this speech, and I see no reason why we may not understand these words with Mr. Richardson, *bring hither*, that is to me wheresoever I happen to be.

804. Or if, inspiring venom, &c.] So Virg. *Æn.* VII. 351. where the serpent, that the fury Alecto had flung upon Amata, creeps softly over her,

Vipeream inspirans animam —
 Pertentat sensus. Richardson.

The construction is, Assaying to reach the organs of fancy, and so to work upon her by phantasms and dreams; or (assaying) if he might taint the animal spirits, which arise from pure blood as soft and gentle airs from clear rivers, and by tainting the animal spirits might

Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raise
 At least distemper'd, discontented thoughts,
 Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,
 Blown up with high conceits ingendring pride.
 Him thus intent Ithuriel with his spear 810
 Touch'd lightly; for no falsehood can indure
 Touch of celestial temper, but returns
 Of force to its own likeness: up he starts
 Discover'd and surpris'd. As when a spark
 Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid 815
 Fit for the tun some magazine to store
 Against a rumor'd war, the smutty grain
 With sudden blaze diffus'd inflames the air:
 So started up in his own shape the Fiend.

Back

might raise at least vain thoughts,
 if not sinful actions.

814. — *As when a spark
 Lights on a heap of nitrous powder,*
 &c.] Ariosto uses the same simile
 to describe a sudden start of pas-
 sion. Or. Fur. Cant. 10. St. 40.

Non così fin salnitro, e zolfo puro
 Tocco dal foco, subito s'auampa.

Ev'n as salt-peter mixt with brim-
 stone pure,
 Inflameth strait, when once it feels
 the fire. Harrington
 Thyer.

816. *Fit for the tun*] 'Tis com-
 monly call'd a *barrel*: but Milton
 for the sake of his verse, and per-
 haps for the sake of a less vulgar
 term, calls it a *tun* from the French
tonneau, any cask or vessel.

819. *So started up in his own shape
 the Fiend.*] His planting
 himself at the ear of Eve under
 the form of a toad, in order to pro-
 duce vain dreams and imaginations,
 is a circumstance that surprises the
 reader; as his starting up in his
 own form is wonderfully fine, both
 in the literal description, and in
 the moral which is concealed under
 it.

Back slept those two fair Angels half amaz'd 820
 So sudden to behold the grisly king;
 Yet thus, unmov'd with fear, accost him soon.

Which of those rebel Spi'rits adjudg'd to Hell
 Com'st thou, escap'd thy prison? and transform'd,
 Why sat'st thou like an enemy in wait, 825
 Here watching at the head of these that sleep?

Know ye not then, said Satan fill'd with scorn,
 Know ye not me? ye knew me once no mate
 For you, there sitting where ye durst not soar:
 Not to know me argues yourselves unknown, 830
 The lowest of your throng; or if ye know,
 Why ask ye, and superfluous begin
 Your message, like to end as much in vain?

To whom thus Zephon, answ'ring scorn with scorn.

Think

it. His answer, upon his being discover'd and demanded to give an account of himself, is conformable to the pride and intrepidity of his character. Zephon's rebuke, with the influence it had on Satan, is exquisitely graceful and moral. Addison.

834. *To whom thus Zephon,*] Zephon is very properly made to answer him, and not Ithuriel, that each of them may appear as actors upon this occasion. Ithuriel with his spear restor'd the Fiend to

his own shape, and Zephon rebukes him. It would not have been so well, if the same person had done both.

835. *Think not, revolted Spi'rit, thy shape the same,*

Or 'undiminish'd brightness to be known,] Dr. Bentley judges

rightly enough that the present reading is faulty; for if the words *thy shape the same* are in the ablative case put absolutely, it is necessary that *undiminish'd* should follow *brightness*: and accordingly the

Doctor

Think not, revolted Spi^rit, thy shape the same, 835
 Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,
 As when thou stood'st in Heav'n upright and pure;
 That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
 Departed from thee'; and thou resemblest now
 Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul. 840
 But come, for thou, be sure, shalt give account
 To him who sent us, whose charge is to keep
 This place inviolable, and these from harm.

So spake the Cherub; and his grave rebuke,
 Severe in youthful beauty, added grace 845
 Invincible: abash'd the Devil stood,
 And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
 Virtue' in her shape how lovely; saw, and pin'd
 His loss; but chiefly to find here observ'd

His

Doctor reads *Or brightness undiminish'd*; which order of the words we must follow, unless it may be thought as small an alteration to read thus,

Think not, revolted Spi^rit, *by*
 shape the same
 Or undiminish'd brightness to be
 known.

just as in I. 732. we have

— his hand was *known*

In Heav'n *by* many a towred structure high. *Pearce.*

But without any alteration may we not understand *shape* and *brightness* as in the accusative case after the verb *think*? Think not thy shape the same, or undiminish'd brightness to be known now, as it was formerly in Heaven.

845. *Severe in youthful beauty, added grace*] Virg. *Æn.* V. 344.

Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.

848. *Virtue in her shape how lovely; &c.*] What is said here of *seeing Virtue*

His lustre visibly impair'd; yet seem'd 850
 Undaunted. If I must contend, said he,
 Best with the best, the sencer not the sent,
 Or all at once; more glory will be won,
 Or less be lost. Thy fear, said Zephon bold,
 Will save us trial what the least can do 855
 Single against thee wicked, and thence weak.

The Fiend reply'd not, overcome with rage;
 But like a proud steed rein'd, went haughty on,
 Champing his iron curb: to strive or fly
 He held it vain; awe from above had quell'd 860
 His heart, not else dismay'd. Now drew they nigh
 The western point, where those half-rounding guards
 Just met, and closing stood in squadron join'd,

Awaiting

Virtue in her shape how lovely is manifestly borrow'd from Plato and Cicero, Formam quidem ipsam & quasi faciem honesti vides, quæ si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores (ut ait Plato) excitaret sapientiæ. Cic. de Off. I. 5. as what follows, saw and pin'd his loss, is an imitation of Persius Sat. III. 38.

Virtutem videant intabescantque relicta.

858. — *went haughty on,*] Satan is afterwards led to Gabriel, the chief of the guardian Angels, who kept watch in Paradise. His

disdainful behaviour on this occasion is so remarkable a beauty, that the most ordinary reader cannot but take notice of it. *Addison.*

But like a proud steed rein'd, went haughty on, Champing his iron curb.

This literally from what Mercury says to Prometheus. *Æschyl. Prom. Vinc. 1008.*

— *δακων δε σομιον ως νεοζυγης Πωλθ, βιαζη και προς ηντας μαχη.* *Thyer.*

865. *Ga-*

Awaiting next command. To whom their chief
Gabriël from the front thus call'd aloud. 865

O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet
Hasting this way, and now by glimpse discern
Ithuriel and Zephon through the shade,
And with them comes a third of regal port,
But faded splendor wan; who by his gate 870
And fierce demeanour seems the prince of Hell,
Not likely to part hence without contest;
Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.

He scarce had ended, when those two approach'd,
And brief related whom they brought, where found,
How busied, in what form and posture couch'd. 876
To whom with stern regard thus Gabriel spake.

Why

865. *Gabriël from the front*] *Ga-*
briel is pronounced here as a word
of three syllables, tho' commonly
it is used as only of two; a liberty
which Milton takes in the names of
the Angels.

866. *O friends, I hear &c.*] *Ga-*
briel's discovering Satan's approach
at a distance is drawn with great
strength and liveliness of imagina-
tion.

Addison.

The learned Mr. Upton in his *Cri-*
tical Observations on Shakespear re-
marks that Milton in this whole
episode keeps close to his master
Homer, who sends out Ulysses and

VOL. I.

Diomede into the Trojan camp as
spies, *Iliad*. X. 533.

Ω φίλοι ———
Ἰππῶν μ' ἀκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κ' ὑποῶ
κατὰ βάλλει.

O friends, I hear the tread of
nimble feet.

Οὕτω πάν εἰρήτο ἐπ' ὅτ' ἀρ'
ἤλυθον αὐτοί. *ver.* 540.

He scarce had ended when those
two approach'd.

877. — *with stern regard*] An-
swering to the Homeric *δεινὸν δέει-*
γος

Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescrib'd
 To thy transgressions, and disturb'd the charge
 Of others, who approve not to transgress 880
 By thy example, but have pow'r and right
 To question thy bold entrance on this place;
 Employ'd it seems to violate sleep, and those
 Whose dwelling God hath planted here in bliss?

To whom thus Satan with contemptuous brow. 885
 Gabriel, thou hadst in Heav'n th'esteem of wise,
 And such I held thee; but this question ask'd
 Puts me in doubt. Lives there who loves his pain?
 Who would not, finding way, break loose from Hell,
 Though thither doom'd? Thou wouldst thyself, no
 And boldly venture to whatever place [doubt,

Farthest

καὶ ὁδοῦ, Iliad. III. and ὑποδρα
 ἰδων, torve intuitus, Iliad. IV.

Hume.

878. — *broke the bounds prescrib'd*
To thy transgressions,] Dr. Bentley
 reads *transcursions*; and Mr. Ri-
 chardson understands *transgressions*
 in the same sense. But as Dr. Pearce
 observes, though it is right to say
 that *bounds* are *prescrib'd* to hinder
transcursions, yet I think it is not
 proper to say, that *bounds* are *pre-*
scrib'd to transcursions. And the
 common reading is justifiable: for
 though (as Dr. Bentley says) no
 bounds could be set to Satan's *trans-*

gressions, but he could transgress in
 his thought and mind every mo-
 ment; yet it is good sense, if Mil-
 ton meant (as I suppose he did)
 that the bounds of Hell were by
 God prescrib'd to Satan's transgres-
 sions, so as that it was intended he
 should transgress no where else, but
within those bounds; whereas he
 was now attempting to transgress
without them. And by this inter-
 pretation we shall not understand
transgressions in the sense of the pure
 Latin, and *transgress* in the very
 next line in the usual English ac-
 ceptation, but shall affix the same
 notion

Farthest from pain, where thou might'st hope to change
 Torment with ease, and soonest recompense
 Dole with delight, which in this place I fought;
 To thee no reason, who know'st only good, 895
 But evil hast not try'd: and wilt object
 His will who bound us? let him surer bar
 His iron gates, if he intends our stay
 In that dark durance: thus much what was ask'd.
 The rest is true, they found me where they say; 900
 But that implies not violence or harm.

Thus he in scorn. The warlike Angel mov'd,
 Disdainfully half smiling thus reply'd.

O loss of one in Heav'n to judge of wise,
 Since Satan fell, whom folly overthrew, 905

And

notion both to the one and the other.

883. — *to violate sleep,*] Shakespear in Macbeth has a stronger expression, *to murder sleep*; both equally proper in the places where they are employ'd.

887. — *but this question ask'd*
Puts me in doubt.] Homer: Thou seem'dst a wife man formerly, Νύν δ' ἀφ' ἑγὼ φῶτι νοῖας. Bentley.

892. — *to change*
Torment with ease,] We commonly say to change one thing for another, and Dr. Bentley would read *for ease* in this place: but *to change*

torment with ease is according to the Latins, whom Milton often follows. *Glandem mutavit aristâ.* Virg. Georg. I. 8.

896. — *and wilt object*
His will who bound us?] If these words are to be read with a note of interrogation as in all the editions, *thou* must be understood, and Dr. Bentley chooses to read *and wilt thou object.* It is a concise way of speaking somewhat like that in II. 730. *and know'st for whom.* But I have sometimes thought that the passage may be read without the note of interrogation

And now returns him from his prison scap'd,
 Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wise
 Or not, who ask what boldness brought him hither
 Unlicenc'd from his bounds in Hell prescrib'd;
 So wise he judges it to fly from pain *and find it* 910
 However, and to scape his punishment.

So judge thou still, presumptuous, till the wrath,
 Which thou incurr'st by flying, meet thy flight
 Sev'nfold, and scourge that wisdom back to Hell,
 Which taught thee yet no better, that no pain 915
 Can equal anger infinite provok'd.

But wherefore thou alone? wherefore with thee
 Came not all Hell broke loose? is pain to them
 Less pain, less to be fled? or thou than they
 Less hardy to indure? courageous Chief, 920
 The first in flight from pain, hadst thou alledg'd
 To thy deserted host this cause of flight,
 Thou surely hadst not come sole fugitive.

To which the Fiend thus answer'd frowning stern.

Not

gation, by joining it in construction with what goes before; but asking the question gives a spirit and quickness to it.

926. — *well thou know'st I stood*
Thy fiercest,] Dr. Bentley reads

The fiercest, that is pain: but *Thy fiercest* is right, and we may understand it with Dr. Pearce *Thy fiercest attack*, or with Mr. Richardson *Thy fiercest enemy*. *Fiercest* is used as a substantive, as our author often uses adjectives.

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Not that I less indure, or shrink from pain, 925
 Insulting Angel; well thou know'st I stood
 Thy fiercest, when in battel to thy aid
 The blasting volied thunder made all speed,
 And seconded thy else not dreaded spear.
 But still thy words at random, as before, 930
 Argue thy inexperience what behoves
 From hard assays and ill successes past
 A faithful leader, not to hazard all
 Through ways of danger by himself untry'd:
 I therefore, I alone first undertook 935
 To wing the desolate abyss, and spy
 This new created world, whereof in Hell
 Fame is not silent, here in hope to find
 Better abode, and my afflicted Powers
 To settle here on earth, or in mid air; 940
 Though for possession put to try once more
 What thou and thy gay legions dare against;
 Whose easier business were to serve their Lord

High

adjectives. Dr. Pearce gives several instances, II. 278. *The sensible of pain.* XI. 4. *The stony from their hearts.* XI. 497. *His best of man.* 928. *The blasting*] Thus 'tis in the first edition, the second has it *Thy*;

but 'tis wrong no doubt. The word occurs very often thereabouts, and probably occasion'd the mistake. The sense requires it to be *The*.

Richardson.

High up in Heav'n, with songs to hymn his throne,
And practic'd distances to cringe, not fight. 945

To whom the warrior Angel soon reply'd.
To say and strait unsay, pretending first
Wife to fly pain, professing next the spy,
Argues no leader but a liar trac'd,
Satan, and couldst thou faithful add? O name, 950
O sacred name of faithfulness profan'd!
Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?
Army of Fiends, fit body to fit head.
Was this your discipline and faith engag'd,
Your military obedience, to dissolve 955
Allegiance to th' acknowledg'd Pow'r supreme?
And thou, fly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem
Patron of liberty, who more than thou
Once fawn'd, and cring'd, and servily ador'd

Heav'n's

945. *And practic'd distances to cringe, not fight.*] *With* is understood. *With songs to hymn his throne, and with practic'd distances to cringe, not fight.* Dr. Bentley has strangely mistaken it.

962. — *arreed*] To decree, to award.

965. — *I drag thee*] The present tense used for the future, to signify the immediate execution of the menace.

A Latinism, and very emphatical. *Quæ prima pericula vito.* Virg. *Æn.* III. 367. *Cui famula trador? Quem dominum voco?* Senec. *Troad.* 473.

Richardson.

966. *And seal thee so,*] This seems to allude to the chaining of the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, mention'd in the Revelation: *And he cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him.* XX. 3.

Hume.

971. Proud

Heav'n's awful monarch? wherefore but in hope 960
 To dispossess him, and thyself to reign?
 But mark what I arreed thee now, Avant;
 Fly thither whence thou fledst: if from this hour
 Within these hallow'd limits thou appear,
 Back to th' infernal pit I drag thee chain'd, 965
 And seal thee so, as henceforth not to scorn
 The facil gates of Hell too slightly barr'd.

So threaten'd he; but Satan to no threats
 Gave heed, but waxing more in rage reply'd.

Then when I am thy captive talk of chains, 970
 Proud limitary Cherub, but ere then
 Far heavier load thyself expect to feel
 From my prevailing arm, though Heaven's king
 Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers,
 Us'd to the yoke, draw'st his triumphant wheels 975

In

971. *Proud limitary Cherub,*] *limitaneus*. Digest. And as Mr. Thyer farther observes, the word is intended as a scornful sneer upon what Gabriel had just said,
 Thou proud prescribing Angel that
 presume'st to *limit* me, and appoint
 my prison, according to Mr. Hume.
 Or rather *limitary*, set to guard the
 bounds; a taunt insulting the good
 Angel as one employ'd on a little
 mean office, according to Mr. Richardson. For *limitary* (as Dr. Heylin remarks) is from *limitaneus*. *Milites limitanei* are soldiers in garrison upon the frontiers. So *Dux*

— if from this hour
 Within these hallow'd *limits* thou
 appear.

974. *Ride on thy wings, &c.*]
 This seems to allude to Ezekiel's
 vision, where four Cherubims are
 appointed to the four wheels: *And*
the

In progress through the road of Heav'n star-pav'd.

While thus he spake, th' angelic squadron bright
Turn'd fiery red, sharp'ning in mooned horns
Their phalanx, and began to hem him round
With ported spears, as thick as when a field 980
Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends

Her

the Cherubims did lift up their wings, and the wheels besides them, and the glory of the God of Israel was over them above. See Chap. I. and X. and XI. 22.

977. *While thus he spake, &c.]* The conference between Gabriel and Satan abounds with sentiments proper for the occasion, and suitable to the persons of the two speakers. Satan clothing himself with terror, when he prepares for the combat, is truly sublime, and at least equal to Homer's description of Discord celebrated by Longinus, or to that of Fame in Virgil, who are both represented with their feet standing upon the earth, and their heads reaching above the clouds. *Addison.*

980. *With ported spears,]* With their spears born pointed towards him. A military term. *Hume.*

980.—*as thick as when a field &c.]* It is familiar with the poets to compare an army with their spears and swords to a field of standing corn. Homer has a simile much of the same nature, comparing the mo-

tions of the army after Agamemnon's speech to the waving of the ears of corn. *Iliad. II. 147.*

Ὡς δ' ὅτε κινησῇ Ζεφύρου βαλὺ
λῆϊον ἐλθὼν

λαβρὸν ἐπαγίζων, ἐπὶ τ' ἡμῶν
ἀσάχυσσιν

Ὡς τῶν πασ' ἀγορῇ κινηθῇ.

And as on corn when western gusts descend,
Before the blast the lofty harvests bend:

Thus o'er the field the moving host appears,
With nodding plumes and groves of waving spears. *Pope.*

986. — *dilated stood, &c.]* Our author is indebted, I fancy, for this nervous expression to the following description of Tasso's Argantes addressing himself to fight with Tancred, *Gier. Lib. Cant. 19. St. 12.*

Ma disteso e eretto il fero Argante.

Disteso in Italian is exactly the same with *dilated* in English, and expresses very strongly the attitude of an

Her bearded grove of ears, which way the wind
Sways them; the careful plowman doubting stands,
Left on the threshing floor his hopeful sheaves
Prove chaff. On th' other side Satan alarm'd 985
Collecting all his might dilated stood,
Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd;

His

an eager and undaunted combatant, where fury not only seems to erect and enlarge his stature, but expands as it were his whole frame, and extends every limb. I don't remember to have ever before met with the word *dilated* applied in the same manner in our language.

Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:

So Satan in Tasso, Cant. 4. St. 6,

Ne pur Calpe s'inalza, o' l' magno
Atlante,
Ch' anzi lui non pareffe un picciol colle.

The use of the word *unremov'd* for immoveable is very poetical, and justify'd by Milton's *conjugal attraction unrepov'd*, and Spenser's *unreproved truth*. See the note on 492. *Thyer*.

987. *Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd*:] Well may Satan be liken'd to the greatest mountains, and be said to stand as firm and immoveable as they, when Virgil has applied the same comparison to his hero, *Æn. XII. 701*.

Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx,
aut ipse coruscis
Cum fremit ilicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
Vertice se attollens pater Apenninus ad auras.

Like Eryx, or like Athos great he shows,

Or father Apennine, when white with snows,

His head divine obscure in clouds he hides,

And shakes the sounding forest on his sides. Dryden.

Mr. Hume says that the Peak of Teneriff is 15 miles high, and Mr. Richardson asserts that it is 45 miles perpendicular, if that be not a false print 45 for 15: but the utmost that we can suppose is that it is 15 miles from the very first ascent of the hill till you come thro' the various turnings and windings to the top of all; for I have been assur'd from a gentleman who measur'd it, that the perpendicular highth of it is no more than one mile and three quarters.

988. *His*

His stature reach'd the sky, and on his crest
 Sat horror plum'd; nor wanted in his grasp
 What seem'd both spear and shield: now dreadful
 deeds

990

Might have ensued, nor only Paradise
 In this commotion, but the starry cope

Of

988. *His stature reach'd the sky.*] It is probable that besides Homer's Discord, Iliad. IV. 443.

Οὐρανὸν ἐς νεφέας καπνὸν καὶ ἐπὶ
 χθονὶ βαίνει,

and Virgil's Fame, Æn. IV. 177.

Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter
 nubila condit,

mention'd in a note above by Mr. Addison, he alluded likewise to that noble description in the book of Wisdom, XVIII. 16. *It touched the Heaven, but it stood upon the Earth.*

989. *Sat horror plum'd;*] Horror is personify'd, and is made the plume of his helmet; and how much nobler an idea is this than the horses tails and sphinxes and dragons and other terrible animals on the helmets of the ancient heroes, or even than the Chimæra vomiting flames on the crest of Turnus, Æn. VII. 785.

Cui triplici crinita jubâ galea alta
 Chimæram

Sustinet, Ætnæos efflantem fauci-
 bus ignes.

A triple pile of plumes his crest
 adorn'd,
 On which with belching flames
 Chimæra burn'd! Dryden.

989.—*nor wanted in his grasp &c.*] This is said to signify that he wanted not arms, tho' he was but just raised out of the form of a toad. He was represented as in arms, II. 812. when he was upon the point of engaging with Death; and we must suppose that his power, as an Angel, was such, that he could assume them upon occasion whenever he pleased.

991. — *nor only Paradise &c.*] This representation of what must have happen'd, if Gabriel and Satan had encounter'd, is imaged in these few lines with a nobleness suitable to the occasion, and is an improvement upon a thought in Homer, where he represents the terrors which must have attended the conflict of two such powers as Jupiter and Neptune, Iliad. XV. 224.

— μάλα

Of Heav'n perhaps, or all the elements
 At least had gone to wrack, disturb'd and torn
 With violence of this conflict, had not soon 995
 Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
 Hung forth in Heav'n his golden scales, yet seen
 Betwixt Astrea and the Scorpion sign,

Wherein

— μαλα γαρ κε μαχης επυ-
 θοιτο και αλλοι,
 "Οιπερ νερτερι εσι θεοι, Κρονον
 αμφις εοντες.

And all the Gods that round old
 Saturn dwell,
 Had heard the thunders to the
 deeps of Hell. Pope.

996. *Th' Eternal to prevent such
 horrid fray]* The breaking
 off the combat between Gabriel
 and Satan, by the hanging out of
 the golden scales in Heaven, is a
 refinement upon Homer's thought,
 who tells us that before the battel
 between Hector and Achilles, Ju-
 piter weighed the event of it in a
 pair of scales. The reader may
 see the whole passage in the 22d
 Iliad. Virgil before the last deci-
 sive combat describes Jupiter in the
 same manner, as weighing the fates
 of Turnus and Æneas. Milton,
 tho' he fetch'd this beautiful cir-
 cumstance from the Iliad and Æneid,
 does not only insert it as a poeti-
 cal embellishment, like the authors
 above mention'd; but makes an
 artful use of it for the proper car-

rying on of his fable, and for the
 breaking off the combat between
 the two warriors, who were upon
 the point of engaging. To this
 we may further add, that Milton is
 the more justify'd in this passage,
 as we find the same noble allegory
 in holy Writ, where a wicked
 prince, some few hours before he
 was assaulted and slain, is said to
 have been *weighed in the scales, and
 to have been found wanting.*

Addison.

997. — *his golden scales,]* So
 they are in Homer χρυσα τα-
 λαντα, both where he weighs the
 destinies of the Greeks and Tro-
 jans in book the 8th, and the fates
 of Hector and Achilles in book
 the 22d. And this figure of weigh-
 ing the destinies of men appear'd
 so beautiful to succeeding poets,
 that Æschylus (as we are inform'd
 by Plutarch in his treatise of *Hear-
 ing the poets*) writ a tragedy upon
 this foundation, which he intitled
 Ψυχασια or the weighing of
 souls.

998. *Betwixt Astrea and the Scor-
 pion sign,]* Libra or the Scales

is

Wherein all things created first he weigh'd,
 The pendulous round earth with balanc'd air 1000
 In counterpoise, now ponders all events,

Battels

is one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, as *Astrea* (or *Virgo* the Virgin) and *Scorpio* also are. This does as it were realize the fiction, and gives consequently a greater force to it. *Richardson.*

This allusion to the sign *Libra* in the Heavens is a beauty that is not in *Homer* or *Virgil*, and gives this passage a manifest advantage over both their descriptions.

999. *Wherein all things created first he weigh'd, &c.*] This of weighing the creation at first and of all events since gives us a sublime idea of providence, and is conformable to the stile of Scripture, *Job XXVIII. 25. To make the weight for the winds, and he weigheth the waters by measure. Chap. XXXVII. 16. Dost thou know the balancings of the clouds? Isaiah XL. 12. Who weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance?* And then for weighing particular events since see *1 Sam. II. 3. By him actions are weigh'd. Prov. XVI. 2. The Lord weigheth the spirits.* I do not recollect an instance of weighing battels particularly, but there is foundation enough for that in *Homer* and *Virgil* as we have seen; and then for weighing kingdoms we see an instance in *Belshazzar*, and it is said expressly, *Dan. V. 26, 27. God hath number'd thy*

kingdom, and finish'd it, thou art weigh'd in the balances. So finely hath *Milton* improv'd upon the fictions of the poets by the eternal truths of holy Scripture.

1003. *The sequel each of parting and of fight;*] *Dr. Bentley* reads *The signal each &c.* To understand which of these two readings suits the place best, let us consider the poet's thought, which was this: God put in the golden scales two weights: in the one scale he put the weight, which was the sequel (that is represented the consequence) of Satan's parting from them; in the other scale he put the weight, which was the sequel of Satan's fighting: neither of the scales had any thing in it immediately relating to *Gabriel*: and therefore *Dr. Bentley* mistakes (I think) when he says, that the ascending weight, Satan's, was the signal to him of defeat; the descending, *Gabriel's*, the signal to him of victory: they were both signals (if signals) to Satan only, for he only was weigh'd, ver. 1012; or rather they shew'd him what would be the consequence both of his fighting and of his retreating. The scale, in which lay the weight, that was the sequel of his fighting, by ascending shew'd him that he was light in arms, and could not obtain

Battels and realms: in these he put two weights
The sequel each of parting and of fight;
The latter quick up flew, and kick'd the beam;

Which

obtain victory; whereas the other scale, in which was the *sequel* of his *parting* or retreating, having descended, it was a sign that his going off quietly would be his wisest and weightiest attempt. The reader will excuse my having been so long in this note, when he considers that Dr. Bentley and probably many others have misunderstood Milton's thought about the scales, judging of it by what they read of Jupiter's scales in Homer and Virgil; the account of which is very different from this of Milton; for in them the fates of the two combatants are weigh'd one against the other, and the descent of one of the scales foreshow'd the death of him whose fate lay in that scale, *quo vergat pondere lethum*: whereas in Milton nothing is weigh'd but what relates to Satan only, and in the two scales are weigh'd the two different events of his retreating and his fighting. From what has been said it may appear pretty plainly, that Milton by *sequel* meant the consequence or event, as it is express'd in ver. 1001. and then there will be no occasion for Dr. Bentley's *signal*; both because it is a very improper word in this place, and because a *signal of parting and of fight*, can be nothing else than a signal when to part and when to fight; which he will not pretend to be the

poet's meaning. *Pearce*.
It may be proper, before we conclude, to produce the passages out of Homer and Virgil, whereof so much has been said, that the reader may have the satisfaction of comparing them with our author, *Iliad*. VIII. 69.

Και τότε δὴ χρυσεία πατήρ ἐπι-
ταίνε τάλαντα·

Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κηρὲς τανηλεγέος
δάνατοιο,

Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων, καὶ Ἀχαι-
ῶν χαλκοχιτώνων·

Ἐλκε δὲ μέσσα λαβὼν, ῥέπε δ'
αἰσιμον ἡμάρ Ἀχαιῶν.

Αἱ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν κηρὲς ἐπὶ χθονὶ
πελυβοτερῇ

ἔζεδον· Τρώων δὲ πρὸς ἕρπον
εὐρὺν ἀερθεῖν.

The Sire of Gods his golden scales
suspends,

With equal hand: in these ex-
plor'd the fate

Of Greece and Troy, and pois'd
the mighty weight.

Press'd with its load the Grecian
balance lies

Low sunk on earth, the Trojan
strikes the skies. Pope.

The same lines, *mutatis mutandis*,
are apply'd to Hector and Achilles
in

Which Gabriel spying, thus bespake the Fiend. 1005

Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine,
Neither our own but giv'n; what folly then
To boast what arms can do? since thine no more
Than Heav'n permits, nor mine, though doubled now

To

in the 22d book, and there are thus translated.

Jove lifts the golden balances, that
show
The fates of mortal men, and
things below:
Here each contending hero's lot
he tries,
And weighs with equal hand their
destinies.
Low sinks the scale surcharg'd
with Hector's fate;
Heavy with death it sinks, and
Hell receives the weight.

The passage in Virgil is shorter,
Æn. XII. 725.

Jupiter ipse duas æquato examine
lances
Sustinet, et fata imponit diversa
duorum;
Quem damnet labor, et quo vergat
pondere lethum.

Jove sets the beam; in either scale
he lays

The champion's fate, and each
exactly weighs.

On this side life, and lucky chance
ascends:

Loaded with death, that other
scale descends. Dryden.

Every reader, who compares these passages with our author, must see plainly that tho' there is some resemblance, yet there is also great difference. There are *golden scales* in Homer as well as in Milton; but Milton in some measure authorizes the fiction by making his scales the balance in the Heavens. In Homer and Virgil the combatants are weigh'd one against another; but here only Satan is weigh'd, in one scale the consequence of his retreating, and of his fighting in the other. And there is this farther improvement, that in Homer and Virgil the fates are weigh'd to satisfy Jupiter himself, but here it is done only to satisfy the contending parties, for Satan to read his own destiny. So that when Milton imitates a fine passage, he does not imitate it servily, but makes it as I may say an original of his own by his manner of varying and improving it.

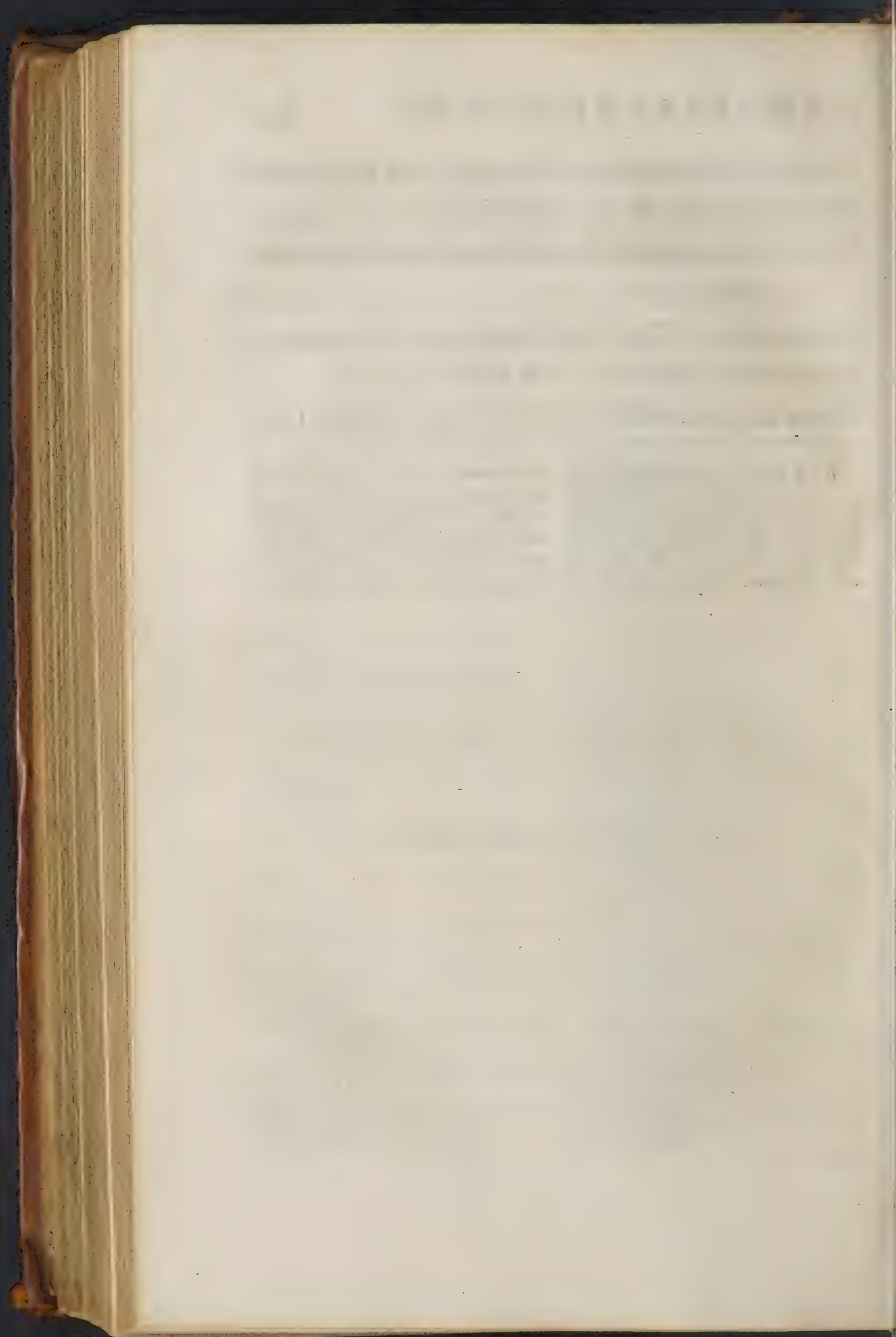
1008. — *since thine no more
Than Heav'n permits, nor mine,]*
Thine and mine refer to strength, ver.
1006. not to *arms* the substantive preceding. Dr. Bentley reads *strength* instead of *arms*.

1012. *Where*

To trample thee as mire: for proof look up, 1010
 And read thy lot in yon celestial sign,
 Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how
 weak,
 If thou resist. The Fiend look'd up, and knew
 His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled
 Murm'ring, and with him fled the shades of night. 1015

1012. *Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how weak,*] Belshazzar, Dan. V. 27. *Thou art weigh'd in the balances, and art found wanting.* So true it is, that Milton oftner imitates Scripture than Homer and Virgil, but of lightness and weakness according to that of thought to imitate them most.

The end of the Fourth Book.



THE

FIFTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

VOL. I.

H h

THE ARGUMENT.

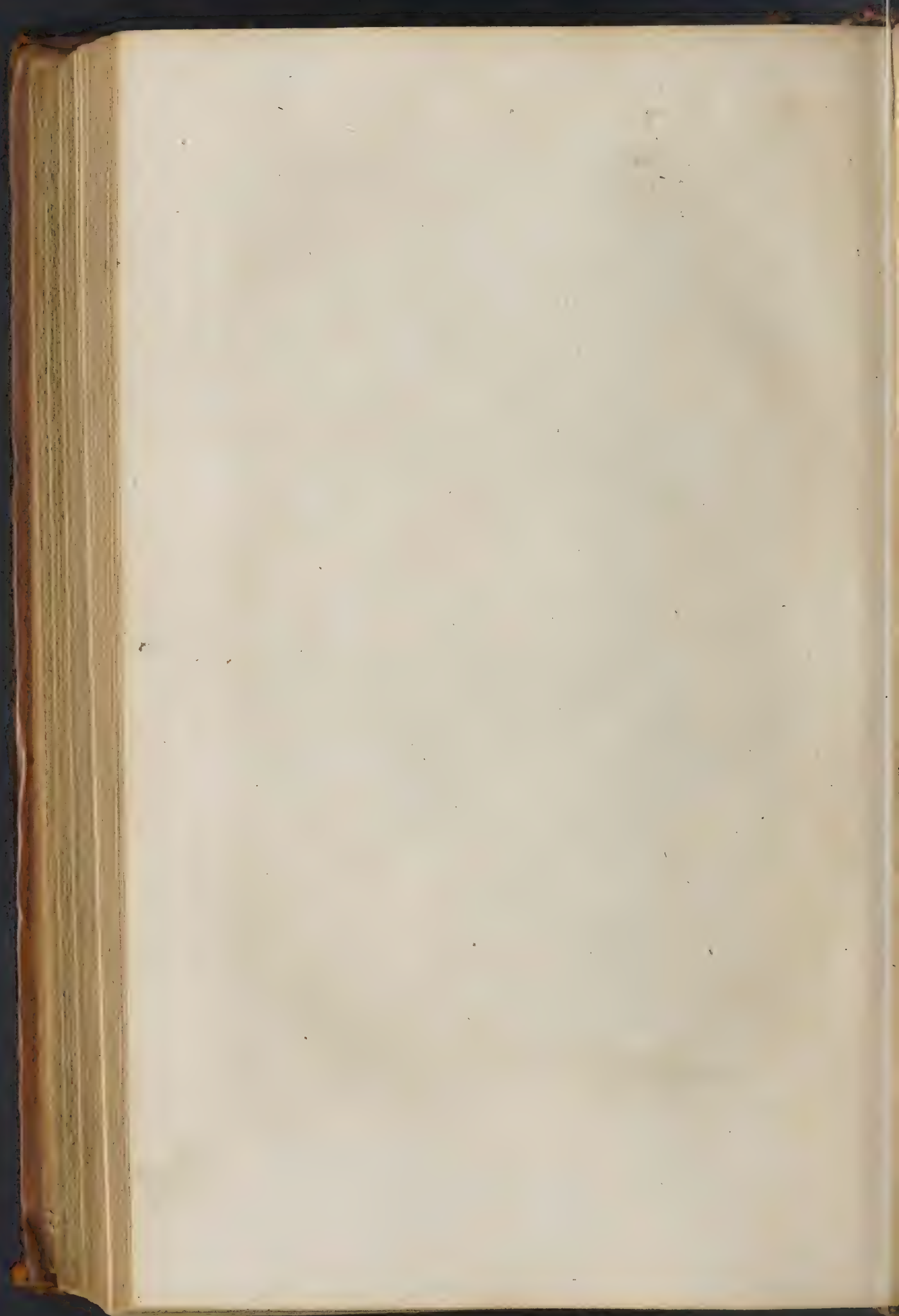
Morning approach'd, Eve relates to Adam her troublesome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her: They come forth to their day labors: Their morning hymn at the door of their bower. God to render man inexcusable sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand, who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradise, his appearance describ'd, his coming discern'd by Adam afar off sitting at the door of his bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choicest fruits of Paradise got together by Eve; their discourse at table: Raphael performs his message, minds Adam of his state and of his enemy; relates at Adam's request who that enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from his first revolt in Heaven, and the occasion thereof; how he drew his legions after him to the parts of the north, and there incited them to rebel with him, persuading all but only Abdiel a Seraph, who in argument dissuades and opposes him, then forsakes him.



J. Flayman inv. et del.

I. S. Müller sc.

Book 5.



PARADISE LOST.

BOOK V.

NOW morn her rosy steps in th' eastern clime
 Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl,
 When Adam wak'd, so custom'd, for his sleep
 Was aery light from pure digestion bred,
 And temp'rate vapors bland, which th' only sound 5
 Of

1. *Now morn her rosy steps*] This is the morning of the day after Satan's coming to the earth; and as Homer makes the morning with *rosy fingers*, ποσειδάωνι ὤφει. *Hæc*, Iliad. I. 477. *the rosy-finger'd morn*, so Milton gives her *rosy steps*, and VI. 3. *a rosy hand*. The morn is first gray, then rosy upon the nearer approach of the sun. And she is said to *sow* the earth &c. by the same sort of metaphor as Lucretius says of the sun, II. 211.

— et lumine conferit arva.

Mr. Thyer adds that the same allegorical description he remembers to have seen somewhere in Shakespeare, and more poetically express'd :

— The morn in saffron robe
 Walks o'er the dew of yon high
 eastern hill.

And he observes that Lucretius's metaphor *lumine conferit arva* wants much of the propriety of Milton's *sow'd the earth with orient pearl*, since the dew-drops have something of the shape and appearance of scatter'd seeds.

5. — *which th' only sound &c.*] Which refers to *sleep*, and not to *vapors* the substantive immediately preceding. I mention this because it has been mistaken. It is certainly more proper to say that the *sound* of leaves and *song* of Birds dispersed *sleep* than *vapors*. The expression *only sound* (as Dr. Pearce rightly observes) seems the same with that in VII. 123. *Only omniscient*; in both which places *only* signifies *alone*; *the only sound*, for there was none other; and it is to be understood as meant of the *matin song of the birds*, as well as of the

Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
 Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill matin song
 Of birds on every bough; so much the more
 His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve
 With tresses discompos'd, and glowing cheek, 10
 As through unquiet rest: he on his side
 Leaning half rais'd, with looks of cordial love
 Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
 Beauty, which whether waking or asleep,
 Shot forth peculiar graces; then with voice 15
 Mild,

the sound of leaves and fuming rills.
Fuming rills, for fumes or steams
 rise from the water in the morning
 according to ver. 186.

Ye Mists and Exhalations that now
 rise
 From hill or steaming lake &c.

but they do not make a noise as
fuming, but only as *rills*. *Aurora's*
fan, the fanning winds among the
 leaves may be properly call'd the
 fan of the morning, and it is not
 unusual to refer a thing which fol-
 lows two substantives to the first
 of the two only. *Lightly dispers'd*,
 Dr. Bentley says that *dispel sleep* is
 better than *disperse* it: but tho' to
dispel sleep may be the more usual
 expression, yet to *disperse sleep* may
 be justify'd by very great autho-
 rity, for Sophocles makes use of
 the very same. Soph. Trachin.
 998.

— Καὶ μὴ σκεδασαὶ
 Τῶδ' ἀπο κρατὸς βλεφαρῶν
 ὁ ὕπνον.

And the shrill matin song of birds on
every bough. So Evander is wak'd
 in Virgil, Æn. VIII. 456.

Evandrum ex humili tecto lux
 fuscitat alma,
 Et matutini volucrum sub culmine
 cantus.

The chearful morn salutes Evan-
 der's eyes,
 And songs of chirping birds invite
 to rise. Dryden.

And Erminia likewise in Tasso by
 the sweet noise of birds, winds,
 and waters. Cant. 7. St. 5.

Non si destò fin che garrir gli au-
 gelli
 Non sentì lieti, e salutar gli albori,
 E

Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
 Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. Awake
 My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,
 Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight,
 Awake; the morning shines, and the fresh field 20
 Calls us; we lose the prime, to mark how spring
 Our tended plants, how blows the citron grove,
 What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
 How nature paints her colors, how the bee
 Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet. 25

Such

E mormorare il fiume, e gli ar-
 boscelli,
 E con l'onda scherzar l'aura, e co'
 fiori.

The birds awak'd her with their
 morning song,
 Their warbling music pierc'd her
 tender ear,
 The murm'ring brooks, and whist-
 ling winds among
 The rattling boughs and leaves,
 their part did bear. Fairfax.

5.—*th' only sound*] This Dr. Bent-
 ley calls strange diction, and he will
 have it to be *early sound*: but the
 present reading is countenanc'd by
 the following line in Spenser, Fairy
 Queen, B. 5. Cant. 11. St. 30.

As if *the only sound* thereof she
 fear'd. Thyer.

16. *Mild, as when Zephyrus on
 Flora breathes,*] As when the

soft western gales breathe on the
 flowers. Exceeding poetical and
 beautiful. *Richardson.*
 For this delightful simile Milton
 was probably oblig'd to his admir'd
 Ben Johnson in his *Mask of Love*
reconcil'd to Virtue.

The fair will think you do 'em
 wrong,
 Go choose among — but with a
 mind
*As gentle as the stroaking wind
 Runs o'er the gentler flow'rs.*

Song 3d. Thyer.

21. — *we lose the prime,*] The
 prime of the day; as he calls it
 elsewhere

— that sweet hour of prime,
 ver. 170.

and IX. 200.

The season prime for sweetest fents
 and airs.

H h 3

The

Such whisp'ring wak'd her, but with startled eye
On Adam, whom embracing, thus she spake.

O sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My glory, my perfection, glad I see
Thy face, and morn return'd; for I this night 39
(Such night till this I never pass'd) have dream'd,
If dream'd, not as I oft am wont, of thee,
Works of day past, or morrow's next design,

But

The word is used by Chaucer and Spenser, as in *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 6. St. 13.

They all, as glad as birds of joyous prime.

26. *Such whisp'ring wak'd her,*] We were told in the foregoing book how the evil Spirit practiced upon Eve as she lay asleep, in order to inspire her with thoughts of vanity, pride, and ambition. The author, who shows a wonderful art throughout his whole poem, in preparing the reader for the several occurrences that arise in it, founds upon the above-mention'd circumstance the first part of the fifth book. Adam upon his awaking finds Eve still asleep, with an unusual discomposure in her looks. The posture in which he regards her, is described with a tenderness not to be express'd, as the whisper with which he awakens her, is the softest that ever was convey'd to a lover's ear. I cannot but take notice that Milton, in the conferences

between Adam and Eve, had his eye very frequently upon the book of Canticles, in which there is a noble spirit of eastern poetry, and very often not unlike what we meet with in Homer, who is generally plac'd near the age of Solomon. I think there is no question but the poet in the preceding speech remember'd those two passages which are spoken on the like occasion, and fill'd with the same pleasing images of nature, Cant. II. 10, &c. *My beloved spake and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away; for lo the winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grapes give a good smell. Arise my love, my fair one, and come away.* — Cant. VII. 11, 12. *Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field, let us get up early to the vineyards, let us see if the vine*
florish,

But of offense and trouble, which my mind
 Knew never till this irksome night: methought 35
 Close at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk
 With gentle voice, I thought it thine; it said,
 Why sleep'st thou Eve? now is the pleasant time,
 The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
 To the night-warbling bird, that now awake 40
 Tunes sweetest his love-labor'd song; now reigns

Full

florish, whether the tender grapes appear, and the pomegranate bud forth.
 — His preferring the garden of Eden to that,

— where the sapient king
 Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse, IX. 443.

shows that the poet had this delightful scene in view. *Addison.*

35. — *methought*
Close at mine ear &c.] Eve's dream is full of those *high conceits ingendring pride*, which we are told the Devil endeavor'd to instil into her. Of this kind is that part of it where she fancies herself awaken'd by Adam in the following beautiful lines,

Why sleep'st thou Eve? &c.

An injudicious poet would have made Adam talk thro' the whole work in such sentiments as these; but flattery and falshood are not the courtship of Milton's Adam, and could not be heard by Eve in her state of innocence, excepting

only in a dream produced on purpose to taint her imagination. Other vain sentiments of the same kind in this relation of her dream will be obvious to every reader. Tho' the catastrophe of the poem is finely prefaged on this occasion, the particulars of it are so artfully shadowed, that they do not anticipate the story which follows in the ninth book. I shall only add, that tho' the vision itself is founded upon truth, the circumstances of it are full of that wildness and inconsistency, which are natural to a dream. *Addison.*

41. *Tunes sweetest his love-labor'd song;*] Spenser in his *Epithalamion*, a poem which Milton seems often to imitate, has it "*the bird's love-learned song*." We must farther observe that our author takes great liberties in his use of the genders, sometimes making *him* and *her* and *it* of the same thing or creature. We have a very remarkable instance in VI. 878.

Full orb'd the moon, and with more pleasing light
 Shadowy sets off the face of things; in vain,
 If none regard; Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,
 Whom to behold but thee, Nature's desire? 45
 In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment
 Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.
 I rose as at thy call, but found thee not;
 To find thee I directed then my walk;
 And on, methought, alone I pass'd through ways 50
 That brought me on a sudden to the tree
 Of interdicted knowledge: fair it seem'd,
 Much fairer to my fancy than by day:
 And as I wond'ring look'd, beside it stood
 One shap'd and wing'd like one of those from Heaven
 By

Disburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd and
 soon repair'd
Her mural breach, returning
 whence *it* roll'd.

The nightingale, tho' it is the cock
 that sings, he makes usually of the
 feminine gender as in IV. 602.

— the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long *her* amorous
 descant sung.

See likewise III. 40. VII. 436. But
 here he says *his love-labor'd song*, as
 the speech is address'd to Eve.
 And for the same reason he says

— Heav'n wakes with all *his* eyes,
 tho' commonly he uses Heaven it-
 self in the feminine gender, as in
 VII. 205.

— Heav'n open'd wide
Her ever during gates —
 and again, VII. 574.

— He through Heaven
 That open'd wide *her* blazing por-
 tals &c.

The reason of this alteration of the
 genders the judicious reader, when
 he examines each passage, will
 easily perceive.

44. — Heav'n

By us oft seen; his dewy locks distill'd 56
 Ambrosia; on that tree he also gaz'd;
 And O fair plant, said he, with fruit furcharg'd,
 Deigns none to ease thy load and taste thy sweet,
 Nor God, nor Man? is knowledge so despis'd? 60
 Or envy', or what reserve forbids to taste?
 Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold
 Longer thy offer'd good, why else set here?
 This said, he paus'd not, but with ventrous arm
 He pluck'd, he tasted; me damp horror chill'd 65
 At such bold words vouch'd with a deed so bold:
 But he thus overjoy'd, O fruit divine,
 Sweet of thyself, but much more sweet thus crompt,
 Forbidden here, it seems, as only fit

For

44. — *Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,*] Here again he has his master Spenser full in view, B. 3. Cant. 11. St. 45.

— with how many eyes
 High Heav'n beholds &c.

49. *To find thee I directed then my walk;*] So Ennius apud Ciceronem, De Divinat. I. 20.

— ita sola
 Post illa, germana soror, errare
 videbar,
 Tardaque vestigare, et quærere
 te, neque posse

Corde capeffere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat.

53. *Much fairer to my fancy than by day:*] As the sensations are often more pleasing, and the images more lively, when we are asleep than when we are awake. And what can be the cause of this? Our author plainly thinks it may be effected by the agency of some spiritual being upon the sensory while we are asleep.

56. — *his dewy locks distill'd Ambrosia;*] So Virgil of Venus, Æn. I. 403.

Am-

For Gods, yet able to make Gods of Men: 70
 And why not Gods of Men, since good, the more
 Communicated, more abundant grows,
 The author not impair'd, but honor'd more?
 Here, happy creature, fair angelic Eve,
 Partake thou also; happy though thou art, 75
 Happier thou may'st be, worthier canst not be:
 Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods
 Thyself a Goddess, not to earth confin'd,
 But sometimes in the air, as we, sometimes
 Ascend to Heav'n, by merit thine, and see 80
 What life the Gods live there, and such live thou.
 So saying, he drew nigh, and to me held,
 Ev'n to my mouth of that same fruit held part
 Which he had pluck'd; the pleasant savory smell
 So quicken'd appetite, that I, methought, 85
 Could not but taste, Forthwith up to the clouds
 With him I flew, and underneath beheld
 The earth outstretch'd immense, a prospect wide
 And

Ambrosiæque comæ divinum ver-
 tice odorem
 Spiravere. — Hume.

79. *But sometimes in the air, as
 we, sometimes &c.]* The words

as we are so plac'd between the two
 sentences, as equally to relate to
 both, and in the first sentence the
 verb *be* is understood. Pearce.

93. — *Thus Eve her night
 Related,]* Thus Eve repeated her
 dream.

And various; wond'ring at my flight and change
 To this high exaltation; suddenly 90
 My guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk down,
 And fell asleep; but O how glad I wak'd
 To find this but a dream! Thus Eve her night
 Related, and thus Adam answer'd sad.

Best image of myself and dearer half, 95
 The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep
 Affects me equally; nor can I like
 This uncouth dream, of evil sprung I fear;
 Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
 Created pure. But know that in the soul 100
 Are many lesser faculties, that serve
 Reason as chief; among these fancy next
 Her office holds; of all external things,
 Which the five watchful senses represent,
 She forms imaginations, aery shapes, 105
 Which reason joining or disjoining, frames
 All what we' affirm or what deny, and call

Our

dream. *Night* for the visions and
 dreams frequent in it. So Sil. Ital.
 III. 216.

94. — and thus Adam] Adam
 conformable to his superior cha-
 racter for wisdom instructs and
 comforts Eve upon this occasion.

Promissa evolvit somni, noctemque
 retractat. Hume.

Addisau.

117. Evil

Our knowledge or opinion; then retires
 Into her private cell when nature rests.
 Oft in her absence mimic fancy wakes 110
 To imitate her; but misjoining shapes,
 Wild work produces oft, and most in dreams,
 Ill matching words and deeds long past or late.
 Some such resemblances methinks I find
 Of our last evening's talk, in this thy dream, 115
 But with addition strange; yet be not sad.
 Evil into the mind of God or Man
 May come and go, so unprov'd, and leave
 No spot or blame behind: Which gives me hope
 That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream, 120
 Waking thou never wilt consent to do.
 Be not dishearten'd then, nor cloud those looks,
 That wont to be more chearful and serene,
 Than

117. *Evil into the mind of God or Man*] *God* here must signify *Angel*, as it frequently does in this poem. For *God cannot be tempted with evil*, as St. James says (I. 13.) of the Supreme Being. And Milton had just before (as Mr. Thyer also observes) used the term *God* in the same meaning. ver. 59.

Deigns none to ease thy load and
 taste thy sweet,

Nor God nor Man? —

again ver. 70.

—yet able to make Gods of Men.

129. *So chear'd he his fair spouse, and she was chear'd,*] A manner of speaking that occurs sometimes in Scripture, as in Jerem. XX. 7. *thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived.*

137. *But*

Than when fair morning first smiles on the world;
 And let us to our fresh employments rise 125
 Among the groves, the fountains, and the flowers
 That open now their choicest bosom'd smells,
 Reserv'd from night, and kept for thee in store.

So chear'd he his fair spouse, and she was chear'd,
 But silently a gentle tear let fall 130
 From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair;
 Two other precious drops that ready stood,
 Each in their crystal sluice, he ere they fell
 Kiss'd, as the gracious signs of sweet remorse
 And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended. 135

So all was clear'd, and to the field they haste.
 But first, from under shady arbo'rous roof
 Soon as they forth were come to open sight
 Of day-spring, and the sun, who scarce up risen,

With

137. *But first, from under shady
 arbo'rous roof*

Soon as they forth were come &c.]
 Dr. Bentley proposes *arbor's roof*:
 I don't know why: he gives us no
 reason, and I can think of none.
 But if the Doctor has made a
 change, where there was no fault;
 he has let a very considerable fault
 in this passage escape without any
 change or observation. As the
 comma now stands after *roof*, the

morning hymn of Adam and Eve
 is represented as said by them (at
 one and the same time) *from under
 the roof*, and *in the open sight of the
 sun*: which is a contradiction. The
 sense plainly requires that the com-
 ma should be as we have plac'd it;
 and the construction is, *But first they
 lowly bow'd adoring*, ver. 144. *as soon
 as they were come forth from under
 the roof of the arbor.* Pearce.

With wheels yet hovering o'er the ocean brim, 140
 Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray,
 Discovering in wide landskip all the east
 Of Paradise and Eden's happy plains,
 Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began
 Their orisons, each morning duly paid 145
 In various stile; for neither various stile
 Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
 Their Maker, in fit strains pronounc'd or sung
 Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
 Flow'd from their lips, in prose or numerous verse,
 More tuneable than needed lute or harp 151

To

145. — *each morning duly paid*
In various stile;] As it is very
 well known that our author was no
 friend to set forms of prayer, it is
 no wonder that he ascribes extem-
 porary effusions to our first parents;
 but even while he attributes strains
unmeditated to them, he himself imi-
 tates the Psalmist.

153. *These are thy glorious works,*
 &c.] The morning hymn is written
 in imitation of one of those Psalms,
 where in the overflowings of gra-
 titude and praise the Psalmist calls
 not only upon the Angels, but up-
 on the most conspicuous parts of
 the inanimate creation, to join with
 him in extolling their common
 Maker. Invocations of this nature
 fill the mind with glorious ideas of

God's works, and awaken that di-
 vine enthusiasm, which is so natu-
 ral to devotion. But if this calling
 upon the dead parts of nature is
 at all times a proper kind of wor-
 ship, it was in a particular manner
 suitable to our first parents, who
 had the creation fresh upon their
 minds, and had not seen the va-
 rious dispensations of Providence,
 nor consequently could be acquaint-
 ed with those many topics of praise,
 which might afford matter to the
 devotions of their posterity. I need
 not remark the beautiful spirit of
 poetry, which runs thro' this whole
 hymn, nor the holiness of that re-
 solution with which it concludes.

Addison.

The

To add more sweetness; and they thus began.

These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
Almighty, thine this universal frame,

Thus wondrous fair; thyself how wondrous then!

Unspeakable, who sitst above these Heavens 156

To us invisible, or dimly seen

In these thy lowest works; yet these declare

Thy goodness beyond thought, and pow'r divine.

Speak ye who best can tell, ye sons of light, 160

Angels; for ye behold him, and with songs

And choral symphonies, day without night,

Circle his throne rejoicing; ye in Heaven,

On

The author has raised our expectation by commending the various *style*, and *holy rapture*, and *prompt eloquence* of our first parents; and indeed the hymn is truly divine, and will fully answer all that we expected. It is an imitation, or rather a sort of paraphrase of the 148th Psalm, and (of what is a paraphrase upon that) the Cantic placed after *Te Deum* in the Liturgy, *O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord, &c.* which is the song of the three children in the Apocrypha.

155.—*thyself how wondrous then!* Wisd. XIII. 3. 4. 5. *With whose beauty, if they being delighted, took them to be Gods; let them know how much better the Lord of them is: for*

the first author of beauty hath created them. But if they were astonished at their power and virtue, let them understand by them, how much mightier he is that made them. For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionably the maker of them is seen.

160. *Speak ye who best can tell, &c.* He is *unspeakable*, ver. 156. no creature can speak worthily of him as he is; but speak ye who are best able ye Angels, ye in Heaven; on Earth join all ye creatures, &c.

162. — *day without night,*] According to Milton there was *grateful vicissitude like day and night in Heaven*, VI. 8. and we presume that he took the notion from Scripture, Rev. VII. 15. *They are before the*

On Earth join all ye Creatures to extol
 Him first, him last, him midst, and without end. 165
 Fairest of stars, last in the train of night,
 If better thou belong not to the dawn,
 Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling morn
 With thy bright circlet, praise him in thy sphere,
 While day arises, that sweet hour of prime. 170
 Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,
 Acknowledge

the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple. But still it was day without night, that is without such night as ours, for the darkness there is no more than grateful twilight. Night comes not there in darker veil. See ver. 645. of this book.

165. *Him first, him last, him midst,*] Theocrit. Idyl. XVII. 3.

— ἐνι πρωτοῖσι λεγεῖσθαι,
 καὶ πῦματ' ὅ, καὶ μεσοῖ. —

And then how has Milton improv'd it by adding *and without end!* as he is celebrating God, and Theocritus only a man.

166. *Fairest of stars,*] So Homer calls it, Iliad. XXII. 318.

Ἐσπερ' ὅ, ὅς καλλίστ' ἐν ὄψεσσι
 ἰσάται ἀστὴρ.

last in the train of night, and Ovid speaks much in the same manner, Met. II. 114.

— Diffugiunt stellæ, quarum agmina cogit

Lucifer, et cæli statione novissimus exit.

The stars were fled, for Lucifer had chas'd

The stars away, and fled himself at last. Addison.

I don't know whether it is worth remarking that our author seems to have committed a mistake. The planet Venus, when she rises before the sun, is called Phosphorus, Lucifer, and the Morning Star; when she sets after the sun is called Hesperus, Vesper, and the Evening Star; but she cannot rise before him, and set after him at the same time: and yet it may be objected that our author makes her do so; for describing the last evening, he particularly mentions *Hesperus that led the starry host*, IV. 605. and the very next morning she is address'd as *last in the train of night*. If this objection should be admitted, all we can say to it is, that a poet is not obliged to speak with the strictness and accuracy of a philosopher.

172. *Acknow-*

Acknowledge him thy greater, found his praise
 In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st,
 And when high noon hast gain'd, and when thou fall'st.
 Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st,
 With the fix'd stars, fix'd in their orb that flies, 176
 And ye five other wand'ring fires that move
 In mystic dance not without song, resound
 His praise, who out of darkness call'd up light.

Air,

172. *Acknowledge him thy greater,*] It is not an improbable reading which Dr. Bentley proposes *Acknowledge him Creator*, or as Mr. Thyer *Acknowledge thy Creator*: but I suppose the author made use of *greater* answering to *great*.

Thou Sun, of this *great* world
 both eye and soul,
 Acknowledge him thy *greater*.

So Ovid calls the sun *the eye of the world*, *Mundi oculus*, Met. IV. 228. And Pliny *the soul*, Nat. Hist. Lib. 1. c. 6. *Hunc mundi esse totius animum*. And the expression *thy greater* may be fitly parallel'd with *thy fiercest* IV. 927. and *his greater* in *Paradise Regain'd* I. 279.

173. *In thy eternal course,*] In thy continual course. Thus Virgil calls the sun, moon and stars *eternal fires*, *Æn.* II. 154. *Vos, æterni ignes*; and the sacred fire that was constantly kept burning *eternal fire*, *Æn.* II. 297.

VOL. I.

Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem:

and uses the adverb *æternum* in the same manner for continually. *Georg.* II. 400.

— glebaque versis

Æternum frangenda bidentibus.

175. *Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st, &c.*]

The construction is, *Thou Moon, that now meet'st and now fly'st the orient sun, together with the fix'd stars, and ye five other wand'ring fires &c.* He had before called upon the sun who governs the day, and now he invokes the moon, and the fix'd stars, and the planets who govern the night, to praise their Maker. The moon sometimes *meets* and sometimes *flies* the sun, approaches to and recedes from him in her monthly course. *With the fix'd stars, fix'd in their orb that flies*; they are fix'd in their orb, but their orb flies, that is moves round with the utmost rapidity; for Adam

I i

is

Air, and ye Elements, the eldest birth 180
 Of Nature's womb, that in quaternion run
 Perpetual circle, multiform; and mix
 And nourish all things; let your ceaseless change
 Vary to our great Maker still new praise.
 Ye Mists and Exhalations that now rise 185
 From hill or steaming lake, dusky or gray,
 Till the sun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,
 In honor to the world's great Author rise,
 Whether to deck with clouds th' uncolor'd sky,
Or

is made to speak according to appearances, and he mentions in another place, VIII. 19 and 21. *their rolling spaces incomprehensible, and their swift return diurnal. And ye five other wandering fires.* Dr. Bentley reads *four*, Venus and the Sun and Moon being mention'd before, and only four more remaining, Mercury and Mars and Jupiter and Saturn. And we must either suppose that Milton did not consider the morning star as the planet Venus; or he must be supposed to include the earth, to make up the *other five* besides those he had mention'd; and he calls it elsewhere VIII. 129. *The planet earth*; tho' this be not agreeable to the system, according to which he is speaking at present. *Wandering fires* in opposition to *fix'd stars*. *That move in mystic dance not without song*, alluding to the doctrine of the An-

cients and particularly to Pythagoras his notion of the music of the spheres, by which no doubt he understood the proportion, regularity, and harmony of their motions. Shakespear speaks of it more fully in his Merchant of Venice, Act V.

—Look how the floor of Heaven
 Is thick inlaid with patterns of
 bright gold:
 'There's not the smallest orb that
 thou behold'st,
 But in his motion like an Angel
 sings,
 Still quiring to the young-ey'd
 Cherubim,
 Such harmony is in immortal
 souls!
 But whilst this muddy vesture of
 decay
 Doth grossly close us in, we cannot
 hear it.

181. — that

Or wet the thirsty earth with falling showers, 190

Rising or falling still advance his praise.

His praise ye Winds, that from four quarters blow,

Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye Pines,

With every plant, in sign of worship wave.

Fountains and ye, that warble, as ye flow, 195

Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.

Join voices all ye living Souls; ye Birds,

That singing up to Heaven gate ascend,

Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise.

Ye

181.—*that in quaternion run &c.*] That in a fourfold mixture and combination run a perpetual circle, one element continually changing into another, according to the doctrine of Heraclitus, borrow'd from Orpheus. Et cum quattuor sint genera corporum, vicissitudine eorum mundi continuata natura est. Nam ex terra, aqua: ex aqua, oritur aer: ex aere, æther: deinde retrorsum vicissim ex æthere, aer: inde aqua: ex aqua, terra infima. Sic naturis his, ex quibus omnia constant, sursum, deorsum, ultro, citro commeantibus, mundi partium conjunctio continetur. Cicero de Nat. Deor. II. 33.

197. — *ye living Souls;*] *Soul* is used here as it sometimes is in Scripture for other creatures besides Man. So Gen. I. 20. *the moving creature that hath life*, that is *soul* in the Hebrew, and in the

margin of the Bible; and ver. 30. *every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life*, that is a *living soul*.

198. *That singing up to Heaven gate ascend,*] We meet with the like hyperbole in Shakespear, Cymbeline, Act II.

Hark, hark! the lark at Heav'n's gate sings;

and again in his 29th sonnet,

Like as the lark at break of day arising

From fullen earth sings hymns at Heaven's gate:

and not unlike is that in Homer, Od. XII. 73. of a very high rock,

— *ἄγρον εὐρύον ἄλυσιν*
Ὀξὴν κορυφῇ.

And with its pointed top to Heav'n ascends.

I i 2

202. *Witness*

Ye that in waters glide, and ye that walk 200
 The earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep;
 Witness if I be silent, morn or even,
 To hill, or valley, fountain, or fresh shade
 Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise.

Hail

202. *Witness if I be silent,*] Dr. Bentley thinks that Milton had forgot that both Adam and Eve shar'd in this hymn, and therefore he reads *if we be silent*, and in the next verse but one *by our song*: But Milton rather imitates here the ancient chorus, where sometimes the plural, and sometimes the singular number is used. The same is practis'd by our poet in the speeches of the chorus in Sampson Agonistes, where the reader will see in every page almost that the number is thus varied. Dr. Bentley observes, that the whole hymn naturally divides itself into parts interlocutory, and that he has presumed to put it so, tho' not warranted by any edition. But this is not Dr. Bentley's invention; for this hymn was set to music some years ago, and in that composition the several parts of it were assign'd distinctly to Adam and Eve. I think that such interlocutory parts are by no means fit for an heroic poem: but if the author should be supposed to have design'd them, I should choose to divide this hymn very different from the Doctor's division. [The Doctor assigns the first seven lines to Adam, those of the Angels to Eve, those of the Morning Star to

Adam, those of the Sun to Eve, those of the Moon to Adam, of the Air and Elements to Eve, of the Mists and Exhalations to Adam, of the Winds and Pines to Eve, of the Fountains and Rills to Adam, of the Creatures and Birds to Eve, of the Fishes and Beasts to Adam, and the four last lines to Eve. But on the contrary Dr. Pearce says] The first seven and the four last verses of this hymn I would suppose spoken by Adam and Eve together: and as to the other verses, I would have Adam speak all that the Doctor assigns to Eve, and Eve all that is now assign'd to Adam. In this method the mention of the fair Morning Star, the Moon, and Fountains and Rills will come to Eve's share, and they are circumstances which seem fitter for her to mention than her husband.

Pearce.

205. — *be bounteous still*
To give us only good;] He had his thought, as Dr. Bentley remarks, on that celebrated prayer in Plato,

Ζευ βασιλευ, τα μεν εδλα και
 ευχομαιοις και ανευκτοις
 Αμμι διδδ' τα δε λυγρα και
 ευχομαιων απερυκε.

Hail universal Lord, be bounteous still

205

To give us only good; and if the night

Have gather'd ought of evil or conceal'd,

Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark.

So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts

Firm

O Jupiter give us good things, whether we pray for them or not, and remove from us evil things, even tho' we pray for them. And we learn from the first book of Xenophon's memoirs of his master Socrates, that Socrates was wont to pray to the Gods only to give good things, as they knew best what things were so. *ευχετο δε παρ' ὧν τὸ θεὸς ἀπλῶς τ' ἀγαθὰ δίδοναι, ὥς τὸς θεὸς καλλίστα εἰδοτάς ποια ἀγαθὰ εἴη.* And to the same purpose there is an excellent collect in our Liturgy, for the eighth Sunday after Trinity, *We humbly beseech thee to put away from us all hurtful things, and to give us those things which be profitable for us.*

209. *So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts*

Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm.

On to their morning's rural work they haste &c.] These verses are thus pointed in the best, that is in Milton's own editions: but the latter sentence begins very abruptly, *On to their morning's work &c.* Dr. Bentley therefore continuing the sentence reads thus,

So pray'd they innocent; and to their thoughts

Firm peace *recover'd* soon and wonted calm,

On to their morning's rural work they haste &c.

Dr. Pearce thinks the sentence sufficiently continued in the common reading, if *recover'd* be a participle of the ablative case; and conceives this to be the construction, *Peace and calm being recover'd to their thoughts, they haste &c.* and accordingly points it thus,

— and, to their thoughts

Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm,

On to their morning's rural work they haste.

But perhaps the abruptness of the line

On to their morning's rural work they haste

was design'd the better to express the haste they were in as they were later to day than usual: Or perhaps with an easy alteration it may be read thus,

Then to their morning's rural work they haste.

I i 3

214. *Their*

Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm. 210
 On to their morning's rural work they haste
 Among sweet dewes and flow'rs; where any row
 Of fruit-trees over-woody reach'd too far
 Their pamper'd boughs, and needed hands to check
 Fruitless embraces: or they led the vine 215
 To wed her elm; she spous'd about him twines
 Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
 Her dow'r th' adopted clusters, to adorn

His

214. *Their pamper'd boughs,*] The propriety of this expression will best be seen by what Junius says of the etymology of the word *pamper*. The French word *pampre* of the Latin *pampinus* is a vine-branch full of leaves: and a vineyard, he observes, is said by them *pamprer*, when it is overgrown with superfluous leaves and fruitless branches. Gallis *pampre* est *pampinus*: unde iis *pamprer* dicitur vinea supervacuo *pampinorum* germine exuberans, ac nimia crescendi luxuria quodammodo sylvescens.

216. *To wed her elm;*] Hor. Epod. II. 9.

—Aut adulta vitium propagine
 Altas maritat populos:
 Inutilesque falce ramos amputans,
 Feliciores inferit.

Adam and Eve are very well employ'd in *checking fruitless embraces*, and *leading the vine to wed her elm*;

that is very fitly made the employment of a married couple, which is urged in Ovid as an argument to marriage, Met. XIV. 661.

Ulmus erat contra spatiosa tumentibus uvis,
 Quam socia postquam pariter cum vite probavit;
 At si stare, ait, cœlebs sine palmitum truncus,
 Nil præter frondes, quare peteretur, haberet.
 Hæc quoque quæ juncta vitis requiescit in ulmo,
 Si non nupta foret, terræ acclinata jaceret.

An elm was near, to whose embraces led,
 The curling vine her swelling clusters spread:
 He view'd their twining branches with delight,
 And prais'd the beauty of the pleasing sight.

Yet

His barren leaves. Them thus employ'd beheld
 With pity Heav'n's high king, and to him call'd 220
 Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deign'd
 To travel with Tobias, and secur'd
 His marriage with the sev'ntimes-wedded maid.

Raphael, said he, thou hear'st what stir on Earth
 Satan from Hell scap'd through the darksome gulf
 Hath rais'd in Paradise, and how disturb'd 226
 This night the human pair, how he designs

In

Yet this tall elm, but for his vine
 (he said)
 Had stood neglected, and a barren
 shade;
 And this fair vine, but that her
 arms surround
 Her marry'd elm, had crept along
 the ground. Pope.

And Virgil likewise has the metaphor of the vine embracing the elm, Georg. II. 367.

Inde ubi jam validis *amplexæ* stir-
 pibus ulmos
 Exierint:

and not only the poets, but Columella and the writers of rustic affairs frequently use the phrases of *nupta vitis*, and *marita ulmus*.

222. *To travel with Tobias,*] In the book of Tobit the Angel Raphael travels with Tobias into Media and back again, and instructs him how to marry Sara the daugh-

ter of Raguel, and how to drive away the wicked Spirit who had destroy'd her former seven husbands before they had knowledge of her. So *sociable a Spirit* as this is very properly sent to converse with Adam upon this occasion.

224. *Raphael, said he, thou hear'st what stir on Earth &c*] Milton in the following scene seems to have had his eye in a particular manner upon the 9th Canto of Tasso's Jerusalem, where God sends Michael to assist the Christians. What God says here to Raphael is express'd much after the same manner with the beginning of God's speech to Michael, St. 58.

— Non vedi hor come s'armi
 Contra la mia fedel diletta greg-
 gia
 L'empia schiera d' Auerno —
Thyer.

In them at once to ruin all mankind.

Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
 Converse with Adam, in what bow'r or shade 230
 Thou find'st him from the heat of noon retir'd,
 To respite his day-labor with repast,
 Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,
 As may advise him of his happy state,
 Happiness in his pow'r left free to will, 235
 Left to his own free will, his will though free,
 Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware
 He swerve not too secure: tell him withal

His

235. *Happiness in his pow'r left free to will,*] That is in the power of him left free to will.

247. — *nor delay'd the winged Saint &c.*] Raphael's departure from before the throne, and his flight thro' the quires of Angels, is finely imaged. As Milton every where fills his poem with circumstances that are marvelous and astonishing, he describes the gate of Heaven as framed after such a manner, that it open'd of itself upon the approach of the Angel who was to pass through it. The poet here seems to have regarded two or three passages in the 18th Iliad, as that in particular, where speaking of Vulcan, Homer says, that he had made twenty tripodes running on golden wheels; which upon occasion might

go of themselves to the assembly of the Gods, and, when there was no more use for them, returned again after the same manner. Scaliger has rallied Homer very feverely upon this point, as M. Dacier has endeavor'd to defend it. I will not pretend to determin, whether in this particular of Homer, the marvelous does not lose sight of the probable. As the miraculous workmanship of Milton's gates is not so extraordinary as this of the tripodes, so I am persuaded he would not have mention'd it, had not he been supported in it by a passage in the Scripture, which speaks of wheels in Heaven that had life in them, and moved of themselves, or stood still, in conformity with the Cherubims, whom they accompany'd. There is no question

His danger, and from whom; what enemy,
 Late fall'n himself from Heav'n, is plotting now
 The fall of others from like state of bliss; 241
 By violence? no, for that shall be withstood;
 But by deceit and lies; this let him know,
 Lest wilfully transgressing he pretend
 Surprisal, unadmonish'd, unforewarn'd. 245

So spake th' eternal Father, and fulfill'd
 All justice: nor delay'd the winged Saint
 After his charge receiv'd; but from among
 Thousand celestial Ardors, where he stood

Veil'd

question but Milton had this circumstance in his thoughts, because in the following book he describes the chariot of the Messiah with living wheels, according to the plan of Ezekiel's vision. I question not but Bossu and the two Daciers, who are for vindicating every thing that is censured in Homer, by something parallel in holy Writ, would have been very well pleased had they thought of confronting Vulcan's tripodes with Ezekiel's wheels.

Addison.

It perhaps would be an entertainment to the curious reader to compare this circumstantial description of Raphael's descent from Heaven with that of Michael in Tasso's *Gier. Lib. Cant. 9. St. 60, 61, 62.* They seem both to have been much labor'd by their respective

authors, and have each their particular beauties and defects. Milton does not in this place seem to endeavor to imitate, as he does in many others, the Italian poet, but rather to strive to rival and outdo him, and to have chosen for that purpose circumstances of a different sort to embellish his description. Which has succeeded best, every reader must determine for himself. *Thyer.*

249. *Thousand celestial Ardors,*] *Ardor* in Latin implies fervency, exceeding love, eager desire, fiery nature; all included in the idea of an Angel. *Richardson.*

By the word *Ardors* here Milton only means Seraphim, which signifies just the same in Hebrew (being deriv'd from *zaraph* to burn) as *Ardors* does in English.

The

Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, up springing light 250
 Flew through the midst of Heav'n; th' angelic quires,
 On each hand parting, to his speed gave way
 Through all th' empyreal road; till at the gate
 Of Heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-open'd wide
 On golden hinges turning, as by work 255
 Divine the sovran Architect had fram'd.
 From hence, no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,
 Star interpos'd, however small he sees,
 Not unconform to other shining globes,
 Earth and the gard'n of God, with cedars crown'd
 Above all hills. As when by night the glass 261

Of

The poet, I suppose, only made use of this term to diversify his language a little, as he is forc'd to mention the word Seraph and Seraphim in so many places. *Thyer.*

254. — *the gate self-open'd wide*] This circumstance is not borrow'd, as Mr. Addison conceiv'd, from Vulcan's tripodes in Homer, but from Homer's making the gates of Heaven open of their own accord to the Deities who pass'd thro' them, *Iliad. V. 749.*

ΑΥΤΟΜΑΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΠΥΛΑΙ ΜΥΚΟΝ ἔ-
 ραν, ὡς ἔχον Ωραί.

Heav'n gates spontaneous open to the Pow'rs,

Heav'n's golden gates, kept by the winged Hours. Pope.

Where Mr. Pope observes that the expression of *the gates of Heaven* is in the eastern manner, where they said the *gates* of Heaven or Earth for the entrance or extremities of Heaven or Earth; a phrase usual in the Scriptures, as is observed by Dacier.

257. *From hence, no cloud, &c.]* The comma after *interpos'd*, shows that it is here a participle in the ablative case put absolutely; and the construction is, *From hence, no cloud or star being interposed to obstruct his sight, he sees, however small it is, appearing very small at that distance, the earth not unlike to other shining globes, and in it Paradise, the garden of God, that was crown'd*

Of Galileo, less assur'd, observes
 Imagin'd lands and regions in the moon :
 Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades
 Delos or Samos first appearing, kens 265
 A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight
 He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
 Sails between worlds and worlds, with steady wing
 Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan
 Winnows the buxom air; till within soar 270
 Of tow'ring eagles, to' all the fowls he seems
 A Phoenix, gaz'd by all, as that sole bird,
 When to inshrine his reliques in the sun's

Bright

crown'd with cedars which were higher than the highest hills.

261. — *As when by night the glass &c.]* The Angel from Heaven gate viewing the earth is compared to an astronomer observing the moon thro' a telescope, or to a pilot at sea discovering an island at a distance. *As when by night the glass of Galileo,* the telescope first used in celestial observations by Galileo a native of Florence, *less assur'd* than the Angel, as was likewise the pilot, *observes,* a poetical expression, the instrument put for the person who makes use of it, *imagin'd lands and regions in the moon,* it is not only imagin'd that there are lands and regions in the moon, but astronomers give

names to them: *Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades,* a parcel of islands in the Archipelago, *Delos or Samos first appearing,* two of the largest of these islands and therefore first appearing, *kens a cloudy spot,* for islands seem to be such at their first appearance. But the Angel sees with greater clearness and certainty than these; the glass is *less assur'd,* and the pilot *kens* only *a cloudy spot,* when the Angel sees not the whole globe only, but distinctly the mount of Paradise.

266. — *Down thither prone in flight &c.]* Virg. *Æn.* IV. 253:

— hinc toto præceps se corpore
 ad undas

Misit, avi similis.

272. *A Phoenix,]* Dr. Bentley objects

Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies.
 At once on th' eastern cliff of Paradise 275
 He lights, and to his proper shape returns
 A Seraph wing'd; six wings he wore, to shade
 His lineaments divine; the pair that clad
 Each shoulder broad, came mantling o'er his breast
 With

jects to Raphael's taking *the shape of a Phoenix*, and the objection would be very just if Milton had said any such thing: but he only says that *to all the fowls he seems a Phoenix*; he was not really a Phoenix, the birds only fancied him one. This bird was famous among the Ancients, but generally looked upon by the Moderns as fabulous. The naturalists speak of it as single, or the only one of its kind, and therefore it is called here *that sole bird*, as it had been before by Tasso *unico augello*. They describe it as of a most beautiful plumage. They hold that it lives five or six hundred years; that when thus advanced in age, it builds itself a funeral pile of wood and aromatic gums, which being kindled by the sun it is there consumed by the fire, and another Phoenix arises out of the ashes, ancestor and successor to himself, who taking up the reliques of his funeral pile flies with them to Egyptian Thebes to in-shrine them there in the temple of the sun, the other birds attending and gazing upon him in his flight. *Egyptian Thebes* to distinguish it from the other Thebes in Bœotia.

See Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 10. c. 2. Ovid. Met. XV. and Claudian de Phœnice. Armida in Tasso is in like manner compared to a Phoenix, Cant. 17. St. 35.

Come all' hor, che'l rinato unico
 augello, &c.

As when the new-born Phoenix
 doth begin

To fly to Ethiopë-ward, at the fair
 bent

Of her rich wings, strange plumes,
 and feathers thin,

Her crowns and chains, with na-
 tive gold besprent,

The world amazed stands; and
 with her fly

An host of wond'ring birds that
 sing and cry:

So past Armida, look'd on, gaz'd
 on so. Fairfax.

275. — *on th' eastern cliff*] For there was the only gate of Paradise, IV. 178. The good Angel enters by the gate, and not like Satan.

276. — *and to his proper shape returns*] The word *shape* here (I suppose) occasion'd Dr. Bentley in his note on the former passage to say

With regal ornament; the middle pair 280
 Girt like a starry zone his waste, and round
 Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
 And colors dipt in Heav'n; the third his feet
 Shadow'd from either heel with feather'd mail,
 Sky-tinctur'd grain. Like Maia's son he stood, 285
 And

say that Milton makes Raphael take the shape of a *Phoenix*. But by returning to his proper shape Milton means only that he stood on his feet, and gather'd up his six wings into their proper place and situation.

Pearce.

Or as another ingenious person expresses it, He seem'd again what he really was, a Seraph wing'd; whereas in his flight he appear'd what he was not, a *Phoenix*.

277. — *fix wings he wore, &c.*] The Seraphim seen by *Isaiah*, VI. 2. had the same number of wings, *Above it stood the Seraphims, each one had six wings*: but there the wings are disposed differently.

284. — *with feather'd mail, Sky-tinctur'd grain.*] Feathers lie one short of another resembling the plates of metal of which coats of mail are compos'd. Sky-color'd, dy'd in grain, to express beauty and durableness. *Richardson*.

285. — *Like Maia's son he stood, &c.*] Raphael's descent to the earth, with the figure of his person, is represented in very lively colors. Several of the French, Italian and English poets have given a loose to their imaginations in the descrip-

tion of Angels: But I do not remember to have met with any so finely drawn, and so conformable to the notions which are given of them in Scripture, as this in Milton. After having set him forth in all his heavenly plumage, and represented him as alighting upon the earth, the poet concludes his description with a circumstance, which is altogether new, and imagin'd with the greatest strength of fancy.

— Like Maia's son he stood,
 And shook his plumes, that heav'n-
 ly fragrance fill'd
 The circuit wide. *Addison*.

The comparing of the Angel to *Maia's son*, to Mercury, shows evidently that the poet had particularly in view those sublime passages of Homer and Virgil, which describe the flight and descent of Mercury to the earth. That of Homer is in the *Iliad*. XXIV. 339.

ὧς ἔφατ'· ἐδ' ἀπὶ θησε δὲ ἀκλῶρε
 ἀργεφόνῃης·
 αὐτὴν ἔπειδ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο
 τὸ κάλα πεδίλα,

Αἰν.

And shook his plumes, that heav'nly fragrance fill'd
 The circuit wide. Strait knew him all the bands
 Of Angels under watch; and to his state,
 And to his message high in honor rise; 289
 For on some message high they guess'd him bound.
 Their glittering tents he pass'd, and now is come
 Into

Ἀμβροσία, χρυσέα, τὰ μιν φέ-
 ρει πρὶν ἐφ' ὕγρην,
 Ἡ δ' ἐπ' ἀπτεροῖς γαίαν, ἅμα
 πνοῖαις ἀνέμοιο.
 Εἰλετο δ' ἠελόδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν
 οὐμάτα δαλχεῖ,
 Ὃν ἐθέλει, τὸ δ' αὐτὲ καὶ ὕπνω-
 οῦσας ἐγείρει.

The God obeys, his golden pi-
 nions binds,
 And mounts incumbent on the
 wings of winds,
 That high thro' fields of air his
 flight sustain,
 O'er the wide earth, and o'er the
 boundless main:
 Then grasps the wand that causes
 sleep to fly,
 Or in soft slumbers seals the wake-
 ful eye. Pope.

Virgil has translated it almost lit-
 terally, but with some additions,
 Æn. IV. 238.

Dixerat: ille patris magni parere
 parabat
 Imperio, et primum pedibus tala-
 ria nectit
 Aurea: quæ sublimem alis, five
 æquora supra,

Seu terram, rapido pariter cum
 flamine portant.
 Tum virgam capit: hâc animas
 ille evocat Orco
 Pallentes, alias sub tristia Tartara
 mittit;
 Dat somnos adimitque et lumina
 morte resignat.

Hermes obeys; with golden pi-
 nions binds
 His flying feet, and mounts the
 western winds:
 And whether o'er the seas or earth
 he flies,
 With rapid force, they bear him
 down the skies.
 But first he grasps within his aw-
 ful hand,
 The mark of sov'reign pow'r, his
 magic wand:
 With this, he draws the ghosts
 from hollow graves,
 With this, he drives them down
 the Stygian waves;
 With this, he seals in sleep the
 wakeful sight;
 And eyes, tho' clos'd in death, re-
 stores to light. Dryden.

If it is hard to determin (as Mr.
 Pope says) which is more excellent,
 the

Into the blissful field, through groves of myrrh,
 And flow'ring odors, cassia, nard, and balm;
 A wilderness of sweets; for Nature here
 Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will 295
 Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
 Wild above rule or art; enormous blifs.

Him

the copy or the original, yet I believe every reader will easily determine that Milton's description is better than both. The reader may likewise, if he pleases, compare this descent of Raphael with that of Gabriel in Tasso, Cant. 1. St. 13, 14, 15. But (as Dr. Pearce observes) it is the graceful posture in standing after alighting that is particularly compar'd to Mercury;

Hic paribus primum nitens Cylle-
 niis alis

Constitit, Æn. IV. 253.

It is probable that the idea was first taken from the graceful attitudes of the antique statues of Mercury: but our author might have it more immediately from Shakespear's Hamlet, Act III.

A station, like the herald Mercury
 New-lighted on a Heaven-kissing
 hill:

as the image of the Angel's shaking his fragrant plumes is borrow'd particularly from Fairfax's Tasso,

On Lebanon at first his foot he set,
 And shook his wings with roary
 May-dews wet.

288. — and to his state,
 And to his message high in honor
 rise;] With the same respect
 as the Muses pay to Gallus in Vir-
 gil, Ecl. VI. 66.

Utque viro Phœbi chorus assur-
 rexerit omnis.

296. — pouring forth more sweet,
 Wild above rule or art; enormous
 blifs.] So the two first edi-
 tions point this passage: Dr. Bent-
 ley puts no stop after *art*; for want
 of which he has fallen into a con-
 siderable mistake: instead of *pour-
 ring forth more sweet*, he would have
 us read *pouring forth profuse*. He
 says *more sweet* than what? no-
 thing: for the comparison is dropt.
 But the sense is, pouring forth
 what was the more sweet for
 being wild and above rule or art.

Pearce.

Or should there not be a comma
 only after *art*? and is not *enormous
 blifs* the accusative case after *pour-
 ing forth*? which blifs was the *more
 sweet*, as it was *wild above rule or
 art*.

298. Him

Him through the spicy forest onward come
 Adam discern'd, as in the door he sat
 Of his cool bow'r, while now the mounted sun 300
 Shot down direct his fervid rays to warm
 Earth's inmost womb, more warmth than Adam needs:
 And Eve within, due at her hour prepar'd
 For dinner savory fruits, of taste to please
 True appetite, and not disrelish thirst 305
 Of necta'rous draughts between, from milky stream,
 Berry or grape: to whom thus Adam call'd.

Haste hither Eve, and worth thy sight behold
 Eastward among those trees, what glorious shape
 Comes this way moving; seems another morn 310
 Ris'n on mid-noon; some great behest from Heaven

To

298. *Him through the spicy forest*] Raphael's reception by the guardian Angels; his passing thro' the wilderness of sweets; his distant appearance to Adam, have all the graces that poetry is capable of bestowing. *Addison.*

299. — *as in the door he sat*] So Abraham, Gen. XVIII. 1. *sat in the tent-door in the heat of the day* when he was visited by three Angels. From that passage our poet form'd this incident. *Bentley.*

307. *Berry or grape:*] It is the

opinion of some that Noah was the first who made wine, because it is said in Scripture, Gen. IX. 20. *And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard:* but it cannot be inferr'd from hence that he was the first vine-dresser any more than that he was the first husbandman; and our author, we see, gives an earlier date to the making of wine, and a little afterwards more expressly,

— for drink the grape
 She crushes, inoffensive must.

Must

To us perhaps he brings, and will vouchsafe
 This day to be our guest. But go with speed,
 And what thy stores contain, bring forth, and pour
 Abundance, fit to honor and receive 315

Our heav'nly stranger: well we may afford
 Our givers their own gifts, and large bestow
 From large bestow'd, where Nature multiplies
 Her fertil growth, and by disburd'ning grows
 More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare. 320

To whom thus Eve. Adam, earth's hallow'd mold,
 Of God inspir'd, small store will serve, where store,
 All seasons, ripe for use hangs on the stalk;
 Save what by frugal storing firmness gains
 To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes: 325
 But

Must or new wine, so we spell it
 after the Latin *mustum*, and not
mouft as it is in our author's own
 editions.

310. — *seems another morn*]
 The nominative case is here un-
 derstood, the *glorious shape* before
 mention'd.

310. — *seems another morn*
Ris'n on mid-noon;] An expression
 probably borrow'd from these two
 lines in Marino's *Adonis*, upon a
 sudden appearance of a glory much
 of the same kind. C. 11. St. 27.

VOL. I.

*E cuo un lustro lampeggiar' d'in-
 torno*
*Che sole à sole aggiunse, e giorno à
 giorno.* Thyer.

325. — *and superfluous moist con-
 sumes*:] This is rather too
 philosophical for the female cha-
 racter of Eve: and in my opinion
 one of Milton's greatest faults is his
 introducing inconsistencies in the
 characters both of Angels and Man
 by mixing too much with them
 his own philosophical notions.

Thyer.

K. k

326. — *and*

But I will haste, and from each bough and brake,
 Each plant and juciest gourd, will pluck such choice
 To entertain our Angel guest, as he
 Beholding shall confess, that here on Earth
 God hath dispens'd his bounties as in Heaven. 330

So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
 She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent
 What choice to choose for delicacy best,
 What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
 Tastes, not well join'd, inelegant, but bring 335
 Taste after taste upheld with kindest change;

Bestirs

326.—and from each bough and
 brake,

Each plant and juciest gourd,] Dr. Bentley would read *branch* instead of *brake*, thinking that provisions are not to be gather'd from brakes: but *bough*, *brake*, *plant*, and *gourd*, express here all the several kinds of things which produce fruits. The *bough* belongs to fruit-trees; the *plant* is such as that which produces strawberries &c; the *gourd* includes all kinds that lie on the earth; and the *brake* is the species between trees and plants; of this sort are (I think) the bushes which yield currants, black-berries, goose-berries, raspberries &c. But if we read with the Doctor *branch*, it will be a superfluous word, because of *bough* which preceded it. Pearce.

331. *So saying, with dispatchful looks &c.*] The author gives us here a particular description of Eve in her domestic employments. Though in this, and other parts of the same book, the subject is only the housewifery of our first parent, it is set off with so many pleasing images and strong expressions, as make it none of the least agreeable parts in this divine work. Addison.

333. *What choice to choos.*] This sort of jingle is very usual in Milton, as to *move motion*, VIII. 130. *thoughts mis-thought*, IX. 289. *sin'd sin*, XI. 427. and is not unusual in the best classic authors, as in Terence, Phorm. V. V. 8.

Nam hunc scio mea solide solum
 gavisurum gaudia:

and

Bestirs her then, and from each tender stalk
 Whatever Earth all-bearing mother yields
 In India East or West, or middle shore
 In Pontus or the Punic coast, or where 340
 Alcinous reign'd, fruit of all kinds, in coat
 Rough or smooth rin'd, or bearded husk, or shell,
 She gathers, tribute large, and on the board
 Heaps with unsparing hand; for drink the grape
 She crushes, inoffensive must, and meaths 345
 From many a berry', and from sweet kernels press'd
 She tempers dulcet creams, nor these to hold

Wants

and in Virgil, *Æn.* XII. 680.

— hunc, or, fine me *furere ante
 furorem* :

and many more instances might be given.

338. *Whatever Earth all-bearing
 mother*] So the Greeks call
 her Πανμυκτηρ γη, and the Latins
Omniparens — *terræ omniparen-*
tis alumnum, Virg. *Æn.* VI. 595.
 She gathered all manner of fruits
 which the earth at that time af-
 forded, or has since produced in
 the noblest and best cultivated gar-
 dens.

339. — *or middle shore &c.*]
 Or on the borders of the Medi-
 terranean; in *Pontus*, part of Asia,
 or the *Punic coast*, part of Africa,
 or where *Alcinous* reign'd, in a Gre-

cian island in the Ionian sea (now
 the gulf of Venice) anciently call'd
Phæacia, then *Corcyra*, now *Cor-*
fu, under the dominion of the *Ve-*
netians. The soil is fruitful in oil,
 wine, and most excellent fruits,
 and its owner is made famous for
 his gardens celebrated by Homer.

Hume.

344. — *for drink the grape*
She crushes, inoffensive must,] By
 the word *inoffensive* Milton intends
 to hint at the later invention of
 fermenting the juice of the grape,
 and thereby giving it an intoxicat-
 ing quality. This he would say
 was not the wine of Paradise.

Thyer.

345. — *and meaths*] Sweet
 drinks like meads. A word used
 by Chaucer, and perhaps deriv'd
 from μεθυ.

K k 2

348. — *her*

Wants her fit vessels pure, then strows the ground
With rose and odors from the shrub unfum'd.

Mean while our primitive great fire, to meet 350
His God-like guest, walks forth, without more train
Accompanied than with his own complete
Perfections; in himself was all his state,
More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
On princes, when their rich retinue long 355
Of horses led, and grooms besmear'd with gold,
Dazles the croud, and sets them all agape.
Nearer his presence Adam though not aw'd,
Yet with submissive approach and reverence meek,

As

348. — *her fit vessels pure,*]
We may suppose the shells of nuts
and rinds of fruits, as was hinted
before, IV. 335.

— and in the rind
Still as they thirsted scoop the
brimming stream.

349. — *from the shrub unfum'd.*]
That is, not burnt and exhaling
smoke as in fumigations, but with
its natural sent. Heylin.

351. — *without more train*
Accompanied than with his own
&c.] Without more than with is a
soloeicism. It should be without
more train than his own complete per-
fections, with being expung'd. But
he gave it with no more train than
with &c. Bentley.

356. — *besmear'd with gold,*]
Horace's *aurum vestibus illitum*,
Od. IV. IX. 14. comes nearest to it.
Hume.

Virgil has used a like expression,
Æn. X. 314.

Per tunicam squallentem auro.
Richardson.

357. *Dazles the croud, and sets*
them all agape.] Virgil
Georg. II. 463.

Nec varios inbiant pulchra testu-
dine postes. Fortin.

Æn. VII. 812.

Illam omnis testis agrisque effusa
juventus

Turbaque

Book V. PARADISE LOST. 381

As to' a superior nature, bowing low; 360

Thus said. Native of Heav'n, for other place

None can than Heav'n such glorious shape contain;

Since by descending from the thrones above,

Those happy places thou hast deign'd a while

To want, and honor these, vouchsafe with us 365

Two' only, who yet by sovran gift possess

This spacious ground, in yonder shady bower

To rest, and what the garden choicest bears

To sit and taste, till this meridian heat

Be over, and the sun more cool decline. 370

Whom thus th' angelic Virtue answer'd mild.

Adam,

Turbaque miratur matrum, et as he is sitting: See my note on
prospectat euntem, II. 917. Pearce.
Attonitis inbians animis.

361. — *Native of Heav'n, for
other place*
*None can than Heav'n such glorious
shape contain;*] Milton in the
turn of these words very plainly al-
ludes to what Æneas says to Venus
in the first Æneid ver. 327.

371. — *th' angelic Virtue*] The
Angel: thus Homer uses Πειραμοιο
βινν *the strength of Priam* for Priam
himself, Iliad. III. 105. and Εκτο-
ρ μιν for Hector, Iliad. XIV.
418.

ΑΥΤΑΡ ΕΠΕΙ ΤΟΥ' ΑΛΚΕΟ' ΙΕΡΩΝ ΜΕ-
Ν ΑΛΚΙΝΟΟΙΟ. Odyss. VII. 167.

O, quam te memorem, Virgo?
namque haud tibi vultus
Mortalis, nec vox hominem fo-
nat; O Dea certe. Thyer.

After the sacred strength of Alci-
nous heard that.

368. — *what the garden choicest
bears*

To sit and taste,] That is, to taste

Imitated twice by the cautious Vir-
gil, *Odora canum vis* for dogs, Æn.
IV. 132. *Vimque Deum infernam* the
infernal Deities, Æn. XII. 149.

Hume.

K k 3

378. — Po-

Adam, I therefore came, nor art thou such
 Created, or such place hast here to dwell,
 As may not oft invite, though Spi'rits of Heaven
 To visit thee; lead on then where thy bower 375
 O'er shades; for these mid-hours, till evening rise,
 I have at will. So to the sylvan lodge
 They came, that like Pomona's arbor smil'd
 With flow'rets deck'd and fragrant smells; but Eve
 Undeck'd save with herself, more lovely fair 380
 Than Wood-Nymph, or the fairest Goddess feign'd
 Of three that in mount Ida naked strove,
 Stood to' entertain her guest from Heav'n; no veil
 She needed, virtue-proof; no thought infirm
 Alter'd her check. On whom the Angel Hail 385
 Bestow'd,

378. — *Pomona's arbor*] The Goddess of fruit-trees might well be supposed to have a delightful arbor, but that could not be more delightful in imagination, than this was in reality. See Ovid. Met. XIV. 623. &c.

380. *Undeck'd save with herself,*] This is simplex munditiis indeed, beyond Horace's, and makes an excellent contrast to Ovid's description of the fine lady full dress'd,

— pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

It calls to mind that memorable

saying, Induitur, formosa est; exuitur, ipsa forma est. Dress'd, she is beautiful; undress'd, she is beauty itself. With the same elegance of expression, describing Adam, he has said,

— in himself was all his state.

382. *Of three that in mount Ida naked strove,*] The judgment of Paris is very well known in preferring Venus to Juno and Minerva, that is beauty to power and wisdom: a different choice from that of young Solomon, who desir'd wisdom rather than riches and honor.

384. — *virtue*

Bestow'd, the holy salutation us'd
Long after to blest Mary, second Eve.

Hail Mother of Mankind, whose fruitful womb
Shall fill the world more numerous with thy sons,
Than with these various fruits the trees of God 390
Have heap'd this table. Rais'd of grassy turf
Their table was, and mossy seats had round,
And on her ample square from side to side
All autumn pil'd, though spring and autumn here
Danc'd hand in hand. A while discourse they hold;
No fear left dinner cool; when thus began 396
Our author. Heav'nly stranger, please to taste
These bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom
All perfect good, unmeasur'd out, descends,

To

384. — *virtue proof*;] *Proof* is used in the old poets for armour, Shakespear, Rom. & Jul. Act I.

And in strong *proof* of chastity well arm'd,
From love's weak childish bow she lives unharm'd.

385. — *On whom the Angel Hail &c.*] The natural majesty of Adam, and at the same time his submissive behaviour to the superior being, who had vouchsafed to be his guest; the solemn *Hail*, which the Angel bestows upon the mother of mankind, with

the figure of Eve ministring at the table, are circumstances which deserve to be admired. *Addison.*

387. — *to Mary, second Eve.*] See Luke I. 28. She is call'd *second Eve*, as Christ is sometimes called *second Adam*.

394. *All autumn pil'd,*] The table had mossy seats round it, and all autumn pil'd upon it; that is the fruits of autumn. So in Virg. Georg. II. 5.

— *pampineo gravidus autumno*
Floret ager.

399. — *perfect*] Milton writes
K k 4 it

To us for food and for delight hath caus'd 400
 The earth to yield; unsavory food perhaps
 To spiritual natures; only this I know,
 That one celestial Father gives to all.

To whom the Angel. Therefore what he gives
 (Whose praise be ever sung) to Man in part 405
 Spiritual, may of purest Spi'rits be found
 No' ingrateful food: and food alike those pure
 Intelligential substances require,
 As doth your rational; and both contain
 Within them every lower faculty 410
 Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,
 Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,

And

it *perfet* after the French *parfait* or the Italian *perfetto*; our usual way of spelling it is after the Latin *perfectus*; and very rightly, especially as we make use likewise of the word *perfection*. And in the general it is better surely to derive our language from the original Latin, than to make it only the copy of a copy.

407. *No' ingrateful food:*] There being mention made in Scripture of *Angels food*, Psal. LXXVIII. 25. that is foundation enough for a poet to build upon, and advance these notions of the Angels eating.

415.—*of elements &c.*] Dr. Bentley is for omitting here eleven lines together, but we cannot agree with

him in thinking them the editor's, tho' we entirely agree with him in wishing, that the author had taken more care what notions of philosophy he had put into the mouth of an Arch-Angel. It is certainly a great mistake to attribute the *spots* in the moon (which are owing to the inequalities of her surface, and to the different nature of her constituent parts, land and water) to attribute them, I say, to *vapors not yet turn'd into her substance*. It is certainly very *unphilosophical* to say that the sun *sup's with the ocean*, but it is not *unpoetical*. And whatever other faults are found in these lines, they are not so properly the faults of Milton, as of his times, and

And corporeal to incorporeal turn.
 For know, whatever was created, needs
 To be sustain'd and fed; of elements 415
 The grosser feeds the purer, earth the sea,
 Earth and the sea feed air, the air those fires
 Ethereal, and as lowest first the moon;
 Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurg'd
 Vapors not yet into her substance turn'd. 420
 Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale
 From her moist continent to higher orbs.
 The sun, that light imparts to all, receives
 From all his alimential recompense
 In humid exhalations, and at even 425
 Sups

and of those systems of philosophy which he had learned in his younger years. If he had written after the late discoveries and improvements in science, he would have written in another manner. It is allow'd by all philosophers, that the sun and fixed stars receive their supplies of nourishment; but in what manner they are fed and supply'd is a great question: and surely a greater latitude and liberty may be indulged to a poet in speaking of these things, than to a philosopher. The same kind of thought runs through an Ode of Anacreon, Ode 19.

Ἡ γῆ μελανα πίνει.
 Πίνει δὲ δένδρε' αὐτὴν.

Πίνει θάλασσα δ' αἶρας,
 Ὁ δ' ἡλιος θάλασσαν,
 Τὸν δ' ἡλίον σεληνὴ.

And we may suppose the poet alluded to this, and more particularly to that passage in Pliny, where the same account is given of the spots in the moon. *Sidera vero haud dubie humore terreno pasci, quia orbe dimidio nonnunquam maculosa cernatur, scilicet nondum suppetente ad hauriendum ultra iusta vi: maculas enim non aliud esse quam terræ raptas cum humore fordes. Lib. 2. cap. 9.*

421. *Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale*] A Latinism. So Virg. Georg. I. 83.

Nec

Sups with the ocean. Though in Heav'n the trees
 Of life ambrosial fruitage bear, and vines
 Yield nectar; though from off the boughs each morn
 We brush mellifluous dew, and find the ground
 Cover'd with pearly grain: yet God hath here 430
 Varied his bounty so with new delights,
 As may compare with Heaven; and to taste
 Think not I shall be nice. So down they sat,
 And to their viands fell; nor seemingly
 The Angel, nor in mist, the common gloss 435
 Of

Nec nulla interea est inaratæ gratia terræ.

426. — *Though in Heav'n the trees, &c.*] In mentioning *trees of life* and *vines* in Heaven he is justify'd by Scripture. See Rev. XXII. 2. Mat. XXVI. 29. As in speaking afterwards of *mellifluous dew* and *pearly grain* he manifestly alludes to *manna*, which is called *the bread of Heaven*. Psal. CV. 40. *And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoar frost on the ground. Exod. XVI. 14. and it was like coriander-seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey. ver. 31.*

435. — *the common gloss Of Theologians;*] The usual comment and exposition of Divines. For several of the Fathers and an-

cient Doctors were of opinion, that the Angels did not really eat, but only seemed to do so; and they ground that opinion principally upon what the Angel Raphael says in the book of Tobit, XII. 19. *All these days did I appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a vision.* But our author was of the contrary opinion, that the Angel did not eat in appearance only but in reality, *with keen dispatch of real hunger* as he says, and this opinion is confirm'd by the accounts in the Canonical Scripture of Abraham's entertaining three Angels at one time; and Lot's entertaining two Angels at another. See Gen. XVIII. and XIX. There it is said plainly that meat was set before them, *and they did eat*; and there is no reason for not understanding this, as well as the rest of the relation, literally. *Of Theologians;*

Of Theologians; but with keen dispatch
 Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
 To transubstantiate: what redounds, transpires
 Through Spi'rits with ease; nor wonder; if by fire
 Of sooty coal th' empiric alchemist 440
 Can turn, or holds it possible to turn,
 Metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold
 As from the mine. Mean while at table Eve
 Minister'd naked, and their flowing cups
 With pleasant liquors crown'd: O innocence 445
 Deserving

logians; this same word he uses in his *Tetrachordon*, p. 223. Vol. 1. Edit. 1738.

438. — *what redounds, transpires &c.*] This artfully avoids the indecent idea, which would else have been apt to have arisen on the Angels feeding, and withal gives a delicacy to these Spirits, which finely distinguishes them from us in one of the most humbling circumstances relating to our bodies.

Richardson.

439. — *nor wonder; if by fire &c.*] Nor is it a wonder, that the Angels have *concoctive heat* in their stomachs sufficient to *transubstantiate*, to turn their food and nourishment into their own substance, to *assimilate* as it was said before, and *turn corporeal to incorporeal*; if by fire the alchemist can turn or thinks to turn all metals to gold. *The empiric alchemist*, is one who makes

bold trials and experiments (*εμπειρικὸν* in Greek from *πειρα* a trial or experiment) without much skill and knowledge in the art, like a quack in physick. And they must be strange *empirics* indeed, who can hope to find out the philosopher's stone, and *turn metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold*. But it is not strange that our author so frequently alludes to alchemy (as he does in II. 517. III. 609. as well as here) when Johnson has written a whole comedy upon it.

445. *With pleasant liquors crown'd:*] *To crown their cups* was a phrase among the Greeks and Romans for filling them above the brim, but yet not so as to run over. Thus it is used by Homer, *Iliad*. I. 470.

Καὶ ἐν μὲν κρητὴρος ἐπέεσσιν
 ποτοιο.

and

Deserving Paradise! if ever, then,
 Then had the sons of God excuse to' have been
 Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts
 Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousy
 Was understood, the injur'd lover's Hell. 450

Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,
 Not burden'd nature, sudden mind arose
 In Adam, not to let th' occasion pass
 Giv'n him by this great conference to know
 Of things above his world, and of their being 455
 Who dwell in Heav'n, whose excellence he saw
 Transcend his own so far, whose radiant forms

Divine

and by Virgil, Georg. II. 528.

— et socii cratera coronant.

447. *Then had the sons of God excuse &c.*] The doubling of the *then* adds great force and emphasis; *if ever, then, then had the sons of God excuse &c.* and this is said in allusion to that text, Gen. VI. 2. *The sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and they took them wives of all that they chose, as if the sons of God there signified Angels.* See note on III. 463.

451. *Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd, Not burden'd nature, —*]

ΑΥΤΑΡ ΕΤΕΙ ΠΟΤΙΘ' ΚΑΙ ΕΔΗΤΟ
 ΕΞ ΕΡΩ ΕΠΙΟ.

Homer. Iliad. I. 469.

Postquam exempta fames epulis,
 mensaque remotæ.

Virg. Æn. I. 216.

Postquam exempta fames et amor
 compressus edendi.

Æn. VIII. 184.

Our author says the same thing, but at the same time insinuates a fine moral of the true end of eating and drinking, which is to satisfy but not to burden nature; and this sort of temperance he not only recommends as in the beginning of this book and XI. 530. &c, but remarkably practis'd himself.

455. — *above his world,*] This is

Divine effulgence, whose high pow'r so far
Exceeded human, and his wary speech
Thus to th' empyreal minister he fram'd. 460

Inhabitant with God, now know I well
Thy favor, in this honor done to Man,
Under whose lowly roof thou hast vouchsaf'd
To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste,
Food not of Angels, yet accepted so, 465
As that more willingly thou couldst not seem
At Heav'n's high feasts to have fed: yet what compare?

To whom the winged Hierarch reply'd.
O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom

All

is the reading in Milton's own editions, and not *above this world* as Mr. Fenton and Dr. Bentley have caus'd it to be printed.

456. — *whose excellence &c.*] *Excellence* is a general word; and he branches the *excellence* of Angels into two particulars, their *radiant forms* (which were the effulgence of the Deity) and their *high power*. Pearce.

467. — *yet what compare?*] *His speech* was *wary*; and he was afraid to ask the Angel directly of the different conditions of Men and Angels; but yet intimates his desire to know by questioning whether there was any comparison between them.

468. *To whom the winged Hierarch reply'd.*] Raphael's behaviour is every way suitable to the dignity of his nature, and to that character of a sociable Spirit, with which the author has so judiciously introduced him. He had received instructions to converse with Adam, as one friend converses with another, and to warn him of the enemy who was contriving his destruction: accordingly he is represented as sitting down at table with Adam, and eating of the fruits of Paradise. The occasion naturally leads him to his discourse on the food of Angels. After having thus enter'd into conversation with Man upon more indifferent subjects, he warns him of his obedience, and makes

All things proceed, and up to him return, 470
 If not deprav'd from good, created all
 Such to perfection, one first matter all,
 Indued with various forms, various degrees
 Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
 But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure, 475
 As nearer to him plac'd or nearer tending
 Each in their severall active spheres assign'd,
 Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
 Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root
 Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
 More aery, last the bright consummate flower 481
 Spirits odorous breathes: flow'rs and their fruit,
 Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd,

To

makes a natural transition to the
 history of that fallen Angel, who
 was employ'd in the circumvention
 of our first parents. *Addison.*

471. — created all

*Such to perfection, one first matter
 all, &c.]* That is, created
 all good, good to perfection, not ab-
 solutely so, but perfect in their dif-
 ferent kinds and degrees; and all
 consisting of *one first matter*, which
 first matter is *indued*, (*indutus*)
 clothed upon, *with various forms*,
 &c.

475. *But more refin'd, more spiri-
 tous, and pure,*

*As nearer to him plac'd or nearer
 tending &c.]* So Spenser in
 his Hymn of heavenly Beauty,
 speaking of the earth, the air, and
 above that the pure crystallin,

By view whereof it plainly may
 appear,
 That still as every thing doth up-
 ward tend,
 And farther is from earth, so still
 more clear
 And fair it grows &c. *Thyer.*

478. *Till body up to spirit work,
 &c.]* Our author should have con-
 sidered things better, for by attri-
 buting

To vital spi'rits aspire, to animal,
 To intellectual; give both life and sense, 485
 Fancy and understanding; whence the soul
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,
 Discursive, or intuitive; discourse
 Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,
 Differing but in degree, of kind the same. 490
 Wonder not then, what God for you saw good
 If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
 To proper substance: time may come, when Men
 With Angels may participate, and find
 No inconvenient di'et, nor too light fare; 495
 And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
 Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,

Improv'd

buting his own false notions in philosophy to an Arch-Angel he has really lessen'd the character, which he intended to raise. He is as much mistaken here in his metaphysics, as he was before in his physics. This notion of matter refining into spirit is by no means observing the *bounds proportion'd to each kind*. I suppose, he meant it as a comment on the doctrine of a natural body changed into a spiritual body, as in 1 Cor. XV. and perhaps borrow'd it from some of his systems of divinity. For Milton, as he was too much of a materialist in his

philosophy, so was too much of a systematist in his divinity.

482. *Spirits odorous*] We must take notice in reading this verse, that *Spirits* is here a word of *two* syllables, tho' it is often contracted into *one* or pronounc'd as two short ones, and particularly in the second line after this

To vital spi'rits aspire;

and the second syllable in *odorous* is to be pronounced long, tho' the poet makes it short in other places, IV. 166.

So

Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend
 Ethereal, as we, or may at choice
 Here or in heav'nly Paradises dwell; 500
 If ye be found obedient, and retain
 Unalterably firm his love entire,
 Whose progeny you are. Mean while enjoy
 Your fill what happiness this happy state
 Can comprehend, incapable of more. 505

To whom the patriarch of mankind reply'd.
 O favorable Spi'rit, propitious guest,
 Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
 Our knowledge, and the scale of nature set
 From center to circumference, whereon 510
 In

So entertain'd those *odorous* sweets
 the Fiend:

but these are not the only instances,
 where Milton makes use of this
 same poetical licence.

498. — *and wing'd ascend
 Ethereal, as we,*] It is the doctrine
 of the ablest Divines and primitive
 Fathers of the Catholic Church,
 that if Adam had not sinned, he
 would never have died, but would
 have been translated from Earth to
 Heaven; and this doctrine the reader
 may see illustrated in the
 learned Bishop Bull's discourse of
the state of man before the fall. Our
 author no doubt was very well ac-

quainted with the sense of anti-
 quity in this particular; and ad-
 mitting the notion, what he says
 is poetical at least, if you will not
 allow it to be probable and ra-
 tional.

503. *Whose progeny you are.*] From
 St. Paul Acts XVII. 28. *For we
 are also his offspring*; who took it
 from Aratus, *Τὸν γὰρ καὶ γενέ-
 σμεν*.

504. *Your fill what happiness*] *Your fill of what happiness, or to
 your fill what happiness.*

509. — *and the scale of nature set
 From center to circumference,*] The
 scale or ladder of nature ascends
 by steps from a point, a center, to
 the

In contemplation of created things
 By steps we may ascend to God. But say,
 What meant that caution join'd, If ye be found
 Obedient? can we want obedience then
 To him, or possibly his love desert, 515
 Who form'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here
 Full to the utmost measure of what bliss
 Human desires can seek or apprehend?

To whom the Angel. Son of Heav'n and Earth,
 Attend: That thou art happy, owe to God; 520
 That thou continuest such, owe to thyself,
 That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.
 This was that caution giv'n thee; be advis'd.

God

the whole circumference of what mankind can see or comprehend. The metaphor is bold and vastly expressive. *Matter, one first matter* is this center; nature infinitely diversify'd is the scale which reaches to the utmost of our conceptions, all round. We are thus led to God; whose circumference *who can tell?* *Uncircumscrib'd he fills infinitude*, VII. 170. *Richardson*.

512. *By steps we may ascend to God.*] There is a real visible ladder (besides that visionary one of Jacob) whose foot, tho' placed on the earth among the lowest of the creation, yet leads us *by steps in contemplation of created things* up to God the in-

visible creator of all things. *Hume*. Milton here very clearly alludes to the Platonic philosophy of rising gradually from the consideration of particular created beauty to that which is universal and uncreated.

Thyer.

520. *Attend: &c.*] The sentences here are very short, as every thing ought to be in the preceptive way. *Quicquid præcipies, esto brevis*, is the rule of Horace, *De Arte Poet.* 335. And this brevity in the preceptive, as it is agreeable to Horace's rule, so likewise to his practice, as particularly in that string of precepts, *Epist.* I. II. 55. *Sperne voluptates, &c.*

L 1

546. — *than*

God made thee perfect, not immutable;
 And good he made thee, but to persevere 525
 He left it in thy pow'r; ordain'd thy will
 By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate
 Inextricable, or strict necessity:
 Our voluntary service he requires,
 Not our necessitated; such with him 530
 Finds no acceptance, nor can find; for how
 Can hearts, not free, be try'd whether they serve
 Willing or no, who will but what they must
 By destiny, and can no other choose?
 Myself and all th'angelic host, that stand 535
 In sight of God, enthron'd, our happy state
 Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds;
 On other surety none; freely we serve,
 Because we freely love, as in our will

To

546. — *than when*
Cerberic songs &c.] Adam had
 mention'd these nightly songs of
 the Angels with pleasure in IV.
 680 &c. But still he prefers the
 conversation of the Angel, and
 thinks discourse more sweet,

For eloquence the soul, song
 charms the sense.

548. — *nor knew I not*

To be both will and deed created
free;] Nor was it unknown
 to me that my will and actions are
 free. I knew I was free. Two
 negatives make an affirmative.

Richardson.

551. — *whose command*
Single is yet so just,] That is the
 command not to eat of the for-
 bidden tree, the only command
 given to Man; and it is spoken
 of

Book V. PARADISE LOST. 395

To love or not; in this we stand or fall: 540

And some are fall'n, to disobedience fall'n,
And so from Heav'n to deepest Hell; O fall
From what high state of bliss into what woe!

To whom our great progenitor. Thy words
Attentive, and with more delighted ear, 545

Divine instructor, I have heard, than when
Cherubic songs by night from neighb'ring hills
Aereal music send: nor knew I not

To be both will and deed created free;
Yet that we never shall forget to love 550

Our Maker, and obey him whose command
Single is yet so just, my constant thoughts
Assur'd me', and still assure: though what thou tell'st
Hath past in Heav'n, some doubt within me move,
But more desire to hear, if thou consent, 555
The

of much in the same manner in
IV. 419.

— He who requires
From us no other service than to
keep
This one, this easy charge.

And again, ver. 432.

— Then let us not think hard

One easy prohibition, who en-
joy
Free leave so large to all things
else.

And this command tho' *single*, and
therefore on that account to be
obey'd, *is yet so just*, that it lays a
farther obligation upon our obe-
dience.

L. 12

557. *Worthy*

The full relation, which must needs be strange,
 Worthy of sacred silence to be heard;
 And we have yet large day, for scarce the sun
 Hath finish'd half his journey', and scarce begins
 His other half in the great zone of Heaven. 560

Thus Adam made request; and Raphaël
 After short pause assenting, thus began.

High matter thou injoin'st me', O prime of men,
 Sad task and hard; for how shall I relate
 To human sense th' invisible exploits 565
 Of warring Spirits? how without remorse
 The ruin of so many glorious once

And

557. *Worthy of sacred silence to be heard;*] Worthy of religious silence, such as was requir'd at the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies of the Ancients; alluding to that of Horace, Od. II. XIII. 29, 30.

*Utrumque sacro digna silentio
 Mirantur umbræ dicere.*

Richardson.

563. *High matter thou injoin'st me',
 O prime of men,*

Sad task and hard; &c.] It is customary with the epic poets to introduce by way of episode and narration the principal events, which happen'd before the action of the poem commences: And as Homer's Ulysses relates his adventures

to Alcinous, and as Virgil's Æneas recounts the history of the siege of Troy and of his own travels to Dido; so the Angel relates to Adam the fall of Angels and the creation of the world; and begins his narration of the fall of Angels, much in the same manner as Æneas does his account of the destruction of Troy, Virg. Æn. II. 3.

Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem.

574. — *though what if Earth &c.*] In order to make Adam comprehend these things the Angel tells him that he must *liken spiritual to corporal forms*, and questions whether there is not a greater similitude and resemblance between things

And perfect while they stood? how last unfold
 The secrets of another world, perhaps
 Not lawful to reveal? yet for thy good 570
 This is dispens'd; and what surmounts the reach
 Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
 By likening spiritual to corporal forms,
 As may express them best; though what if Earth
 Be but the shadow' of Heav'n, and things therein 575
 Each to' other like, more than on earth is thought?

As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild
 Reign'd where these Heav'ns now roll, where Earth
 now rests

Upon

things in Heaven and things in Earth than is generally imagin'd, which is suggested very artfully, as it is indeed the best apology that could be made for those bold figures, which Milton has employ'd, and especially in his description of the battels of the Angels.

577. *As yet this world was not, &c.*] Had I follow'd Monsieur Bossu's method, I should have dated the action of Paradise Lost from the beginning of Raphael's speech in this book, as he supposes the action of the Æneid to begin in the second book of that poem. I could allege many reasons for my drawing the action of the Æneid rather from its immediate beginning in the first book, than

from its remote beginning in the second; and show why I have consider'd the sacking of Troy as an *episode*, according to the common acceptation of that word. But as this would be a dry unentertaining piece of criticism, I shall not enlarge upon it. Which ever of the notions be true, the unity of Milton's action is preserved according to either of them; whether we consider the fall of Man in its immediate beginning, as proceeding from the resolutions taken in the infernal council, or in its more remote beginning, as proceeding from the first revolt of the Angels in Heaven. The occasion which Milton assigns for this revolt, as it is founded on hints in holy Writ, and

Upon her center pois'd; when on a day
 (For time, though in eternity, apply'd 580
 To motion, measures all things durable
 By present, past, and future) on such day
 As Heav'n's great year brings forth, th'empyreal host
 Of Angels by imperial summons call'd,
 Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne 585
 Forthwith from all the ends of Heav'n appear'd
 Under their Hierarchs in orders bright:
 Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanc'd,
 Standards and gonfalons 'twixt van and rear
 Stream in the air, and for distinction serve 590
 Of

on the opinion of some great writers, so it was the most proper that the poet could have made use of. The revolt in Heaven is described with great force of imagination, and a fine variety of circumstances.

Addison.

579. *Upon her center pois'd;*] *Ponderibus librata suis*, as Ovid says Met. I. 13. or as Milton elsewhere expresses it, VII. 242.

And Earth self-balanc'd on her center hung.

583. *As Heav'n's great year*] Our poet seems to have had Plato's great year in his thoughts.

Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo. Virg. Ecl. IV. 5.

— Et incipient magni procedere menses. Ecl. IV. 12. *Hume.*

Plato's great year of the Heavens is the revolution of all the spheres. Every thing returns to where it set out when their motion first began. See Auson. Idyl. XVIII. 15. A proper time for the declaration of the vicegerency of the Son of God. Milton has the same thought for the birth of the Angels (ver. 861.) imagining such kind of revolutions long before the Angels or the worlds were in being. So far back into eternity did the vast mind of this poet carry him! *Richardson.*

583. — *th'empyreal host*] We read of such a divine assembly in Job, I. 6. *Now there was a day when*

Of hierarchies, of orders, and degrees ;
 Or in their glittering tiffues bear imblaz'd
 Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love
 Recorded eminent. Thus when in orbs
 Of circuit inexpressible they stood, 595
 Orb within orb, the Father infinite,
 By whom in blifs imbosom'd sat the Son,
 Amidst as from a flaming mount, whose top
 Brightness had made invisible, thus spake.

Hear all ye Angels, progeny of light, 600
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
 Hear my decree, which unrevok'd shall stand.

This

when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord. And again, 1 Kings XXII, 19. I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of Heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left, which was enough to furnish the hint to Milton.

589. *Standards and gonfalons*] A gonfalon is some kind of streamer or banner, but of what particular sort authors do not seem to be at all agreed, and neither is it very material to know.

598. *Amidst as from a flaming mount, &c.*] This idea seems to be taken from the divine presence in the mount, Exod. XIX. when God gave his commandments to the children of Israel, as here he is

giving his great command concerning the Messiah in Heaven.

598. — *whose top*

Brightness had made invisible,]

The same just and yet bold thought with that in III. 380.

Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear.

See the note on that verse. *Thyer.*

602. *Hear my decree, &c.*] We observed before that Milton was very cautious what sentiments and language he ascribed to the Almighty, and generally confin'd himself to the phrases and expressions of Scripture; and in this particular speech the reader will easily remark how much of it is copy'd from holy Writ by comparing it

This day I have begot whom I declare
 My only Son, and on this holy hill
 Him have anointed, whom ye now behold 605
 At my right hand; your head I him appoint;
 And by myself have sworn to him shall bow
 All knees in Heav'n, and shall confess him Lord:
 Under his great vice-gerent reign abide
 United as one individual soul 610
 For ever happy: Him who disobey,
 Me disobey, breaks union, and that day
 Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
 Into' utter darkness, deep ingulf'd, his place
 Ordain'd without redemption, without end. 615
 So spake th' Omnipotent, and with his words
 All seem'd well pleas'd; all seem'd, but were not all.

That

with the following texts. *I have*
set my Anointed upon my holy hill of
Sion; I will declare the decree, The
Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my
son, this day have I begotten thee.
Psal. II. 6, 7. By myself have I
sworn, saith the Lord. Gen. XXII.
16. At the name of Jesus every knee
shall bow, of things in Heaven —
and every tongue shall confess that
Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of
God the Father. Phil. II. 10, 11.

620. Mystical dance, &c.] Strange

mysterious motions, which the shin-
 ing sphere of the planets and fixed
 stars in their various revolutions
 imitates nearest; windings and turn-
 ings intangled and obscure, involv-
 ing and furrounding one another,
 altho' not moving on the same
 center, yet then most regular and
 orderly, when to our weak and
 distant understanding they seem
 most irregular and disturb'd.

And those untruly errant call'd, I
 throw,

Since

That day, as other solemn days, they spent
 In song and dance about the sacred hill;
 Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere 620
 Of planets and of fix'd in all her wheels
 Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
 Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular
 Then most, when most irregular they seem;
 And in their motions harmony divine 625
 So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
 Listens delighted. Evening now approach'd
 (For we have also' our evening and our morn,
 We ours for change delectable, not need)
 Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn 630
 Desirous; all in circles as they stood,
 Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd

With

Since he errs not, who doth them
 guide and move.

Fairfax's Tasso, Cant. 9. St. 6.

*Astra tum ea quæ sunt infixæ certis
 locis, tum illa non re sed vocabulo
 errantia, &c.* Cicero Tusc. Disp.
 I. 25. And in their motions such
 divine perfection appears, and their
 harmonious proportion so tunes her
 charming notes, that God himself
 pleas'd and delighted, pronounced
 them good, Gen. I. 18. There is a

text in Job XXXVIII. 37. that
 seems to favor the opinion of the
 Pythagoreans, concerning the mu-
 sical motion of the spheres, though
 our translation differs therein from
 other versions. *Concentum cæli quis
 dormire faciet?* Who shall lay
 asleep, or still the consort of the
 Heaven? But this is to be un-
 derstood metaphorically, of the
 wonderful proportions observed by
 the heavenly bodies in their various
 motions. Hume.

633. — rubied

With Angels food, and rubied nectar flows
 In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,
 Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of Heaven. 635
 On flow'rs repos'd, and with fresh flow'rets crown'd,
 They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet
 Quaff immortality and joy, secure
 Of surfeit where full measure only bounds
 Excess, before th' all-bounteous King, who show'rd
 With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy. 641
 Now when ambrosial night with clouds exhal'd
 From

633. — *rubied nectar*] Nectar of the color of rubies; a translation of Homer's νεκταρ ερυθρον. Iliad. XIX. 38.

— αμβροσιν και νεκταρ ερυθρον.
 and Odyss. V. 93.

— παρεθηκε τραπεζαν
 Αμβροστινς πλυσασα, κερχας δε
 νεκταρ ερυθρον.

634. *In pearl, &c.*] This feast of the Angels is much richer than the banquet of the Gods in Homer's Iliad, IV. 3. Homer's Gods drink nectar in golden cups χρυσεις δεπασσι; but here the nectar flows in pearl, in diamond, and massy gold.

637. *They eat, they drink, &c.*] In the first edition it was thus,

They eat, they drink, and with
 refection sweet

Are fill'd, before th' all-bounteous King,

In the second edition the author alter'd it and added as follows,

They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet

Quaff immortality and joy, secure
 Of surfeit where full measure only bounds

Excess, before th' all-bounteous King,

Dr. Bentley is for restoring the former reading, but we think that *in communion sweet* gives a much better idea than *with refection sweet*. To *quaff immortality and joy*, to drink largely and plentifully of immortal joy, is a very poetical expression, and plainly alluding to Psal. XXXVI. 8, 9. *Thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures, for with thee is the fountain of life*

From that high mount of God, whence light and shade
 Spring both, the face of brightest Heav'n had chang'd
 To grateful twilight (for night comes not there 645
 In darker veil) and roseat dew's dispos'd
 All but th' unsleeping eyes of God to rest;
 Wide over all the plain, and wider far
 Than all this globous earth in plain outspread,
 (Such are the courts of God) th' angelic throng, 650
 Dispers'd in bands and files, their camp extend
 By living streams among the trees of life,

Pavilions

life, and in thy light shall we see light. If these verses were left out, then (as Dr. Pearce rightly observes) the words in ver. 641. which represent God as *rejoicing in their joy*, would refer to something that is no where to be found; and therefore Milton (he supposes) inserted these verses in the second edition, that the *joy* of the Angels might be express'd. *Secure of surfeit*, are in no danger of it, are not liable to it, as men are. *Where full measure only bounds excess*, full measure is the only thing that stints and limits them; the utmost they are capable of containing is the only bound set to them; they have full measure, but they cannot be too full, they cannot overflow; *without o'erflowing full*.

641. — *rejoicing in their joy.*] What an idea of the divine goodness, whose perfect happiness seems

to receive an addition from that of his creatures! *Richardson.*

642. — *ambrosial night*] So Homer calls the night *ambrosial*, *Ἀμβροσίην δὲ νύκτα*, Iliad. II. 57. and sleep for the same reason *ambrosial*, ver. 19. because it refreshes and strengthens as much as food, as much as ambrosia.

646. *In darker veil*] Milton spells this word differently, sometimes *veil*, sometimes *veil*; but *veil* is right from the Latin *velum*.

647. *All but th' unsleeping eyes of God to rest;*] So the Psalmist, Psal. CXXI. 4. *He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep.* The author had likewise Homer in mind, Iliad. II. 1.

Ἀλλοι μὲν ἄνθρωποι —
 Ἐνδον παρρυχίοι· Δία δ' ἄνευ
 νηδυμότητος.

Th' immortals

Pavilions numberless, and sudden rear'd,
 Celestial tabernacles, where they slept 654
 Fann'd with cool winds; save those who in their course
 Melodious hymns about the sovran throne
 Alternate all night long: but not so wak'd
 Satan; so call him now, his former name
 Is heard no more in Heav'n; he of the first,
 If not the first Arch-Angel, great in power, 660
 In favor and præminence, yet fraught
 With envy' against the Son of God, that day
 Honor'd by his great Father, and proclam'd
 Messiah King anointed, could not bear 664
 Through pride that sight, and thought himself impair'd,
 Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain,
 Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour

Friend-

Th'immortals slumber'd on their
 thrones above,
 All, but the ever-wakeful eyes
 of Jove. Pope.

653. — *and sudden rear'd,*] There
 is no need to read *rear* with Dr.
 Bentley. *Rear'd* here is a participle.
 Their tents were numberless, and
 rear'd of a sudden.

657. *Alternate all night long:*]
Alternate is a verb here; *alternate*
hymns, sing by turns, and answer
 one another.

Illi *alternantes* multa vi prælia
 miscant.

Virg. Georg. III. 220. of two bulls
 fighting.

Hæc *alternanti* potior sententia vi-
 sa est.

Æn. IV. 287. of Æneas deliberat-
 ing whether he should stay or go.

671. — *his next subordinate*]
 Beelzebub, who is always repre-
 sented second to Satan. Satan ad-
 dresses him first here, as he does
 likewise upon the burning lake,
 Book I.

673. *Sleep'st*

Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolv'd
 With all his legions to dislodge, and leave
 Unworshipt, unobey'd the throne supreme 670
 Contemptuous, and his next subordinate
 Awak'ning, thus to him in secret spake.

Sleep'st thou, Companion dear, what sleep can close
 Thy eye-lids? and remember'st what decree
 Of yesterday, so late hath pass'd the lips 675
 Of Heav'n's Almighty. Thou to me thy thoughts
 Wast wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart;
 Both waking we were one; how then can now
 Thy sleep dissent? New laws thou see'st impos'd;
 New laws from him who reigns, new minds may raise
 In us who serve, new counsels, to debate 681
 What doubtful may ensue: more in this place

To

673. *Sleep'st thou, Companion dear,*
what sleep can close

Thy eye-lids? and remember'st what
decree &c.] We have printed
the passage with Milton's own
punctuation. Sleep'st thou, Companion
dear, Εὐδεις Ἀτρὸς ὄψε; Iliad. II.
23. What sleep can close thy eye-lids?
and remember'st &c. that is when
thou remember'st &c.

— potes hoc sub casu ducere
 somnos?

Virg. Æn. IV. 560.

It is just the same manner of speak-
 ing as in II. 730.

— what fury, O Son,
 Possesses thee to bend that mortal
 dart

Against thy Father's head? and
 know'st for whom;

at the same time that thou know'st
 for whom.

682. — more in this place

To utter is not safe.] This is a
verse, but I believe the reader will
agree, that it could not have had
 so

To utter is not safe. Assemble thou
 Of all those myriads which we lead the chief;
 Tell them that by command, ere yet dim night 685
 Her shadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haste,
 And all who under me their banners wave,
 Homeward with flying march where we possess
 The

so good an effect, had it been an entire verse by itself, as it has now it is broken and made part of two verses.

684. *Of all those myriads which we lead the chief;*] Dr. Bentley reads *the chiefs*: but Milton speaks after the same manner as here, in II. 469. *Others among the chief &c.* And in both places *the chief* signifies the same as *the chiefs*, only this is a substantive, and that is an adjective, agreeing with the word *Angels* understood in the construction. Pearce.

685. *Tell them that by command, &c.*] He begins his revolt with a lie. So well doth Milton preserve the character given of him in Scripture. John VIII. 44. *The Devil is a liar, and the father of lies.*

689. *The quarters of the north;*] See Sannazarius *De partu Virginis*, III. 40.

Vos, quum omne arderet cœlum
 fervilibus armis,
 Arctoumque furor pertenderet impius axem
 Scandere, et in gelidos regnum
 transferre Triones,
 Fida manus mecum mansistis.

There are other passages in the same poem of which Milton has made use.

Fortin. Some have thought that Milton intended, but I dare say he was above intending here, a reflection upon Scotland, tho' being himself an Independent, he had no great affection for the Scotch Presbyterians. He had the authority, we see, of Sannazarius for fixing Satan's rebellion in *the quarters of the north*, and he had much better authority, the same that Sannazarius had, that of the Prophet, whose words though apply'd to the king of Babylon, yet allude to this rebellion of Satan, Isaiah XIV. 12, 13. *How art thou fall'n from Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! — For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God. I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation in the sides of the north.* The north conveys the idea of a disagreeable cold inclement sky; and in Scripture we read, *Out of the north an evil shall break forth*, Jer. I. 14. *I will bring evil from the north and a great destruction*, Jer. IV. 6. *Evil appeareth out of the north*,

The quarters of the north; there to prepare

Fit entertainment to receive our king

690

The great Messiah, and his new commands,

Who speedily through all the hierarchies

Intends to pass triumphant, and give laws.

So spake the false Arch-Angel, and infus'd

Bad

north, Jer. VI. 1. St. Austin says that the Devil and his Angels, being averse from the light and fervor of charity, grew torpid as it were with an icy hardness; and are therefore by a figure placed in the north. *Diabolus igitur et Angeli ejus a luce atque fervore caritatis averfi, et nimis in superbiam invidiamque progressi, velut glaciale durtia torpuerunt. Et ideo per figuram tanquam in aquilone ponuntur.* Epist. 140. Sect. 55. And Shakespear in like manner calls Satan *the monarch of the north*, 1 Henry VI. Act. V.

tion. This poem is longer than the Iliad, for it consists of five and twenty books; but it equals the Iliad in nothing but in length, for the poetry is very indifferent. However in some particulars the plan of this poem is very like *Paradise Lost*. It opens with the exaltation of the Son of God, and thereupon Lucifer revolts, and draws a third part of the Angels after him into *the quarters of the north*.

— pars tertia lavam

Hoc duce persequitur, gelidoque
aquilone locatur.

And ye choice Spirits, that admonish me,

And give me signs of future accidents,

You speedy helpers, that are substitutes

Under the lordly *monarch of the north*.

I have seen too a Latin poem by Odoricus Valmarana, printed at Vienna in 1627, and intitled *Dæmonomachia sive De Bello Intelligentiarum super Divini Verbi incarnatione*.

It is more probable, that Milton had seen this poem than some others, from which he is charged with borrowing largely. He was indeed an universal scholar, and read all sorts of authors, and took hints from the Moderns as well as the Ancients. He was a great genius, but a great genius form'd by reading; and as it was said of Virgil, he collected gold out of the dung of other authors.

702. Tell

Bad influence into th'unwary breast 695
 Of his affociate: he together calls,
 Or several one by one, the regent Powers,
 Under him regent; tells, as he was taught,
 That the most High commanding, now ere night,
 Now ere dim night had disincumber'd Heaven, 700
 The great hierarchal standard was to move;
 Tells the suggested cause, and casts between
 Ambiguous words and jealousies, to found

Or

702. *Tells the suggested cause,*]
 The cause that Satan had suggest-
 ed, namely to prepare entertain-
 ment for their new king and receive
 his laws: *and casts between ambi-*
guous words, imitated from Virg.
Æn. II. 98.

— hinc spargere voces
 In vulgum ambiguas.

708. *His count'nance, as the morn-*
ing star that guides &c.] This
 similitude is not so new as poetical.
 Virgil in like manner compares the
 beautiful young Pallas to the morn-
 ing star, *Æn. VIII. 589.*

Qualis, ubi oceani perfusus Luci-
 fer unda,
 Quem Venus ante alios astrorum
 diligit ignes,
 Extulit os sacrum coelo, tenebras-
 que resolvit.

So from the seas exerts his radiant
 head
 The star, by whom the lights of
 Heav'n are led;

Shakes from his rosy locks the
 pearly dews,
 Dispels the darkness, and the day
 renews. Dryden.

But there is a much greater pro-
 priety in Milton's comparing Satan
 to the morning star, as he is often
 spoken of under the name of Lu-
 cifer, as well as denominated in
 Scripture, *Lucifer son of the morning.*
Isaiah XIV. 12.

709. — *and with lies &c.]*
 Dr. Bentley says that the author
 gave it *and his lies &c.* but by the
 expression *his countenance* is meant
 he himself, a part being put for
 the whole, as in II. 683. we have
front put for the whole person: it
 is very frequent in Scripture to use
 the word *face* or *countenance* in this
 sense: as in Luke IX. 53. we read
 of our Saviour, that the *Samaritans*
did not receive him, because his face
was as tho' he (Greek, *it*) *would go*
to Jerusalem. See also Levit. XIX.
 32. But if this will not be allow'd
 to

Or taint integrity : but all obey'd

The wonted signal, and superior voice

705

Of their great potentate; for great indeed

His name, and high was his degree in Heaven;

His count'nance, as the morning star that guides

The starry flock, allur'd them, and with lies

Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host. 710

Mean while th' eternal eye, whose sight discerns

Abstrusest thoughts, from forth his holy mount

And

to be Milton's meaning, yet it may be said that Satan's *countenance*, seducing his followers by disguising the foul intentions of his heart, may be very properly said to *seduce with lies*. We read in Cicero's Epistles to his brother, *frons, oculi, vultus persæpe mentiuntur*. Lib. 1. Ep. 1. c. 5. Pearce.

Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host.

711. *Mean while th' eternal eye, whose sight discerns &c.*] Dr. Bentley seems very sure that Milton's text is wrong here, because in the course of the construction it is said of *this eternal eye* that it *smiling said*, ver. 718. He would therefore persuade us that Milton gave it

Mean while th' Eternal, *He* whose sight discerns &c.

710. *Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host.*] Behold a great red dragon — and his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven, and did cast them to the earth. Rev. XII. 3, 4. Dr. Bentley finds fault with this verse as very bad measure: but as a person of much better taste observes, there is a great beauty in the fall of the numbers in this line after the majesty of those before and after it, occasion'd principally by the change of the fourth foot from an iambic into a trochaic; an artifice often made use of by Milton to vary his numbers by those discords.

But would not *He* in this place thus following *th' Eternal* be a botch in poetry? Milton frequently takes a liberty, allowable in a poet, of expressing only some part or quality of a person, when he means the person himself, and goes on to say things which (properly speaking) are applicable only to the person himself. And Milton had good authority for doing so: in Psal. LIV. 7. *the eye is made a person, mine eye shall see his desire upon mine enemies;*

And from within the golden lamps that burn
 Nightly before him, saw without their light
 Rebellion rising, saw in whom, how spread
 Among the sons of morn, what multitudes
 Were banded to oppose his high decree;
 And smiling to his only Son thus said.

715

Son, thou in whom my glory I behold
 In full resplendence, Heir of all my might,
 Nearly it now concerns us to be sure

720

Of

enemies: so in Mat. XX. 15. the eye is put for the whole man, Is thine eye evil, because I am good? See also Prov. XXX. 17. Pearce. His count'nance allur'd, and with lies drew after him &c. The eternal eye saw &c. and smiling said — give great offence to Dr. Bentley, and Dr. Pearce says, his countenance and the eternal eye are the part for the whole or the person. But a very learned and ingenious friend questions, whether they are not here used equivocally, and to be construed either as one or the other according as the sense requires. 'Tis Satan's countenance that allures them like the morning star, but 'tis Satan himself that draws them after him with lies; so the eternal eye sees, but the smiling said must relate to the Eternal himself. Spenser has a stronger instance of the impropriety here taken notice of by the critics, and it is repeated as here in Milton. Spenser's Epithalamion.

Her long loose yellow locks like
 golden wire,
 Sprinkled with pearl, and perling
 flow'rs atween,
 Do like a golden mantle her attire:
 And being crowned with a girland
 green,
 Seem like some maiden queen.
 Her modest eyes abashed to behold
 So many gazers, as on her do
 stare,
 Upon the lowly ground affixed
 are;
 Ne dare lift up her countenance
 too bold,
 But blush to hear her praises sung so
 loud,
 So far from being proud.

713. *And from within the golden lamps]* Alluding to the lamps before the throne of God, which St John saw in his vision, Rev. IV. 5. *And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne.*

716. *Among*

Of our omnipotence, and with what arms
 We mean to hold what anciently we clame
 Of deity or empire; such a foe
 Is rising, who intends to' erect his throne
 Equal to ours, throughout the spacious north;
 Nor so content, hath in his thought to try
 In battel, what our pow'r is, or our right.
 Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
 With speed what force is left, and all employ
 In

716. *Among the sons of morn,*] The Angels are here call'd *sons of the morning*, as Lucifer is in Isa. XIV. 12. probably upon account of their early creation; or to express the angelic beauty and gladness, the morning being the most delightful season of the day. Job. XI. 17. *Thine age shall be clearer than the noon-day; thou shalt shine forth, thou shalt be as the morning.* XXXVIII. 7. *When the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy.* See also Cant. VI. 10. Isa. LVIII. 8. *Richardson.*

718. *And smiling*] Let not the pious reader be offended, because the supreme Being is represented as *smiling* and speaking ironically of his foes; for such figures of speech are not unusual in the Scripture itself. Immediately after the fall of Man we read, Gen. III. 22. *And the Lord God said, Behold the Man is become as one of us, to know good*

and evil. There are several instances of the like manner of speaking in the prophets. But this is particularly grounded upon Psal. II. 1. &c. *Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagin a vain thing? — against the Lord and against his Anointed — He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision.* It appears that our author had this passage in view, by his making the Son allude so plainly to it in his answer.

—Mighty Father, thou thy foes
 Justly hast in derision, and secure
 Laugh'st at their vain designs and
 tumults vain.

719. — *in whom my glory I behold
 In full splendence, Heir of all my
 might,*] For he is the brightness of his Father's glory, and appointed heir of all things, Heb. I. 2, 3.

M m 2

734. Lightning

In our defense, lest unawares we lose
This our high place, our sanctuary, our hill.

To whom the Son with calm aspect and clear,
Lightning divine, ineffable, serene,
Made answer. Mighty Father, thou thy foes 735
Justly hast in derision, and secure
Laugh'st at their vain designs and tumults vain,
Matter to me of glory, whom their hate
Illustrates, when they see all regal power
Giv'n me to quell their pride, and in event 740
Know whether I be dextrous to subdue
Thy rebels, or be found the worst in Heaven.

So spake the Son; but Satan with his Powers
Far was advanc'd on winged speed, an host
Innumerable as the stars of night, 745
Or stars of morning, dew-drops, which the sun

Im-

734. *Lightning divine,*] If *lightning* is a participle, the adjective *divine* is to be taken adverbially, as if he had said *Lightning divinely*: but it is rather a substantive, and in Scripture the Angel's countenance is said to have been like *lightning*, Dan. X. 6. Mat. XXVIII. 3.

746. *Or stars of morning, dew-drops,*] Innumerable as the stars is an old simile, but this of

the stars of morning, dew-drops, seems as new as it is beautiful: And the sun *impearls* them, turns them by his reflected beams to seeming pearls; as the morn was said before to sow the earth *with orient pearl*, ver. 2.

750. *In their triple degrees;*] This notion of *triples* in all the oeconomy of Angels is started by Tasso, Cant. 18. St. 96.

Impearls on every leaf and every flower.
Regions they pass'd, the mighty regencies
Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
In their triple degrees; regions to which 750
All thy dominion, Adam, is no more
Than what this garden is to all the earth,
And all the sea, from one entire globose
Stretch'd into longitude; which having pass'd
At length into the limits of the north 755
They came, and Satan to his royal seat
High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
Rais'd on a mount, with pyramids and towers
From diamond quarries hewn, and rocks of gold;
The palace of great Lucifer, (so call 760
That structure in the dialect of men
Interpreted) which not long after, he

Affecting

In battel round of squadrons *three*
they stood,
And all by *threes* those squadrons
ranged were:

and by Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 1.
Cant. 12. St. 39.

Like as it had been many an
Angel's voice
Singing before th' eternal Majesty,
In their *trinal triplicities* on high.

The fancy was borrow'd from the
Schoolmen. *Bentley.*

Spenser has again the same notion,
and uses the same expression in his
Hymn of heavenly love,

There they in their *trinal tripli-*
cities

About him wait, and on his will
depend.

761. — *in the dialect of men*]
The learned reader cannot but be
pleased

Affecting all equality with God,
 In imitation of that mount whereon
 Messiah was declar'd in sight of Heaven, 765
 The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;
 For thither he assembled all his train,
 Pretending so commanded to consult
 About the great reception of their king
 Thither to come, and with calumnious art 770
 Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears.
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
 If these magnific titles yet remain
 Not merely titular, since by decree
 Another now hath to himself ingross'd 775
 All pow'r, and us eclips'd under the name
 Of

pleased with the poet's imitation
 of Homer in this line. Homer
 mentions persons and things, which
 he tells us in the language of the
 Gods are call'd by different names
 from those they go by in the lan-
 guage of men. Milton has imitated
 him with his usual judgment in this
 particular place, wherein he has
 likewise the authority of Scripture
 to justify him.

Addison.

The scholiasts and commentators
 upon Homer endeavor to account
 for this manner of speaking several
 ways; but the most probable is,
 that he attributes those names

which are in use only among the
 learned to the Gods, and those
 which are in vulgar use to men.
 However that be, this manner of
 speaking certainly gives a dignity
 to the poem, and looks as if the
 poets had conversed with the Gods
 themselves.

766. *The Mountain of the Congre-
 gation call'd;] Alluding to
 what we quoted before from Isa.
 XIV. 13. I will exalt my throne
 above the stars of God; I will sit
 also upon the mount of the congre-
 gation, in the sides of the north.*

772. *Thrones*

Of King anointed, for whom all this haste
 Of midnight march, and hurried meeting here,
 This only to consult how we may best
 With what may be devis'd of honors new 780
 Receive him coming to receive from us
 Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile,
 Too much to one, but double how indur'd,
 To one and to his image now proclam'd?
 But what if better counsels might erect 785
 Our minds, and teach us to cast off this yoke?
 Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend
 The supple knee? ye will not, if I trust
 To know ye right, or if ye know yourselves
 Natives and sons of Heav'n possess'd before 790
 By

772. *Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,*] The use of the word *Virtues* in this line clearly explains what Milton meant by *th' angelic Virtue* in ver. 371.

Whom thus th' angelic Virtue answer'd mild.

It was an order of Angels distinguish'd by that name. This is the more evidently his meaning by these lines after, ver. 837.

— and all the Spirits of Heaven

By him created in their bright degrees,

Crown'd them with glory, and to their glory nam'd
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers.

Thyer.

790. *Natives and sons of Heav'n possess'd before*

By none,] Dr. Bentley's false pointing of this passage has led others to mistake the sense of it, as well as himself. He refers the word *possess'd* to *natives and sons*, but should it not rather be referred to *Heav'n* the word immediately preceding, there being no comma between them in Milton's own editions,

M m 4

By none, and if not equal all, yet free,
 Equally free; for orders and degrees
 Jar not with liberty, but well consist.
 Who can in reason then or right assume
 Monarchy over such as live by right
 His equals, if in pow'r and splendor less,
 In freedom equal? or can introduce
 Law and edict on us, who without law
 Err not? much less for this to be our Lord,

795

And

tions, as there is in Dr. Bentley's?
 And is not the passage to be under-
 stood thus, that *No one possess'd Hea-
 ven before them*, they were a sort of
 Aborigines? which notion Satan
 explains more at large in his fol-
 lowing speech, ver. 859.

We know no time when we were
 not as now;

Know none before us, self-begot,
 self-rai'd

By our own quick'ning pow'r,
 when fatal course

Had circled his full orb, the birth
 mature

Of this our native Heav'n, ethe-
 real fons.

792. — *for orders and degrees*

*Far not with liberty, but well
 consist.*] *Far*, a metaphor

taken from music, to which both
 the philosophers and poets have al-
 ways loved to compare govern-
 ment. So Shakespear, Henry V.
 Act I.

For government, though high,
 and low, and lower,
 Put into parts, doth keep in one
 consent;
 Congreeing in a full and natural
 close,
 Like music :

and in Troilus and Cressida, Act I.

Take but degree away, untune
 that string,

And hark what discord follows.

799. — *much less for This to be
 our Lord,*] This passage

seems to me as inexplicable almost
 as any in Milton. Dr. Bentley
 thinks it hard to find what *for this*
 relates to; and therefore reads *fore-
 think*, or if we have no regard to
 the likeness of the letters, *aspire*,
presume, or other such word. Then
 the series (he says) will be this,
*Who can introduce law and edict on
 us? much less can he forethink*, take
 it in his scheme or view, *to become*
 our

And look for adoration to th' abuse

800

Of those imperial titles, which assert

Our being ordain'd to govern, not to serve.

Thus far his bold discourse without controul

Had audience, when among the Seraphim

Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal ador'd 805

The Deity, and divine commands obey'd,

Stood up, and in a flame of zeal severe

The current of his fury thus oppos'd.

O

our Lord and master. Dr. Pearce says, that the sentence is elliptical, and may be supply'd thus, *much less* can he *for this* (viz. for our being *less in power and splendor*, ver. 796.) in right assume *to be our Lord*. Mr. Richardson understands it to be spoken blasphemously and with contempt of the Messiah, *This another*, ver. 775. *This King anointed*, ver. 777. And then the sense will run after this manner, *Who can then in justice assume monarchy over equals? or can introduce a law and edict upon us, who without law are infallible? much less can he introduce a law and edict for This* (I don't say what) *to be our Lord and receive adoration from us*. But then we must write *This* with a great letter, and we must not continue the note of interrogation at the end of the speech. If we should, I imagin we should be oblig'd to read *much more* instead of *much less*.

Mr. Warburton still understands it otherwise. Who can in reason assume monarchy over those who are his equals? and introduce law and edict upon them, when they can conduct their actions rightly without law? much less for this introduction of law and edict clame the right of dominion. For he thought the *giving* of civil laws did not introduce dominion. His head was full of the ancient legislators, who gave laws to equals and strangers, and did not pretend to the right of dispensing them, which is dominion. So he says before

— for orders and degrees
Jar not with liberty &c.

This is good sense, but still the grammatical construction is not easy. I suppose it must be thus, *much less for this* (can he assume ver. 794.) *to be our Lord*.

809. O

O argument blasphemous, false and proud!
 Words which no ear ever to hear in Heaven 810
 Expected, least of all from thee, Ingrate,
 In place thyself so high above thy peers.
 Canst thou with impious obloquy condemn
 The just decree of God, pronounc'd and sworn,
 That to his only Son by right indued 815
 With regal scepter, every soul in Heaven
 Shall bend the knee, and in that honor due
 Confess him rightful King? unjust, thou say'st,
 Flatly unjust, to bind with laws the free,
 And equal over equals to let reign, 820
 One over all with unsucceeded power.
 Shalt thou give law to God, shalt thou dispute
 With him the points of liberty, who made
 Thee what thou art, and form'd the Pow'rs of Heaven
 Such as he pleas'd, and circumscrib'd their being?
 Yet

809. *O argument blasphemous,*] Spenser too uses the word, Fairy
 And so likewise in VI. 360. Queen, B. 6. Cant. 12. St. 34.

Refrain'd his tongue *blasphemous*;
 but anon, &c. And therein shut up his *blasphemous* tongue.

And St. 25.

which are the only two places
 where he uses the word, he pro-
 nounces the second syllable long
 according to the Greek. And so And altars fouled, and *blasphemy*
 spoke.

835. — *by whom* &c.] Col. I.

Yet by experience taught we know how good, 826
 And of our good and of our dignity
 How provident he is, how far from thought
 To make us less, bent rather to exalt
 Our happy state under one head more near 830
 United. But to grant it thee unjust,
 That equal over equals monarch reign:
 Thyself though great and glorious dost thou count,
 Or all angelic nature join'd in one,
 Equal to him begotten Son? by whom 835
 As by his Word the mighty Father made
 All things, ev'n thee; and all the Spi'rits of Heaven
 By him created in their bright degrees,
 Crown'd them with glory, and to their glory nam'd
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
 Effential Pow'rs; nor by his reign obscur'd, 841
 But more illustrious made; since he the head

One

16, 17. For by him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist: and the conclusion of this speech is taken from the conclusion of Psal. II.

840. Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,] This verse, which occurs so often in this poem, is translated, as Mr. Lauder observes, from the frontispiece of Heywood's Hierarchy of Angels,

Throni, Dominationes, Principatus, Virtutes, Potestates.

They

One of our number thus reduc'd becomes;
 His laws our laws; all honor to him done
 Returns our own. Cease then this impious rage, 845
 And tempt not these; but hasten to appease
 Th'incens'd Father, and th'incens'd Son,
 While pardon may be found in time besought.

So spake the fervent Angel; but his zeal
 None seconded, as out of season judg'd, 850
 Or singular and rash, whereat rejoic'd
 Th' Apostate, and more haughty thus reply'd.
 That we were form'd then say'st thou? and the work
 Of secondary hands, by task transferr'd
 From Father to his Son? strange point and new! 855
 Doctrin which we would know whence learn'd: whosaw

When

They are both taken from St. Paul, as we have just now quoted him.

861. — *when fatal course &c.*] We may observe that our author makes Satan a sort of fatalist. We Angels (says he) were *self-begot, self-rais'd by our own quick'ning pow'r, when the course of fate had completed its full round and period*; then we were *the birth mature*, the production in due season, *of this our native Heaven*. No compliment to fatalism to put it into the mouth of the Devil.

864. *Our puissance is our own*;] It has been wonder'd that Milton

should constantly pronounce this word and *puissant* the adjective with two syllables, when they would be more sonorous with three. But in this he conforms to the practice and example of the best writers. So Fairfax in his Tasso, Cant. 18. St. 55.

And 'gainst the northern gate my
puissance bend.

and Cant. 19. St. 72.

Of this your terrible and *puissant*
 knight.

Tho' Spenser I find makes them
 sometimes

When this creation was? remember'st thou
 Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?
 We know no time when we were not as now;
 Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd 860
 By our own quick'ning pow'r, when fatal course
 Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
 Of this our native Heav'n, ethereal sons.
 Our puissance is our own; our own right hand
 Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try 865
 Who is our equal: then thou shalt behold
 Whether by supplication we intend
 Address, and to begirt th'almighty throne
 Beseeching or besieging. This report,
 These tidings carry to th' anointed King; 870
 And

sometimes three, as well as sometimes two syllables. As Shakespear does likewise, 2 Hen. IV. Act I.

Upon the pow'r and *puissance* of the king,

and a little afterwards,

And come against us in full *puissance*.

In the former line *puissance* is used as two syllables, and in the latter as three. It was certainly better in Milton to make it all the one or all the other.

864. — *our own right hand*
Shall teach us highest deeds,] From
 Psal. XLV. 4. *Thine own right hand*
shall teach thee terrible things.

Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod
 missile libro. Virg. Æn. X. 773.

Bentley.

869. *Beseeching or besieging.*]
 Those which are thought the faults
 of Milton may be justify'd by the
 authority of the best writers. This
 sort of jingle is like that in Terence,
 Andria, Act I. Sc. III. 13.

— *inceptio est amentium, haud*
amentium;

and

And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.

He said, and as the sound of waters deep
Hoarse murmur echo'd to his words applause
Through the infinite host; nor less for that
The flaming Seraph fearless, though alone 875
Incompass'd round with foes, thus answer'd bold.

O alienate from God, O Spi'rit accurs'd,
Forsaken of all good; I see thy fall
Determin'd, and thy hapless crew involv'd
In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread 880
Both of thy crime and punishment: henceforth
No more be troubled how to quit the yoke
Of God's Messiah; those indulgent laws
Will not be now vouchsaf'd; other decrees
Against thee are gone forth without recall; 885
That

and that in Shakespear, Hamlet, Act I.

A little more than kin, and less than kind.

872. — and as the sound of waters deep] The voice of a great multitude applauding is in like manner compared, Rev. XIX. 6. to the voice of many waters.

887. Is now an iron rod to bruise and break] Alluding to Psal. II. 9. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron: or rather to the old

translation, *Thou shalt bruise them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like a potters vessel.*

890. These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath &c.] In allusion probably to the rebellion of Korah &c. Numb. XVI. where Moses exhorts the congregation, saying, *Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, lest ye be consumed in all their sins*, ver. 26. But the construction without doubt is deficient. It may be supply'd (as

That golden scepter, which thou didst reject,
 Is now an iron rod to bruise and break
 Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise,
 Yet not for thy advice or threats I fly
 These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath 890
 Impendent, raging into sudden flame
 Distinguish not: for soon expect to feel
 His thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
 Then who created thee lamenting learn,
 When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know. 895
 So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found
 Among the faithless, faithful only he;
 Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
 Unshaken, uneduc'd, untterrify'd
 His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal; 900

Nor

(as Dr. Pearce says) by understanding *but I fly* before the word *lest*. See the same elliptical way of speaking in II. 483. But it would be plainer and easier with Dr. Bentley's alteration, if there was any authority for it;

These wicked tents *devote, but*
 lest the wrath &c.

896. *So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found &c.*] The part of Abdiel, who was the only Spirit that in this infinite host of

Angels preserved his allegiance to his Maker, exhibits to us a noble moral of religious singularity. The zeal of the Seraphim breaks forth in a becoming warmth of sentiments and expressions, as the character which is given us of him denotes that generous scorn and intrepidity which attends heroic virtue. The author doubtless design'd it as a pattern to those, who live among mankind in their present state of degeneracy and corruption.
Addison.

Nor number, nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind
Though single. From amidst them forth he pass'd,
Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustain'd
Superior, nor of violence fear'd ought; 905
And with retorted scorn his back he turn'd
On those proud tow'rs to swift destruction doom'd.

The end of the Fifth Book.

THE
SIXTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

VOL. I.

N n

THE ARGUMENT.

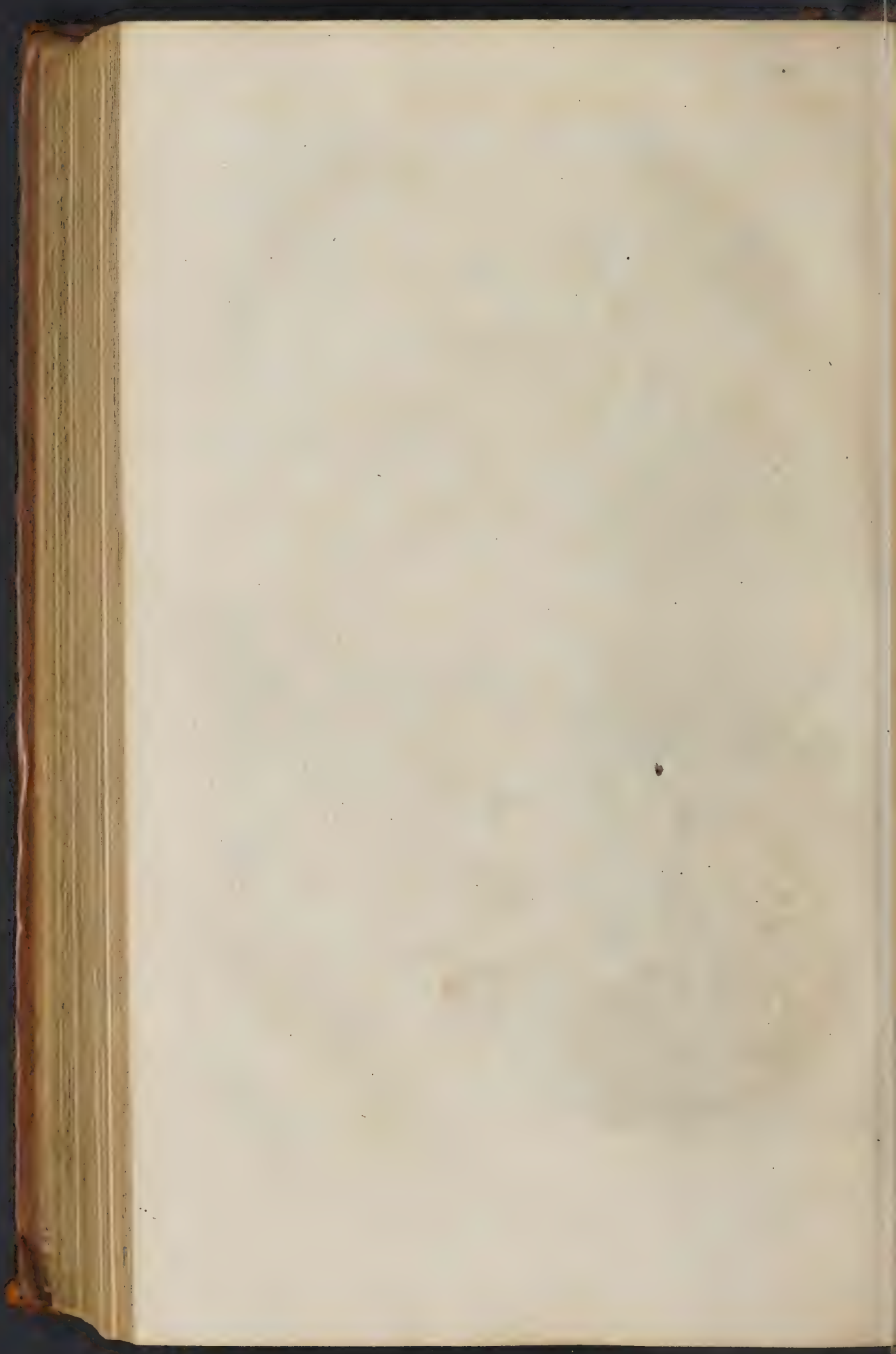
Raphael continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were sent forth to battle against Satan and his Angels. The first fight describ'd: Satan and his Powers retire under night: He calls a council, invents devilish engines, which in the second day's fight put Michael and his Angels to some disorder; but they at length pulling up mountains overwhelm'd both the force and machines of Satan: Yet the tumult not so ending, God on the third day sends Messiah his Son, for whom he had reserv'd the glory of that victory: He in the power of his Father coming to the place, and causing all his legions to stand still on either side, with his chariot and thunder driving into the midst of his enemies, pursues them unable to resist towards the wall of Heaven; which opening, they leap down with horror and confusion into the place of punishment prepar'd for them in the deep: Messiah returns with triumph to his Father.



J. Hayman inv. et del:

J. S. Müller sc:

Book. 6.



PARADISE LOST.

B O O K VI.

We are now entering upon the sixth book of *Paradise Lost*, in which the poet describes the battle of Angels; having raised his reader's expectation, and prepared him for it by several passages in the preceding books. I omitted quoting these passages in my observations upon the former books, having purposely reserved them for the opening of this, the subject of which gave occasion to them. The author's imagination was so inflamed with this great scene of action, that wherever he speaks of it, he rises, if possible, above himself. Thus where he mentions Satan in the beginning of his poem, I. 44. &c.

— Him the almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from
th' ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion,
down
To bottomless perdition, there to
dwell
In adamantin chains and penal
fire,
Who durst defy th' Omnipotent
to arms.

We have likewise several noble hints of it in the infernal conference, I. 128. &c.

O Prince! O Chief of many throned Powers,

That led th' imbattel'd Seraphim
to war,

Too well I see and rue the dire
event,

That with sad overthrow and foul
defeat

Hath lost us Heav'n, and all this
mighty host

In horrible destruction laid thus
low.

But see! the angry victor hath re-
call'd

His ministers of vengeance and
pursuit

Back to the gates of Heav'n: the
sulphurous hail

Shot after us in storm, o'erblown
hath laid

The fiery surge, that from the pre-
cipice

Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling;
and the thunder,

Wing'd with red lightning and im-
petuous rage,

Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and
ceases now

To bellow through the vast and
boundless deep.

There are several other very sub-
lime images on the same subject in
the first book, as also in the se-
cond, II. 165. &c.

What when we fled amain, pur-
sued and struck

With Heav'n's afflicting thunder,
and besought

N n 2

The

ALL night the dreadful Angel unpursued
 Through Heav'n's wide champain held his way;
 'till morn,
 Wak'd by the circling hours, with rosy hand
 Unbarr'd the gates of light. There is a cave
 Within the mount of God, fast by his throne, 5
 Where light and darkness in perpetual round

Lodge

The deep to shelter us? this Hell
 then seem'd
 A refuge from those wounds.

Pour'd out by millions her victo-
 rious bands
 Pursuing.

In short, the poet never mentions any thing of this battel but in such images of greatness and terror as are suitable to the subject. Among several others I cannot forbear quoting that passage, where the Power, who is described as presiding over the Chaos, speaks in the second book, II. 988. &c.

Thus Satan; and him thus the
 Anarch old,
 With faltring speech and visage
 incompos'd,
 Answer'd. I know thee, stranger,
 who thou art,
 That mighty leading Angel, who
 of late
 Made head against Heav'n's king,
 though overthrown.
 I saw and heard, for such a nume-
 rous host
 Fled not in silence through the
 frighted deep
 With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
 Confusion worse confounded; and
 Heav'n-gates

It requir'd great pregnancy of invention and strength of imagination, to fill this battel with such circumstances as should raise and astonish the mind of the reader; and at the same time an exactness of judgment, to avoid every thing that might appear light or trivial. Those who look into Homer, are surpris'd to find his battels still rising one above another, and improving in horror, to the conclusion of the Iliad. Milton's fight of Angels is wrought up with the same beauty. It is usher'd in with such signs of wrath as are suitable to Omnipotence incensed. The first engagement is carried on under a cope of fire, occasion'd by the flights of innumerable burning darts and arrows which are discharged from either host. The second onset is still more terrible, as it is filled with those artificial thunders, which seem to make the victory doubtful, and produce a kind

Lodge and dislodge by turns, which makes through
Heaven

Grateful vicissitude, like day and night;
Light issues forth, and at the other door
Obsequious darkness enters, till her hour 10
To veil the Heav'n, though darkness there might well
Seem twilight here: and now went forth the morn
Such

kind of consternation even in the good Angels. This is follow'd by the tearing up of mountains and promontaries; till, in the last place, the Messiah comes forth in the fulness of majesty and terror. The pomp of his appearance amidst the roarings of his thunders, the flashes of his lightnings, and the noise of his chariot-wheels, is described with the utmost flights of human imagination. *Addison.*

2. — till morn

*Wak'd by the circling hours, with
rosy hand*

Unbarr'd the gates of light.] This is copied from Homer's *Iliad*, V. 749. where the hours are feign'd in like manner to guard the gates of Heaven.

— πύλαι—ἔσαν, αἷς ἔχον Ὠραί,
τῆς ἐπιτετραπῆαι μεγάς ἔσαν, ὅτε,
Οὐλυμπῷ τε,
Ἡμεν ἀνακλιναι πυκινὸν νεφῶς,
ἠδ' ἐπιθεῖναι.

Heav'n's golden gates, kept by
the winged hours;
Commission'd in alternate watch
they stand,

The sun's bright portals and the
skies command,
Involve in clouds th' eternal gates
of day,
Or the dark barrier roll with ease
away. Pope.

6. *Where light and darkness &c.]* The making darkness a positive thing is poetical. But besides that, as he thought fit to bring it into Heaven, it could not be otherwise represented, for obvious reasons.

Warburton.

And the thought of light and darkness lodging and dislodging by turns, the one issuing forth and the other entering, is plainly borrow'd from a fine passage in Hesiod, which had almost escap'd me, *Theog.* 748.

— ὅδε νύξ τε καὶ ἡμέρα αἰών
ἰσται
ἀλλήλας περσσεύον, ἀμειβομέ-
ναι μέγαν ἔδον
Χαλκείον· ἥ μιν ἐσω καταβήσεται,
ἥ δὲ θυεάζεν
ἔρχεται, ἔδε ποτ' ἀμφοτέρως
δομῷ ἐνὶ θεῷ ἔργει.

N n 3

14. — vanish'd

Such as in highest Heav'n, array'd in gold
 Empyreal; from before her vanish'd night,
 Shot through with orient beams; when all the plain
 Cover'd with thick imbattel'd squadrons bright, 16
 Chariots and flaming arms, and fiery steeds
 Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view:
 War he perceiv'd, war in procinct, and found
 Already known what he for news had thought 20
 To have reported: gladly then he mix'd
 Among those friendly Pow'rs, who him receiv'd
 With joy and acclamations loud, that one,
 That of so many myriads fall'n, yet one
 Return'd not lost: On to the sacred hill 25
 They led him high applauded, and present

Before

14. — *vanish'd night,*] It is very absurdly printed in some editions, *vanquish'd night*.

15. *Shot through with orient beams;*] This quaint conceit of *night's being shot through* &c is much below the usual dignity of Milton's descriptions. The Italian poets, even the very best of them, are fond of such boyish fancies, and there is no doubt but we are obliged to them for this. So Marino speaking of Night, Adon. Cant. 5. St. 120.

E di tenebre armata uccise il giorno,

Both, in my opinion, very puerile. *Thyer.*

19. — *war in procinct,*] The Roman soldiers were said to stand *in procinctu*, when ready to give the onset. *Hume.*

As if you should say ready girded, in allusion to the Ancients, who just before the battel us'd to gird their garments close to them, which on other occasions they wore very loose. See Festus. *Richardson.*

29. *Servant of God,*] So the name of *Abdiel* signifies in Hebrew.

34. *Universal*

Before the seat supreme; from whence a voice
From midst a golden cloud thus mild was heard.

Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintain'd 30
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms;
And for the testimony' of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence; for this was all thy care 35
To stand approv'd in fight of God, though worlds
Judg'd thee perverse: the easier conquest now
Remains thee, aided by this host of friends,
Back on thy foes more glorious to return
Than scorn'd thou didst depart, and to subdue 40
By

34. *Universal reproach, far worse
to bear*

Than violence;] This sentiment
is very just, and not unlike what
Florus says in his character of Tar-
quin the proud — in omnes super-
bia, quæ crudelitate gravior est bo-
nis, grassatus, Flor. Lib. 1. c. 7.
So also Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 4.
Cant. 4. St. 4.

For evil deeds may better than
bad words be bore. *Thyer.*

Beaumont and Fletcher express the
same sentiment very well. Beggars
Bush Act II.

A good man bears a contumely
worse

Than he would do an injury.

Universal reproach, Here are two
Trochees, and not an Iambic till
the third foot; and so likewise in
V. 874.

Thro'ugh the infinite host —

This measure is not very common:
but as Mr. Jortin observes, Milton
often inserts harsh verses, when he
could easily have alter'd them,
judging, I suppose, that they had
the same effect in poetry, which
discords have in music.

N n 4

41. — *reason*

By force, who reason for their law refuse,
Right reason for their law, and for their king
Messiah, who by right of merit reigns.

Go Michael of celestial armies prince,

And thou in military prowess next

45

Gabriel, lead forth to battel these my sons

Invincible, lead forth my armed Saints

By thousands and by millions rang'd for fight,

Equal in number to that Godless crew

Rebellious; them with fire and hostile arms

50

Fearless assault, and to the brow of Heaven

Pursuing drive them out from God and bliss

Into their place of punishment, the gulf

Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide

His

41. — *reason for their law*] Al-
luding to the word *λογος*.

44. *Go Michael of celestial armies
prince,*] As this battel of the
Angels is founded principally on
Rev. XII. 7, 8. *There was war in
Heaven; Michael and his Angels
fought against the Dragon, and the
Dragon fought and his Angels, and
prevailed not, neither was their place
found any more in Heaven;* Michael
is rightly made by Milton the leader
of the heavenly armies, and the
name in Hebrew signifies the *power
of God*. But it may be censur'd
perhaps as a piece of wrong con-

duct in the poem, that the commis-
sion here given is not executed;
they are order'd to *drive* the rebel
Angels *out from God and bliss*, but
this is effected at last by the Messiah
alone. Some reasons for it are as-
sign'd in the speech of God, ver.
680. and in that of the Messiah, ver.
801. in this book.

55. *His fiery Chaos*] *Chaos* may
mean any place of confusion; but
if we take it strictly, 'Tartarus or
Hell was built in Chaos (II. 1002.)
and therefore that part of it, be-
ing stor'd with fire, may not im-
properly be call'd a *fiery Chaos*.

Dr.

His fiery Chaos to receive their fall. 55

So spake the sovran voice, and clouds began
To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll
In dusky wreaths, reluctant flames, the sign
Of wrath awak'd; nor with less dread the loud
Ethereal trumpet from on high 'gan blow: 60

At which command the Powers militant,
That stood for Heav'n, in mighty quadrate join'd
Of union irresistible, mov'd on
In silence their bright legions, to the sound
Of instrumental harmony, that breath'd 65
Heroic ardor to adventurous deeds

Under their God-like leaders, in the cause
Of God and his Messiah. On they move

In-

Dr. Bentley's change of *his* into *its*, because *which* (not *who*) went before, proceeds upon a supposition that *which* is not to be referred to a person; though it is well known that formerly *which* was as often apply'd to a person as *who*: as Dr. Pearce observes.

ders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount — and mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire.

58. — *reluctant flames,*] As slow and unwilling to break forth,

Stupa vomens tardum fumum.

Virg. Æn. V. 682.

64. *In silence*] So Homer observes, Iliad. III. 8. to the honor of his countrymen the Grecians, that they march'd on in silence, while the Trojans advanc'd with noise and clamor.

71. — *for*

56. — *and clouds began To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll &c.*] In this descrip-

tion the author manifestly alludes to that of God descending upon mount Sinai, Exod. XIX. 16, &c. *And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thun-*

Indissolubly firm; nor obvious hill, 69
 Nor strait'ning vale, nor wood, nor stream divides
 Their perfect ranks; for high above the ground
 Their march was, and the passive air upbore
 Their nimble tread; as when the total kind
 Of birds, in orderly array on wing,
 Came summon'd over Eden to receive 75
 Their names of thee; so over many a tract
 Of Heav'n they march'd, and many a province wide
 Tenfold the length of this terrene: at last
 Far in th' horizon to the north appear'd

From

71.—*for high above the ground &c.*] Our author attributes the same kind of motion to the Angels, as the Ancients did to their Gods; which was gliding thro' the air without ever touching the ground with their feet, or as Milton elsewhere elegantly expresses it (B. VIII. 302.) *smooth-sliding without step.* And Homer, Iliad. V. 778. compares the motion of two Goddesses to the flight of doves, as Milton here compares the march of the Angels to the birds coming on the wing to Adam to receive their names,

Αἱ δὲ βατὴν τριῶσι πελάσιν
 ἰσμάθ' ὁμοίαι

Smooth as the sailing doves they
 glide along. Pope.

73.—*as when the total kind &c.*] Homer has used the simile of a flight of fowls twice in his Iliad, to express the number and the motions, the order and the clamors of an army. See Iliad II. 459. III. 2. As Virgil has done the same number of times in his Æneid, VII. 699. X. 264. But this simile exceeds any of those; First, as it rises so naturally out of the subject, and was a comparison so familiar to Adam. Secondly, the Angels were marching thro' the air, and not on the ground, which gives it another propriety; and here I believe the poet intended the chief likeness. Thirdly, The *total kind* of birds much more properly expresses a prodigious number than any particular species, or a collection in any particular place. Thus Milton

From skirt to skirt a fiery region, stretch'd 80
 In battailous aspect, and nearer view
 Bristled with upright beams innumerable
 Of rigid spears, and helmets throng'd, and shields
 Various, with boastful argument portray'd,
 The banded Pow'rs of Satan hasting on 85
 With furious expedition; for they ween'd
 That self-same day by fight, or by surprise,
 To win the mount of God, and on his throne
 To set the envier of his state, the proud
 Aspirer, but their thoughts prov'd fond and vain 90
 In

Milton has raised the image in proportion to his subject. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*. p. 9.

81. — and nearer view &c.] To the north appear'd a fiery region, and nearer to the view appear'd the banded Powers of Satan. It appear'd a fiery region indistinctly at first, but upon nearer view it proved to be Satan's rebel army.

82. Bristled with upright beams &c.] The Latins express this by the word *horrere* taken from the *bristling* on a wild boar's or other animal's back. Virg. *Æn.* XI. 601.

— tum late ferreus hastis
Horret ager.

Milton has before, in II. 513, the expression of *horrent arms*.

84. Various, with boastful argument portray'd,] Shields various are varied with diverse sculptures and paintings; an elegant Latinism. And the thought of attributing *shields various, with boastful argument portray'd*, to the evil Angels seems to be taken from the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides, where the heroes who besiege Thebes are describ'd with the like boastful shields, only the prophet Amphiaraus hath no such boastful argument on his shield, but a shield without argument as became a modest man, ver. 1117.

Ο μαλ' ἰς Ἀμφιαρεῖος, ἔσθ' ἔχων
 Τεισμεν', ἀλλὰ σωφρονὸς ἀσπίς μ'
 ὀπλά.

In the mid way: though strange to us it seem'd
 At first, that Angel should with Angel war,
 And in fierce hosting meet, who wont to meet
 So oft in festivals of joy and love
 Unanimous, as sons of one great fire 95
 Hymning th' eternal Father: but the shout
 Of battel now began, and rushing sound
 Of onset ended soon each milder thought.
 High in the midst exalted as a God
 Th' Apostate in his sun-bright chariot sat, 100
 Idol of majesty divine, inclos'd
 With flaming Cherubim and golden shields;

Then

93. *And in fierce hosting meet,*] This word *hosting* seems to have been first coin'd by our author. It is a very expressive word, and plainly form'd from the substantive *host*: And if ever it is right to make new words, it is when the occasion is so new and extraordinary.

101. *Idol of majesty divine,*] This is the very same with what Abdiel afterwards at ver. 114. calls *resemblance of the Highest*, but how judiciously has Milton cull'd out the word *idol*, which though it be in its original signification the same as resemblance, yet by its common application always in a bad sense

serv'd much better to express the present character of Satan. ! *Thyer.*

103. ——— *for now*
'Twillt host and host but narrow
space was left,] The same circumstance Tasso has in his description of the decisive battel before the walls of Jerusalem, Cant. 20. St. 31.

Decresce in mezo il campo.

Thyer.

108. *On the rough edge of battel*] So we have in I. 276. *on the perilous edge of battel.* See the note there.

111. *Abdiel*

Then lighted from his gorgeous throne, for now
 'Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,
 A dreadful interval, and front to front 105
 Presented stood in terrible array
 Of hideous length: before the cloudy van,
 On the rough edge of battel ere it join'd,
 Satan with vast and haughty strides advanc'd
 Came towring, arm'd in adamant and gold; 110
 Abdiel that fight indur'd not, where he stood
 Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,
 And thus his own undaunted heart explores.

O Heav'n! that such resemblance of the Highest
 Should

111. *Abdiel that fight indur'd not,*
 Virg. Æn. II. 407.

Non tulit hanc speciem furiatâ
 mente Chorcæbus.

113. *And thus his own undaunted
 heart explores.*] Such solilo-
 quies are not uncommon in the
 poets at the beginning and even in
 the midst of battels. Thus Hector,
 Iliad. XXII. 98. explores his own
 magnanimous heart, before he en-
 gages with Achilles,

Οχθυσας δ' αεγ' επε περ ου
 μεγαλητορα θυμον.

He stood, and question'd thus his
 mighty mind. Pope.

A soliloquy upon such an occasion
 is only making the person *think*
aloud. And as it is observed by a
 very good judge in these matters,
 this use of soliloquies by the epic
 poets, who might so much more
 easily than the dramatic describe
 the workings of the mind in nar-
 rative, seems to be much in favor
 of the latter in their use of them,
 however the modern critics agree
 (as I think they generally do agree)
 in condemning them as unnatural,
 tho' not only frequent, but gene-
 rally the most beautiful parts in the
 best plays ancient and modern;
 and I believe very few, if any,
 have been wrote without them.

115. — *where*

Should yet remain, where faith and reäly 115
 Remain not: wherefore should not strength and might
 There fail where virtue fails, or weakest prove
 Where boldest, though to fight unconquerable?
 His puiffance, trusting in th' Almighty's aid,
 I mean to try, whose reason I have try'd 120
 Unfound and false; nor is it ought but just,
 That he who in debate of truth hath won,
 Should win in arms, in both disputes alike
 Victor; though brutish that contést and foul,
 When reason hath to deal with force, yet so 125
 Most reason is that reason overcome.

So pondering, and from his armed peers
 Forth stepping opposit, half way he met

His

115. — *where faith and reäly*] The author (says Dr. Bentley) would not have said *reäly* but *re-ality*, and therefore the Doctor prefers *feälty*, which is undoubtedly a proper word, but not necessary here. For *reäly* seems not to mean in this place *reality* in opposition to *show*; but *loyalty*, for the Italian dictionaries explain the adjective *reale* by *loyal*. Besides where is the difference between *faith*, and *feälty* or *fidelity*? Pearce.

119. — *trusting in th' Almighty's aid,*] We may remark the piety of the good Angel; and in-

deed without the divine aid and assistance he would have been by no means a match for so superior an Angel.

135. — *fool, not to think how vain &c.*] So Waller in his Verses on the taking of Salle,

Fools to provoke the sov'reign of the sea!

And Virgil, Æn. VI. 590.

Demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen &c.

And Homer frequently, from whence the rest seem to have borrow'd it, tho'

His daring foe, at this prevention more
Incens'd, and thus securely him defy'd. 130

Proud, art thou met? thy hope was to have reach'd
The highth of thy aspiring unoppos'd,
The throne of God unguarded, and his side
Abandon'd at the terror of thy power
Or potent tongue: fool, not to think how vain 135

Against th' Omnipotent to rise in arms;
Who out of smallest things could without end
Have rais'd incessant armies to defeat
Thy folly; or with solitary hand
Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow 140

Unaided could have finish'd thee, and overwhelm'd
Thy legions under darkness: but thou seest

All

tho' Mr. Pope has sometimes lessened the spirit of the expression by translating the word Νῆπις sometimes

Fool that he was ———

and sometimes making a whole line of it,

Fool that he was, and to the future blind.

But Milton has here particularly imitated Tasso, Cant. 4. St. 2.

Come fia pur leggiera imprefa
(ahi stolto)

Il repugnare a la divina voglia &c.

O fool! as if it were a thing of nought
God to resist, or change his purpose great, &c. Fairfax.

137. *Who out of smallest things*
For Milton did not favor the opinion, that the creation was out of nothing. *Could have rais'd incessant armies.* Matth. XXVI. 53. *Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of Angels?*

139. — *solitary hand*] His single hand.

147. — *my*

All are not of thy train; there be who faith
 Prefer, and piety to God, though then
 To thee not visible, when I alone 145
 Seem'd in thy world erroneous to dissent
 From all: my sect thou seest; now learn too late
 How few sometimes may know, when thousands err.

Whom the grand foe with scornful eye askance
 Thus answer'd. Ill for thee, but in wish'd hour 150
 Of my revenge, first sought for thou return'st
 From flight, seditious Angel, to receive
 Thy merited reward, the first assay
 Of this right hand provok'd, since first that tongue
 Inspir'd with contradiction durst oppose 155

A

147. — *my sect thou seest; &c*] The use of the word *sect* in this place seems a little forc'd and singular; and I can't help thinking but Milton brought it in in order to sneer the Loyalists of his time, who branded all dissenters, of whom he was one, with the opprobrious name of Sectaries. This also accounts for the word *few* in the next line; inasmuch as it suited Milton's particular view better to establish a general maxim than to apply it merely to the single case of Abdiel.

Thyer.

148. *How few sometimes may know,*] These *few* here are still too many. To come up to the point he should

have given it, and I suppose did give it,

How *one* sometimes may know,
 when thousands err.

as above, ver. 23. *That one, yet one return'd not lost.* Corn. Nepos in Epaminonda, Ex quo intelligi potest *unum* hominem pluris quam civitatem fuisse. Phædri Fab. LXIII.

Plus esse in *uno* sæpe quam in turba boni. Bentley.

I suppose the good Angel said *few*, though one was particularly intended, as it is more modest and less assuming to himself, and for the reason hinted above, intimating that

A third part of the Gods, in synod met
 Their deities to assert, who while they feel
 Vigor divine within them, can allow
 Omnipotence to none. But well thou com'st
 Before thy fellows, ambitious to win 160
 From me some plume, that thy success may show
 Destruction to the rest: this pause between
 (Unanswer'd lest thou boast) to let thee know;
 At first I thought that Liberty and Heaven
 To heav'nly souls had been all one; but now 165
 I see that most through sloth had rather serve,
 Ministring Spi'rits, train'd up in feast and song;
 Such hast thou arm'd, the minstrelsy of Heaven,
 Servility

that the Sectaries, tho' fewer in number, yet were more in the right than their opposers.

161. — *that thy success may show* Thy success, thy ill success; the word success is used in the same sense, II. 9. *Richardson.*

161. — *that thy success may show Destruction to the rest:*] Bentley says, a detestable fault: it should be *instruction*. Mr. Pope says *success ironically*. I don't know what this means. The text is right, and the meaning is, that thy success may show thy fellows the road to destruction, or the way to destroy their enemies. *Warburton.*

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167. *Ministring Spi'rits,*] So they are called Heb. I. 14. *Are they not all ministring Spirits?* and Satan mentions it in derision. Compare this with that of Virg. *Æn.* IX. 614.

Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis:
 Desidia cordi: juvat indulgere choreis:
 Et tunicæ manicas et habent redimicula mitræ.
 O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges! ite per alta
 Dindyma, ubi assuetis biformem dat tibia cantum.

O o

Tym.

Servility with freedom to contend,
As both their deeds compar'd this day shall prove. 170

To whom in brief thus Abdiel stern reply'd.
Apostate, still thou err'st, nor end wilt find,
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:
Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name
Of servitude to serve whom God ordains, 175
Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same,
When he who rules is worthiest, and excels
Them whom he governs. This is servitude,
To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebell'd
Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee, 180
Thyself not free, but to thyself inthrall'd;
Yet lewdly dar'st our ministring upbraid.

Reign

Tympana vos buxusque vocat Be-
recynthia matris
Idææ: finite arma viris, et cedite
ferro.

172. *Apostate, still thou err'st, nor
end wilt find
Of erring, from the path of truth
remote:*] Something like this
is what Juno says to Jupiter, Iliad.
XIX. 107.

Ψευδηςεις, εδ' αυτε τελατο μυθω
επιθηςεις. Thyer.

181. *Thyself not free, but to thy-
self inthrall'd;*] So Horace
Sat. II. VII. 81.

Tu mihi qui imperitas, aliis servis
miser —
Quisnam igitur liber? sapiens, sibi
qui imperiosus.

And as to what is here said of ser-
vitude, see Aristotle's Politics, B. 1.
C. 3 & 4.

183. — *in Hell thy kingdom;*] Not that it was so at present. This is said by way of anticipation. God had order'd him to be cast out, ver. 52. and what the Almighty had pronounc'd, the good Angel looks upon as done. And this sentiment

Reign

Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom; let me serve
In Heav'n God ever blest, and his divine
Behests obey, worthiest to be obey'd; 185

Yet chains in Hell, not realms expect: mean while
From me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,
This greeting on thy impious crest receive.

So say'ing, a noble stroke he lifted high,
Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell 190
On the proud crest of Satan, that no fight,
Nor motion of swift thought, less could his shield
Such ruin intercept: ten paces huge
He back recoil'd; the tenth on bended knee
His massy spear upstay'd; as if on earth 195
Winds under ground, or waters forcing way
Sidelong

*Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom; let
me serve*
In Heav'n God ever blest,
is design'd as a contrast to Satan's
vaunt in I. 263.

Better to reign in Hell, than serve
in Heaven.

187. *From me return'd, as erst thou
saidst, from flight,*
This greeting &c.] So Ascanius in
Virgil retorts his adversary's term
of reproach, Æn. IX. 635,

*Bis capti Phryges hæc Rutulis re-
sponsa remittunt,*
alluding to ver. 599.

189. *So say'ing, &c.]* Saying is
here contracted into one syllable,
or is to be pronounc'd as two short
ones, which very well expresses
the eagerness of the Angel. He
struck at his foe before he had
finish'd his speech, while he was
speaking, which is much better
than Dr. Bentley's reading *So said*,
as if he had not aim'd his blow,
till after he had spoken.

195. — *as if on earth*
Winds under ground, &c.] Hesiod
compares the fall of Cygnus to an
oak or a rock falling, Scut. Herc.
421.

Sidelong had push'd a mountain from his seat
 Half sunk with all his pines. Amazement seisd
 The rebel Thrones, but greater rage to see
 Thus foil'd their mightiest; ours joy fill'd, and shout,
 Presage of victory, and fierce desire 201
 Of battel: whereat Michaël bid sound
 Th' Arch-Angel trumpet; through the vast of Heaven
 It founded, and the faithful armies rung

Hosanna

Ἡεῖπε δ', ὡς ὅτε τις δρυς πεῖπεν,
 ἢ ὅτε πέτρῃ
 Ἡλίσσας, πλὴγασα δι' ὅ-
 λοεντι κερραυνῶ.

And similes of this kind are very frequent amongst the ancient poets, but though our author might take the hint of his from thence, yet we must allow, that he has with great art and judgment highten'd it in proportion to the superior dignity of his subject. But perhaps he might rather more probably allude to Spenser's description of the fall of the old dragon, under which allegory he intended to represent a Christian's victory over the Devil. Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 54.

So down he fell, as an huge rocky
 clift,
 Whose false foundation waves have
 wash'd away,
 With dreadful poise is from the
 main land rift, &c. *Thyer.*

210. — *and the madding wheels]*

What strong and daring figures are here! Every thing is alive and animated. The very chariot *wheels* are *mad* and *raging*. And how rough and jarring are the verses, and how admirably do they *bray* the horrible discord they would describe! The word *bray* (probably from the Greek *βραχῶ* strepo) signifies to make any kind of noise, tho' now it be commonly appropriated to a certain animal. It is apply'd by Spenser to the sound of a trumpet, Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 12. St. 6.

And when it ceas'd, shrill trumpets loud did *bray*.

But it usually signifies any disagreeable noise, as B. 1. Cant. 6. St. 7.

Her shrill outcries and shrieks so loud did *bray*:

and B. 1. Cant. 8. St. 11.

He loudly *bray'd* with beastly yelling sound:

and

Book VI. PARADISE LOST.

445

Hosanna to the High'est: nor stood at gaze 205
 The adverse legions, nor less hideous join'd
 The horrid shock: now storming fury rose,
 And clamor such as heard in Heav'n till now
 Was never; arms on armour clashing bray'd
 Horrible discord, and the madding wheels 210
 Of brazen chariots rag'd; dire was the noise
 Of conflict; over head the dismal hiss

Of

and sometimes it is used as a verb active, as here in Milton; Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 11. St. 20.

Even blasphemous words, which she doth *bray*:

and in Shakespear's Hamlet, Act I.

The kettle-drum and trumpet thus *bray* out

The triumph of his pledge.

212. — *over head the dismal hiss Of fiery darts*] Now the author is come to that part of his poem, where he is most to exert what faculty he has of $\psi\downarrow\odot$, magniloquence of stile, and sublimity of thought,

Nunc, veneranda Pales, magno nunc ore sonandum.

Virg. Georg. III. 294.

He has executed it to admiration: but the danger is, of being hurried away by his unbridled speed; and of deserting propriety, while he's hunting after sound and tumor.

And 'tis hard to guess, what fault to charge on the printer, since poetic fury is commonly both thought and allow'd to be regardless of syntax. But here in this sentence, which is certainly vicious, *the hiss* flew in volies, and *the hiss* vaulted the hosts with fire: the author may be fairly thought to have given it

— over head *with* dismal hiss

The fiery darts in flaming volies flew. Bentley.

But if there be any place in this poem, where the sublimity of the thought will allow the accuracy of expression to give way to the strength of it, it is here. There is a peculiar force sometimes in ascribing that to a circumstance of the thing, which more properly belongs to the thing itself; to the *hiss*, which belongs to the *darts*. See my note on II. 654. Pearce.

As the learned Mr. Upton remarks in his Critical Observations on Shakespear,

Of fiery darts in flaming volies flew,
 And flying vaulted either host with fire.
 So under fiery cope together rush'd 215
 Both battels main, with ruinous assault
 And inextinguishable rage; all Heaven
 Refounded, and had Earth been then, all Earth
 Had to her center shook. What wonder? when
 Millions of fierce encountring Angels fought 220
 On either side, the least of whom could wield
 These elements, and arm him with the force
 Of all their regions: how much more of power
 Army' against army numberless to raise
 Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb, 225
 Though not destroy, their happy native seat;

Had

Shakespear, the substantive is sometimes to be construed adjectively when governing a genitive case. Aristophanes in Plut. 268. *Ὁ χρυσὸν ἀσφαλῆας ἐπών.* *O thou who tellest me a gold of words,* that is golden words. Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, p. 2. *opening the cherry of her lips*, that is cherry lips. So here *the hiss of darts* is hissing darts.

214. *And flying vaulted either host with fire.*] Our author has frequently had his eye upon Hesiod's giant-war as well as upon Homer, and has imitated several passages; but commonly exceeds

his original, as he has done in this particular. Hesiod says that the Titans were overshadowed with darts, *Theog.* 716.

— *κατὰ δ' ἐσκίασαν βελέεσσι
Τιτῆνας,*

but Milton has improved the horror of the description, and a *shade of darts* is not near so great and dreadful an image as a *fiery cope* or *vault of flaming darts*.

229. — *though number'd such &c.*] Each legion was in number like an army, each single warrior was in strength

Had not th' eternal King omnipotent
 From his strong hold of Heav'n high over-rul'd
 And limited their might; though number'd such
 As each divided legion might have seem'd 230
 A numerous host, in strength each armed hand
 A legion, led in fight yet leader seem'd
 Each warrior single as in chief, expert
 When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
 Of battel, open when, and when to close 235
 The ridges of grim war: no thought of flight,
 None of retreat, no unbecoming deed
 That argued fear; each on himself rely'd,
 As only in his arm the moment lay
 Of victory: deeds of eternal fame 240

Were

strength like a legion, and though led in fight was as expert as a commander in chief. So that the Angels are celebrated first for their *number*, then for their *strength*, and lastly for their *expertness* in war.

236. *The ridges of grim war:*] A metaphor taken from a plough'd field; the men answer to the ridges, between whom, the intervals of the ranks, the furrows are. *The ridges of grim*, fierce frightful looking, *war*; that is the ranks of the army, the files are implied. The ranks are the rows of soldiers from flank to flank, from side to side,

from the left to the right; the files are from front to rear. *Richardson.*

236. — *no thought of flight,*] So Homer, *Iliad*. XI. 71.

Οὐδ' ἐτερεῖ μνησὶν ὀλοοῖσιν φοβοῖσιν.

None stoop'd a thought to base inglorious flight. Pope.

And *Iliad*. XXIV. 216.

— οὐτε φοβὸν μνησθῆναι, ἔτ' ἀλεωφῆς.

239. *As only in his arm the moment lay*

Of victory:] As if upon his single arm had depended the whole weight

Were done, but infinite; for wide was spread
 That war and various, sometimes on firm ground
 A standing fight, then soaring on main wing
 Tormented all the air; all air seem'd then
 Conflicting fire: long time in even scale 245
 The battel hung; till Satan, who that day

Pro-

weight of the victory. The *moment*, the weight that turns the balance, as the word signifies in Latin. Ter. Andr. I. V. 31. Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento huc vel illuc impellitur: And as he has employ'd here the metaphor of the *weight*, so of the *scale* a little afterwards — *long time in even scale* The battel hung — using as a metaphor what Homer makes a simile of, Iliad. XII. 433.

Αλλ' ἔχον, ὥς τε ταλανίστα γυνή—
 Ὡς μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ ἰσάμαχῃ τετα-
 το πλοεμῶ τε.

As when two scales are charg'd
 with doubtful loads —
 So stood the war, till Hector's
 matchless might
 With fates prevailing turn'd the
 scale of fight. Pope.

And in several particulars he has had his eye upon Homer, and commonly exceeds his master. Homer says that the Greeks and Trojans fought like burning fire:

Ὡς οἱ μὲν μαρναντο, δέμας πυ-
 ρῶ αἰθομένοιο.

Iliad. XIII. 673.

But how much stronger is it in Milton, that the war

Tormented all the air; all air
 seem'd then
 Conflicting fire!

It would be entering into too minute a detail of criticism to mention every little circumstance that is copied from Homer; and where he does not directly copy from Homer, his stile and coloring is still very much in Homer's manner; and one may see plainly that he has read him, even where he does not imitate him. Wonderful as his genius was, he could hardly have drawn the battels of the Angels so well without first reading those in the Iliad; and Homer taught him to excel Homer.

242. That war and various, sometimes on firm ground

A standing fight, then soaring &c.] The syntax and sense is; The war was sometimes a standing fight on the ground, and sometimes the war soaring on main wing tormented all the air. Pearce.

244. Tormented all the air;] Here Milton takes the same liberty of applying

Prodigious pow'r had shown, and met in arms
 No equal, ranging through the dire attack
 Of fighting Seraphim confus'd, at length 249
 Saw where the sword of Michael smote, and fell'd
 Squadrons at once; with huge two-handed sway
 Brandish'd aloft the horrid edge came down

Wide

applying the word *torment*, which the Latin poets did before him in using the term *vexare*. So Marino describing Neptune raising a storm, Adon. Cant. 1. St. 123.

— e d' Aquiloni
 Col fulmine dentato (emulo a Giove)

Tormentando la terra, il mar commoue. Thyer.

So Spenfer in the Mourning Muse of Thestylis, speaking of Æolus,

Who letting loose the winds
 Toft and *tormented* th' air.

247. — *and met in arms*

No equal,] The poet seems almost to have forgotten how Satan was foil'd by Abdiel in the beginning of the action: but I suppose the poet did not consider Abdiel as *equal* to Satan, tho' he gain'd that accidental advantage over him. Satan no doubt would have prov'd an overmatch for Abdiel, only for the general engagement which ensued, and broke off the combat between them.

251. — *with huge two-handed sway &c.*] It shows how entirely the ideas of chivalry and romance had possessed him, to make Michael fight with a *two-handed* sword. The same idea occasion'd his expressing himself very obscurely in the following lines of his Lycidas,

But that two-handed engin at the door

Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

These are the last words of Peter predicting God's vengeance on his church by his ministry. The making him the minister is in imitation of the Italian poets, who in their satiric pieces against the church always make Peter the minister of vengeance. The *two-handed engin* is the two-handed Gothic sword, with which the painters draw him. *Stands ready at the door* was then a common phrase to signify a thing imminent. *To smite once and smite no more* signifies a final destruction, but alludes to Peter's single use of his

Wide waſting; ſuch deſtruction to withſtand
 He haſted, and oppos'd the rocky orb
 Of tenfold adamant, his ample ſhield, 255
 A vaſt circumference: At his approach
 The great Arch-Angel from his warlike toil
 Surceas'd, and glad as hoping here to end
 Inteſtin war in Heav'n, th' arch-foe ſubdu'd
 Or captive dragg'd in chains, with hoſtile frown 260
 And viſage all inflam'd firſt thus began.

Author of ev'il, unknown till thy revolt,
 Unnam'd in Heav'n, now plenteous, as thou ſeeſt
 Theſe acts of hateful ſtrife, hateful to all,
 Though heaviest by juſt meaſure on thyſelf 265
 And thy adherents: how haſt thou diſturb'd
 Heav'n's bleſſed peace, and into nature brought

Miſery,

his ſword in the caſe of the High
 Prieſt's ſervant. *Warburton.*

255. *Of tenfold adamant,*] In
 other poets the Angels are armed
 in adamant, and in Taſſo there is
 particular mention of an adaman-
 tin ſhield, Cant. 7. St. 82. *Scudo di*
lucidiffimo diamante: But Milton's
 is ſtronger, *of tenfold adamant.*

262. *Author of evil, &c.*] Theſe
 ſpeeches give breath as it were to
 the reader after the hurry of the
 general battel; and prepare his
 mind, and raiſe his expectation the

more for the enſuing combat be-
 tween Michael and Satan. It is
 the practice likewise of Homer
 and Virgil, to make their heroes
 diſcourſe before they fight; it ren-
 ders the action more ſolemn, and
 more engages the reader's atten-
 tion.

275. *Hence then, and evil go with
 thee along,*

*Thy offspring, to the place of evil,
 Hell,*

*Thou and thy wicked crew; there
 mingle broils,*] Imitated from
 Taſſo.

Misery, uncreated till the crime
 Of thy rebellion? how hast thou instill'd
 Thy malice into thousands, once upright 270
 And faithful, now prov'd false? But think not here
 To trouble holy rest; Heav'n casts thee out
 From all her confines. Heav'n the seat of bliss
 Brooks not the works of violence and war.
 Hence then, and evil go with thee along, 275
 Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell,
 Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle broils,
 Ere this avenging sword begin thy doom,
 Or some more sudden vengeance wing'd from God
 Precipitate thee with augmented pain. 280

So spake the prince of Angels; to whom thus
 The Adversary. Nor think thou with wind

Of

Tasso, where Michael in like manner rebukes the infernal Spirits who fought against the Christians, Cant. 9. St. 64.

Itene maledetti al vostro regno,
 Regno di pene, e di perpetua
 morte:
 E siano in quegli a voi douuti
 chioftri
 Le vostre guerre, et i trionfi vostri.

Go hence you curst to your appointed lands,

The realms of death, of torments,
 and of woes,
 And in the deeps of that infernal lake
 Your battels fight, and there your triumphs make. Fairfax.

282. *The Adversary.*] Not as any enemy in fight may be call'd, but in a sense peculiar to him, Satan being his name, and Satan in Hebrew signifying *the adversary*.

282. — *Nor think thou &c.*] Hom. Iliad. XX. 200.

Πη

Of aery threats to awe whom yet with deeds
 Thou canst not. Hast thou turn'd the least of these
 To flight, or if to fall, but that they rise 285
 Unvanquish'd, easier to transact with me
 That thou shouldst hope, imperious, and with threats
 To chase me hence? err not that so shall end
 The strife which thou call'st evil, but we stile
 The strife of glory; which we mean to win, 290
 Or turn this Heav'n itself into the Hell
 Thou fablest, here however to dwell free,
 If not to reign: mean while thy utmost force,
 And join him nam'd Almighty to thy aid,
 I fly not, but have sought thee far and nigh. 295
 They ended parle, and both address'd for fight
 Unspeakable; for who, though with the tongue

Of

Πηλειδῆ, μὴ δὴ μ' ἐπισσι γέ,
 νηπυτιον ὥς,
 ἔλπειο δειδιζέσθαι·

289. *The strife which thou call'st
 evil,]* The author gave it

The strife which thou call'st
hateful.

This appears from Michael's words
 above, ver. 264.

These acts of *hateful strife*, hate-
 ful to all. Bentley.

But why may not this *evil* relate to

ver. 262? where Satan is call'd
 the *author of evil*, of evil display'd
 in acts of hateful strife: and so in
 ver. 275. *evil go with thee along*
 &c. I think that *hateful* would
 have been a more accurate expres-
 sion, but *evil* is justifiable. Pearce.

298. — *can relate, &c.]* The
 accusative case after the verbs *re-
 late* and *liken* is *fight* before men-
 tion'd, and here understood. For
who though with the tongue of Angels
*can relate that fight or to what con-
 spicuous things on earth can liken it,*
 &c.

Of Angels, can relate, or to what things
 Liken on earth conspicuous, that may lift
 Human imagination to such highth 300
 Of Godlike pow'r? for likest Gods they seem'd,
 Stood they or mov'd, in stature, motion, arms,
 Fit to decide the empire of great Heaven.
 Now wav'd their fiery swords, and in the air
 Made horrid circles; two broad suns their shields 305
 Blaz'd opposit, while expectation stood
 In horror; from each hand with speed retir'd,
 Where erst was thickest fight, th'angelic throng,
 And left large field, unsafe within the wind
 Of such commotion; such as, to set forth 310
 Great things by small, if nature's concord broke,
 Among the constellations war were sprung,

Two

so conspicuous as to lift human imagination &c. A general battel is a scene of too much confusion, and therefore the poets relieve themselves and their readers by drawing now and then a single combat between some of their principal heroes, as between Paris and Menelaus, Hector and Ajax, Hector and Achilles in the Iliad, and between Turnus and Pallas, Æneas and Mezentius, Turnus and Æneas in the Æneid: and very fine they are, but fall very short of the sub-

limity of this description. Those are the combats of Men, but this of Angels; and this so far surpasses them, that one would think that an Angel indeed had related it.

306. — *while expectation stood*

In horror;] Expectation is personify'd in the like sublime manner in Shakespear, Hen. V. Act II.

For now sits expectation in the air.

311. — *if nature's concord broke,*
Among the constellations war were
sprung,] The context shows
 (says

Two planets rushing from aspect malign
 Of fiercest opposition in mid sky 314
 Should combat, and their jarring spheres confound.
 Together both with next to' almighty arm
 Up-lifted imminent, one stroke they aim'd
 That might determin, and not need repeat,
 As not of pow'r at once; nor odds appear'd

In

(says Dr. Bentley) that Milton gave it *warfare* instead of *war were*. I suppose the Doctor to mean, that in the common reading there is wanting a copulative particle between the 312th and 313th verses. Now how does the Doctor's alteration mend the matter? *Broke* and *sprung* (he says) are both participles of the ablative case. Suppose them so; will there not be wanting in the Doctor's reading a copulative particle between the 311th and 312th verses, to connect *broke* and *sprung*? So that the fault of Milton (if it be a fault) is not remov'd from the poem by the Doctor, but only shifted to another verse. We had better keep then the old reading, and allow the poet the liberty of dropping the copulative before the words *Two planets*, on account of that fire of imagination which was kindled, and the highth of that noble fury with which he was possess'd. *Pearce*.

313. *Two planets* &c.] Milton seems to have taken the hint of this simile from that of Virgil, but varied and applied to his subject

with his usual judgment. *Æn. VIII.* 691.

—pelago credas innare revulsas
 Cycladas, aut montes concurrere
 montibus altos.

But (as Mr. Thyer observes) he has lessen'd the grandeur and sublimity of this simile by tarnishing it with the idle superstitious notion of the malignancy of planets in a particular aspect or opposition, as the judicial astrologers term it.

316. *Together both with next to' almighty arm*

Uplifted imminent.] So I conceive the passage should be pointed with the comma after *imminent*, and not after *arm*, that the words *uplifted imminent* may be join'd in construction with *arm*, rather than with *stroke* or *they* following. The arm was quite lifted up, and hanging over just ready to fall. One thinks one sees it hanging almost like the stone in Virgil, *Æn. VI.* 602.

Quos super atra flix jam jam lapsura cadentique

Imminet assimilis.

321. — *from the armoury of God*
 Milton,

In might or swift prevention: but the sword 320
 Of Michael from the armoury of God
 Was giv'n him temper'd so, that neither keen
 Nor solid might resist that edge: it met
 The sword of Satan with steep force to smite
 Descending, and in half cut sheer; nor stay'd, 325
 But with swift wheel reverse, deep entering shar'd

All

Milton, notwithstanding the sublime genius he was master of, has in this book drawn to his assistance all the helps he could meet with among the ancient poets. The sword of Michael, which makes so great a havoc among the bad Angels, was given him, we are told, out of *the armoury of God*,

Was giv'n him temper'd so, that
 neither keen
 Nor solid might resist that edge:
 it met
 The sword of Satan with steep
 force to smite
 Descending, and in half cut sheer;

This passage is a copy of that in Virgil, wherein the poet tells us, that the sword of Æneas, which was given him by a deity, broke into pieces the sword of Turnus, which came from a mortal forge. As the moral in this place is divine, so by the way we may observe, that the bestowing on a man who is favor'd by Heaven such an allegorical weapon, is very conformable to the old eastern way of thinking. Not only Homer has

made use of it, but we find the Jewish hero in the book of Maccabees, 2 Maccab. XV. 15, 16. who had fought the battels of the chosen people with so much glory and success, receiving in his dream a sword from the hand of the prophet Jeremiah.

Addison.

Tasso likewise mentions the armoury of God, Cant. 7. St. 80. But this account of Michael's sword seems to be copied from Arthegal's in Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 1. St. 10.

For of most perfect metal it was made, —

And was of no less virtue, than of fame.

For there no substance was so firm and hard,

But it would pierce or cleave, where so it came;

Ne any armour could his dint outward,

But where so ever it did light it thoroughly shar'd.

And this word *shar'd* is used in the same manner by Milton.

325. — *and in half cut sheer;—*]

We

All his right side: then Satan first knew pain,
 And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd; so fore
 The griding sword with discontinuous wound
 Pass'd through him: but th' ethereal substance clos'd,
 Not

We have here a fair opportunity to observe how finely great geniuses imitate one another. There is a most beautiful passage in Homer's Iliad, III. 363. where the sword of Menelaus in a duel with Paris breaks in pieces in his hand; and the line in the original is so contriv'd, that we do not only see the action, as Eustathius remarks, but almost fancy we hear the sound of the breaking sword in the sound of the words,

Τεχθατε και τετεαχθα δια-
 τρυφεν εντεος χειρῶ.

As this kind of beauty could hardly be equal'd by Virgil, he has with great judgment substituted another of his own, and has artfully made a break in the verse to express the breaking short of the sword of Turnus against the divine armour of Æneas, Æn. XII. 731. &c.

— at perfidus ensis
 Frangitur, | in medioque arden-
 tem deferit ictu.

But he did not think this sufficient, he was sensible that Homer had still the advantage, and therefore goes on after seeming to have done with it,

—postquam arma dei ad Vulcania
 ventum est,

Mortalis mucro, glacies ceu futi-
 lis, ictu

Diffiluit; | fulvâ resplendent frag-
 mina arenâ.

And this beauty being more imitable in our language than the *τεχθατε και τετεαχθα* of Homer, the excellent translator of Homer has here rather copied Virgil than translated Homer,

The brittle steel, unfaithful to his
 hand,

Broke short: | the fragments glit-
 ter'd on the sand.

The sword of Satan is broken as well as those of Paris and Turnus, but is broken in a different manner, and consequently a different kind of beauty is proper here. Their's broke short, and were shatter'd into various fragments; but the sword of Michael was of that irresistible sharpness, that it cut the sword of Satan quite and clean in two, and the dividing of the sword in half is very well express'd by half a verse, as likewise the word *descending* is plac'd admirably to express the sense. The reader cannot read it over again without perceiving this beauty. Neither does Milton stop here, but carries on beauties of the same kind to the description of the wound, and the verses seem almost

Not long divisible; and from the gash
 A stream of necta'rous humor issuing flow'd
 Sanguin, such as celestial Spi'rits may bleed,
 And all his armour stain'd ere while so bright.

Forthwith

almost painful in describing Satan's pain,

Ἰχὼρ δίοσπερ τε ρεῖ μακάρεσσιν
 θεοῖσι.

— deep entring *shar'd*
 All his right side: then Satan first
 knew pain,
 And writh'd him to and fro con-
 volv'd; so fore
 The griding sword with discontinu-
 ous wound
 Pass'd through him.

Homer's Gods when wounded bled
Ichor, different from human blood,
 and peculiar to them. And Mil-
 ton makes his Angels bleed the
 same humor, that has no other
 name. He gave it therefore

*A stream of ichorous humor issuing
 flow'd.* Bentley.

329. *The griding sword with dis-
 continuous wound*] *Disconti-
 nuous wound* is said in allusion to
 the old definition of a wound, that
 it separates the continuity of the
 parts, *vulnus est solutio continui*:
 And *griding* is an old word for cut-
 ting, and used in Spenser, as in
 Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 36.

That through his thigh the mortal
 steel did *gride*.

332. *A stream of nectarous humor
 issuing flow'd*

Sanguin,] Here's an odious blun-
 der. *Nectar* is the drink of the
 Gods; and was Satan's humor or
 blood a proper drink? But the
 next line shows what the author
 dictated,

Sanguin, such as celestial Spirits
 may bleed.

The whole distich is word for word
 taken from a verse in Homer,

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I should have thought that an at-
 tentive reader could not have miss'd
 observing that the *stream* which
 Milton speaks of was not of *nectarous*
humor only, but of *nectarous*
humor sanguin, that is, converted
 into what *celestial Spirits bleed*:
 and what is that but the same
 which Homer expresses by one
 word *Ichor*? If this was the poet's
 meaning, the Doctor's objection is
 wide of the mark. Besides, if
nectarous was wrong, yet *ichorous*
 would not seem to be right, because
 the middle syllable of it should be
 long, according to the prosody of
 the word from which it is deriv'd.

Pearce.

The passage wherein Satan is de-
 scribed as wounded by the sword
 of Michael is in imitation of Ho-
 mer. Homer tells us that upon
 Diomedes wounding the Gods,
 there flow'd from the wound an

P p

Ichor,

Forthwith on all sides to his aid was run 335
 By Angels many and strong, who interpos'd
 Defense, while others bore him on their shields
 Back to his chariot, where it stood retir'd
 From off the files of war; there they him laid
 Gnashing for anguish and despite and shame, 340
 To find himself not matchless, and his pride
 Humbled by such rebuke, so far beneath
 His confidence to equal God in power."

Yet

Ichor, or pure kind of blood, which was not bred from mortal viands; and that tho' the pain was exquisitely great, the wound soon closed up and healed in those beings who are vested with immortality.

Addison.

The reader perhaps would be pleased to see the passage in Homer here quoted, *Iliad*. V. 339.

— ῥέε δ' ἀμείβετον αἷμα θεοῖσιν,
 Ἰχὼρ ὅσπερ τε ρέει μακάρεσσι
 θεοῖσιν.

Οὐ γὰρ σίτον ἐδ'εσ', οὐ πίνεσ' αἰ-
 θόπα οἶνον,
 Τε' ἐκ' ἀναιμόνες εἰσι, καὶ ἀθανά-
 τοι καλεοῖται.

From the clear vein a stream im-
 mortal flow'd,
 Such stream as issues from a wound-
 ed God;

Pure emanation! uncorrupted
 flood;

Unlike our gross, diseas'd, ter-
 restrial blood;

For not the bread of man their
 life sustains,

Nor wine's inflaming juice sup-
 plies their veins. Pope.

335. — *to his aid was run*] A Latinism; so we have *ventum est* in the lines just before quoted from Virgil,

— postquam arma dei ad Vulca-
 nia ventum est.

336. — *who interpos'd*] Thus Homer makes the chief of the Trojans interpose between their wounded hero when he was overborne by Ajax. Satan lighted out of his sun-bright chariot at ver. 103. and according to the Homeric manner, is now wounded, and borne (on the shields of Seraphim) back to it, where it was plac'd out of the range and array of battle, *Iliad*. XIV. 428.

Yet soon he heal'd; for Spi'rits that live throughout
 Vital in every part, not as frail man 345
 In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins,
 Cannot but by annihilating die;
 Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound
 Receive, no more than can the fluid air:
 All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear, 350
 All intellect, all sense; and as they please,
 They limb themselves, and color, shape or size
 Assume,

— Τον δ' ἀρ' ἑταροὶ
 Χερσιν αἰεταίης φέρειν ἐκ πονε,
 οὐδ' ἰκεθ' ἱππας
 Ωκεας, δι' οἱ σπιδε μαχης ἡδε
 πολεμοιο
 Ἐσασαν, νηιοχοντε και αρματα
 ποικιλ' εχοντες &c.

much more loose and redundant
 than our expressive author. *Hume.*

344. — *for Spi'rits that live
 throughout &c.]* Our author's
 reason for Satan's healing so soon
 is better than Homer's upon a like
 occasion, as we quoted it just now.
 And we see here Milton's notions
 of Angels. They are vital in every
 part, and can receive no mortal
 wound, and cannot die but by an-
 nihilation. They are all eye, all
 ear, all sense and understanding;
 and can assume what kind of bo-
 dies they please. And these no-
 tions, if not true in divinity, yet
 certainly are very fine in poetry;

but most of them are not disagree-
 able to those hints which are left us
 of these spiritual beings in Scrip-
 ture.

348. *Nor in their liquid texture
 mortal wound*

*Receive, no more than can the fluid
 air:]* The same compari-
 son in Shakespear, *Macbeth*, Act V.

As easy may'st thou the intren-
 chant air

With thy keen sword impress, as
 make me bleed.

350. *All heart they live, all head,
 all eye, all ear,*

All intellect, all sense;] This is
 expressed very much like Pliny's
 account of God. *Nat. Hist. L. 1.
 c. 7. Quisquis est Deus, si modo
 est alius, et quacunque in parte,
 totus est sensus; totus visus; totus
 auditus; totus animæ; totus animi;
 totus sui.*

Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare.

Mean while in other parts like deeds deserv'd
 Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought, 355
 And with fierce ensigns pierc'd the deep array
 Of Moloch furious king; who him defy'd,
 And at his chariot wheels to drag him bound
 Threaten'd, nor from the Holy One of Heaven
 Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon 360
 Down cloven to the waste, with shatter'd arms
 And uncouth pain fled bellowing. On each wing
 Uriel and Raphaël his vaunting foe,

Though

362. *And uncouth pain fled bellowing.*] I question not but Milton in his description of his furious Moloch flying from the battel, and bellowing with the wound he had received, had his eye on Mars in the Iliad; who upon his being wounded is represented as retiring out of the fight, and making an outcry louder than that of a whole army when it begins the charge. Homer adds that the Greeks and Trojans, who were engaged in a general battel, were terrify'd on each side with the bellowing of this wounded deity. The reader will easily observe, how Milton has kept all the horror of this image, without running into the ridicule of it.

Addison.
With uncouth pain fled bellowing.
Uncouth is a word very common

with Spenser; but Milton, no doubt, in this particular application of it had in view the following lines, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 20.

The piercing steel there wrought
 a wound full wide,
 That with the uncouth pain the
 monster loudly cry'd. *Thyer.*

363. *Uriel and Raphael*] The speaker here is *Raphael*; and it had been improper to mention himself as a third person, and tell his own exploits; but that Adam knew not his name. Had he known it, he must have said *Uriel and I*; which he car'd not to do.

Bentley.
 363. *Uriel and Raphaël his vaunting foe,*] Dr. Bentley and Mr. Thyer are of opinion, that a word

Though huge, and in a rock of diamond arm'd,
 Vanquish'd Adramelech, and Asmadai, 365
 Two potent Thrones, that to be less than Gods
 Disdain'd, but meaner thoughts learn'd in their flight,
 Mangled with ghastly wounds through plate and mail.
 Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
 The atheist crew, but with redoubled blow 370
 Ariel and Arioch, and the violence
 Of Ramiel scorch'd and blasted overthrew.
 I might relate of thousands, and their names
 Eternize here on earth; but those elect

Angels,

word is left out in this line, and that the sense and the measure would be improv'd by reading it thus,

Uriel and *Raphael*, each his vaunting foe.

that compos'd of small pieces like shells, or scales of fish laid one over the other; or something resembling the feathers as they lie on the bodies of fowl, V. 284.

Richardson.

365. *Adramelech*,] Hebrew, *Mighty magnificent king*, one of the idols of Sepharvaim, worshipped by them in Samaria, when transplanted thither by Shalmaneser. *And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech*, 2 Kings XVII. 31. *Asmadai*, the lustful and destroying Angel Asmodeus, mention'd Tobit III. 8. who robbed Sara of her seven husbands; of a Hebrew word signifying to destroy. Hume.

368. — *plate and mail*.] *Plate* is the broad solid armour. *Mail* is

371. *Ariel and Arioch*,] Two fierce Spirits, as their names denote. *Ariel* Hebrew, *the lion of God*, or *a strong lion*. *Arioch* of the like signification, *a fierce and terrible lion*. *Ramiel* Hebrew, *one that exalts himself against God*.

Hume.

373. *I might relate of thousands, &c.*] The poet here puts into the mouth of the Angel an excellent reason for not relating more particulars of this first battle. It would have been improper on all accounts to have enlarged much more upon it, but it was proper that the Angel should

Angels, contented with their fame in Heaven, 375
 Seek not the praise of men: the other sort,
 In might though wondrous and in acts of war,
 Nor of renown less eager, yet by doom
 Cancel'd from Heav'n and sacred memory,
 Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell. 380
 For strength from truth divided and from just,
 Illaudable, nought merits but dispraise
 And ignominy, yet to glory aspires
 Vain glorious, and through infamy seeks fame:
 Therefore eternal silence be their doom. 385

And now their mightiest quell'd, the battel swerv'd,
 With many an inroad gor'd; deformed rout

Enter'd,

should appear to know more than
 he chose to relate, or than the poet
 was able to make him relate.

382. *Illaudable*,] Is used here
 much in the same manner as *illau-*
datus in Virgil,

— Quis aut Eurythea durum,
 Aut *illaudati* nescit Bufiridis aras?
 Georg. III. 5.

And the learned reader may, if he
 pleases, see a dissertation upon that
 verse of Virgil in the second book
 of Aulus Gellius.

386. — *the battel swerv'd*,] Is
 not this the same with Hesiod's
 ἐκλινθῆ δε μαχη. Theog. v. 711?
 Tluer.

Swerv'd from the Saxon *swerwen*,
 to wander out of its place; here
 by analogy to bend, to ply; for in
 that case an army in battel properly
 swerves. Richardson.

The word is used in the same sense
 by Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 5.
 Cant. 10. St. 35.

Who from his saddle *swerved*
 nought aside.

391. — *what flood, recoil'd &c.*] The construction has occasion'd some difficulty here, but it may be thus explicated. *What flood* is the nominative case in the sentence, and the verbs are *recoil'd* and *fled*. It would indeed be a contradiction to say

Enter'd, and foul disorder; all the ground
 With shiver'd armour strówn, and on a heap
 Chariot and charioteer lay overturn'd, 390
 And fiery foaming steeds; what stood, recoil'd
 O'er-wearied, through the faint Satanic host
 Defensive scarce, or with pale fear surpris'd,
 Then first with fear surpris'd and sense of pain,
 Fled ignominious, to such evil brought 395
 By sin of disobedience, till that hour
 Not liable to fear or flight or pain.
 Far otherwise th' inviolable Saints
 In cubic phalanx firm advanc'd entire,
 Invulnerable, impenetrably arm'd; 400
 Such

say that *what stood* their ground, *fled*; but that is not the meaning of it, *what stood* is put in opposition to what *lay overturn'd* in the preceding line. Part of the Satanic host *lay overturn'd*; and that part which was not overturn'd, but kept on their feet, *and stood*, either gave way and *recoil'd o'er-wearied*, or *with pale fear surpris'd fled ignominious*.

396. — *till that hour &c.*] It seems a very extraordinary circumstance attending a battel, that not only none of the warriors on either side were capable of death by wound, but on one side none were capable of wound or even of pain.

This was a very great advantage on the side of the good Angels; but we must suppose that the rebel Angels did not know their own weakness *till this hour*.

399. *In cubic phalanx firm*] In strictness of speech, to have been *cubic*, it must have been as high, as it is broad, as Dr. Bentley justly observes. But why must a poet's mind, sublim'd as Milton's was on this occasion, be expected to attend to every circumstance of an epithet made use of? He meant *four-square* only, having that property of a *cube* to be equal in length on all sides. And so he expresses himself in his tract called *The reason*

Such high advantages their innocence
 Gave them above their foes, not to have finn'd,
 Not to have disobey'd; in fight they stood
 Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain'd 404
 By wound, though from their place by violence
 mov'd.

Now night her course began, and over Heaven
 Inducing darkness, grateful truce impos'd,
 And silence on the odious din of war:
 Under her cloudy covert both retir'd,
 Victor and vanquish'd: on the foughten field 410
 Michaël and his Angels prevalent

In-

of Church Government &c. p. 215. Edit. Toland. *As those smaller squares in battel unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an emblem of truth and steadfastness.* To be sure Milton's *cubic*, tho' not strictly proper, is better than the epithet *martial* (which the Doctor would give us in the room of it) because a *phalanx* in battel could not be otherwise than *martial*; and so closely united an idea could not have any beauty or force here. *Pearce,*

405. — *though from their place by violence mov'd.*] This circumstance is judiciously added to prepare the reader for what happens in the next fight.

406. *Now night her course began, and over Heaven Inducing darkness, grateful truce impos'd,*] The same with Tasso on a like occasion, G. L. Cant. 11. St. 18.

*Sin che fe nuova tregua à la fatica
 La cheta notte, e del riposo amica.
 Thyer.*

407. *Inducing darkness,*] He seems here to have copied Horace, Sat. I. V. 9.

— *Jam nox inducere terris
 Umbras, et cælo diffundere signa
 parabat.*

413. *Cherubic waving fires:*] Their watches were *Cherubic waving*
 ing

Incamping, plac'd in guard their watches round,
 Cherubic waving fires: on th' other part
 Satan with his rebellious disappear'd,
 Far in the dark dislodg'd; and void of rest,
 His potentates to council call'd by night;
 And in the midst thus undismay'd began.

415

O now in danger try'd, now known in arms
 Not to be overpow'rd, Companions dear,
 Found worthy not of liberty alone,
 Too mean pretence, but what we more affect,
 Honor, dominion, glory, and renown;
 Who have sustain'd one day in doubtful fight

(And

ing fires, that is Cherubim like fires waving; the Cherubim being describ'd by our author, agreeably to Scripture, as of a fiery substance and nature.

415. — *and void of rest,*
His potentates to council call'd by
night;] So Agamemnon,
 the Grecians being defeated by
 Hector, calls a council of the
 princes and generals by night. Iliad.
 IX.

418. *O now in danger try'd, &c.]*
 This speech of Satan is very artful.
 He flatters their pride and vanity,
 and avails himself of the only
 comfort that could be drawn from
 this day's engagement (tho' it was

a false comfort) that God was nei-
 ther so powerful nor wise as he was
 taken to be. He was forc'd to
 acknowledge that they had suf-
 fer'd some loss and pain, but en-
 deavors to lessen it as much as he
 can, and attributes it not to the
 true cause, but to their want of
 better arms and armour, which he
 therefore proposes that they should
 provide themselves withal, to de-
 fend themselves and annoy their
 enemies.

422. *Honor, dominion, glory, and*
renown;] Dr. Bentley thinks
 that Milton gave it *Pow'r and do-*
minion &c. *Honor, glory, and re-*
nown, (he says) are three words all
 allied

(And if one day, why not eternal days?)

What Heaven's Lord had pow'rfullest to send 425
 Against us from about his throne, and judg'd
 Sufficient to subdue us to his will,
 But proves not so: then fallible, it seems,
 Of future we may deem him, though till now
 Omniscient thought. True is, less firmly arm'd, 430
 Some disadvantage we indur'd and pain,
 Till now not known, but known as soon contemn'd;
 Since now we find this our empyreal form
 Incapable of mortal injury, 434
 Imperishable, and though pierc'd with wound,
 Soon closing, and by native vigor heal'd.
 Of evil then so small as easy think
 The remedy; perhaps more valid arms,
 Weapons more violent, when next we meet,
 May serve to better us, and worse our foes, 440
 Or

allied together, and therefore Milton would not put *dominion*, of another family, between them. But did not Milton mean by *honor* that which arises from high titles? if he did, then *honor* will not be allied to *glory and renown*, which may be gain'd and enjoy'd by a private man, by one who has no *honor* and titles to show. Pearce.

431. ——— and pain,
 Till now not known, but known as
 soon contemn'd;
 Since now we find &c] So Prometheus in like manner comforts and confirms himself against Jupiter's threats. Æschyl. Prom. Vinct. 932.

T.

Or equal what between us made the odds,
In nature none : if other hidden cause.

Left them superior, while we can preserve
Unhurt our minds and understanding sound,
Due search and consultation will disclose. 445

He sat; and in th' assembly next upstood
Nisroch, of Principalities the prime;
As one he stood escap'd from cruel fight,
Sore toil'd, his riven arms to havoc hewn,
And cloudy in aspect thus answ'ring spake. 450
Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free
Enjoyment of our right as Gods; yet hard
For Gods, and too unequal work we find,
Against unequal arms to fight in pain,
Against unpain'd, impassive; from which evil 455
Ruin must needs ensue; for what avails
Valor or strength, though matchless, quell'd with pain
Which

Τὸ δ' αὖ φοβοίμην, ὃ θάνατον ἔ
μορσιμον; Thyer.

447. *Nisroch*,] A God of the Assyrians, in whose temple at Niniveh Sennacherib was kill'd by his two sons, 2 Kings XIX. 37. and Isaiah XXXVII. 37. 'Tis not known who this God *Nisroch* was. The Seventy call him *Meferach* in Kings, and *Naserach* in Isaiah; Josephus calls him *Araskes*. He must have been a principal idol, being worshipped by so great a prince, and at the capital city Niniveh; which may justify Milton in calling him *of Principalities the prime*.

Which all subdues, and makes remiss the hands
 Of mightiest? Sense of pleasure we may well
 Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine, 460
 But live content, which is the calmest life:
 But pain is perfect misery, the worst
 Of evils, and excessive, overturns
 All patience. He who therefore can invent
 With what more forcible we may offend 465
 Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm
 Ourselves with like defense, to me deserves
 No less than for deliverance what we owe.

Whereto with look compos'd Satan reply'd.
 Not uninvented that, which thou aright 470
 Believ'st so main to our success, I bring.

Which

462. — *the worst*
Of evils,] Nisroch is made to
 talk agreeably to the sentiments of
 Hieronymus and those philoso-
 phers, who maintain'd that pain
 was the greatest of evils; there
 might be a possibility of living
 without pleasure, but there was
 no living in pain. A notion suit-
 able enough to a deity of the ef-
 feminate Assyrians.

467. — *to me deserves*
No less than for deliverance what
we owe.] Nisroch is speak-
 ing; he had complimented Satan
 (ver. 451.) with the title of De-

liverer; here he ventures to say
 that Whoever could invent the new
 engin of war would be equal to
 him in his estimation. Milton has
 taken care that this deliverer
 should also have this merit, and
 be without a competitor; Satan is
 both the one and the other as it
 follows immediately. *Richardson.*

472. *Which of us who beholds the*
bright surface

Of this ethereous mold &c.] Dr.
 Bentley, for the sake of a better
 accent, reads *the surface bright*;
 but *surface* is to be read with the
 accent upon the last syllable, and
 not

Which of us who beholds the bright surface
 Of this ethereous mold whereon we stand,
 This continent of spacious Heav'n, adorn'd
 With plant, fruit, flow'r ambrosial, gems and gold;
 Whose eye so superficially surveys 476
 These things, as not to mind from whence they grow
 Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,
 Of spiritous and fiery spume, till touch'd
 With Heaven's ray, and temper'd they shoot forth
 So beauteous, opening to the ambient light? 481
 These in their dark nativity the deep
 Shall yield us pregnant with infernal flame;
 Which into hollow engins long and round
 Thick-ramm'd, at th' other bore with touch of fire 485
 Dilated

not as it is commonly pronounc'd, for Milton would hardly use a trochaic foot at the end of the verse. Dr. Bentley reads likewise *this ethereal mold*; and it is true Milton commonly uses the word *ethereal*, but that is no reason why he may not say likewise *ethereous* which is nearer the Latin *æthereus*. The construction of this sentence is, *Which of us who beholds &c so superficially surveys these things*: but as the nominative case *which of us* is mention'd so many lines before the verb *surveys*, he throws in another nominative case,

Whose eye so superficially surveys &c.

482. — *the deep*] It is commonly used for *Hell*, but here is only oppos'd to *surface*, ver. 472. and is the same as *deep under ground*, ver. 478. which may likewise explain the word *infernal* in the next line. Not but *infernal flame* may mean flame like that of *Hell*, *Hell* having been frequently mention'd before by the Angels, and the idea being very well known.

484. *Which into hollow &c.*]
Which that is the materials, ver.
 478. *These*

Dilated and infuriate, shall send forth
 From far with thund'ring noise among our foes
 Such implements of mischief, as shall dash
 To pieces, and o'erwhelm whatever stands
 Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarm'd 490
 The Thund'rer of his only dreaded bolt.
 Nor long shall be our labor; yet ere dawn,
 Effect shall end our wish. Mean while revive;
 Abandon fear; to strength and counsel join'd
 Think nothing hard, much less to be despair'd. 495
 He ended, and his words their drooping cheer
 Inlighten'd, and their languish'd hope reviv'd.

Th' in-

478. *These* ver. 482. the deep shall yield, which into hollow engins ramm'd, with touch of fire shall send forth &c. *Hollow engins*, great guns, the first invention whereof is very properly ascribed to the author of all evil. And Ariosto has described them in the same manner in his Orlando Furioso, Cant. 9. St. 28. or 24. of Harrington's translation; and attributes the invention to the Devil.

Un ferro bugio, &c.

A trunk of iron hollow made within,
 And there he puts powder and pellet in.

25.

All closed save a little hole behind;

Whereat no sooner taken is the flame,
 The bullet flies with such a furious wind,
 As tho' from clouds a bolt of thunder came:
 And whatsoever in the way it find
 It burns, it breaks, it tears, and spoils the same.
 No doubt some fiend of Hell or devilish wight
 Devis'd it to do mankind a spite.

And again, St. 84.

O curst devise found out by some
 foul fiend
 And fram'd below by Belzebub in
 Hell &c.

And

Th' invention all admir'd, and each, how he
To be th' inventor miss'd; so easy' it seem'd
Once found, which yet unfound most would have
thought

500

Impossible: yet haply of thy race
In future days, if malice should abound,
Some one intent on mischief, or inspir'd
With devilish machination, might devise
Like instrument to plague the sons of men
For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent.
Forthwith from council to the work they flew;
None arguing stood; innumerable hands

505

Were

And Spenser has the same thought,
Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 7. St. 13.

As when that devilish iron engin
wrought
In deepest Hell, and fram'd by
Furies skill,
With windy nitre and quick sul-
phur fraught,
And ramm'd with bullet round,
ordain'd to kill &c.

But tho' the poets have agreed to
attribute the invention to the Devil
from a notion of its being so de-
structive to mankind, yet many
authors have observed, that since
the use of artillery there has less
slaughter been made in battels than
was before, when the engagements
were closer and lasted longer.

502. *In future days — Some one in-
tent, &c.*] This speaking
in the spirit of prophecy adds
great dignity to poetry. It is in
the same spirit that Dido makes
the imprecation, Virg. *Æn.* IV.
625.

*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus
ultor &c.*

This here very properly comes
from the mouth of an Angel.

507. *Forthwith from council to
the work they flew; &c.*] This and the two following lines
are admirably contriv'd to express
the hurry of the Angels; and con-
sist therefore of short periods, with-
out any particles to connect them.

512. — *ful-*

Were ready; in a moment up they turn'd
 Wide the celestial soil, and saw beneath 510
 Th' originals of nature in their crude
 Conception; sulphurous and nitrous foam
 They found, they mingled, and with subtle art,
 Concocted and adusted they reduc'd

To

512. — *sulphurous and nitrous foam &c.*] Dr. Bentley would have us read as follows,

— sulphurous and nitrous foam
 They *pound*, they *mingle*, and with
sooty chark
 Concocted and adusted, they *re-*
duce
 To blackest grain, and into store
convey:
 Part hidden veins *dig* up.

To justify this great alteration of the text, the Doctor premises one postulatam (tho' it is properly two) that Milton is here describing the making of gun-powder, and that he was not ignorant how it was made. Agreed. Let us now examine the Doctor's objections particularly. *Sulphurous and nitrous foam adusted?* (says he) why at the least approach of heat they will fly away in exhalations. I think that this is not true: tho' these ingredients be heated to some degree, yet they will not fly away in exhalations unless some spark of fire gets to them. But why must *adusted* signify burnt or heated to a great

degree? If the word will signify parch'd or dry'd any way in such a manner as things commonly are by fire, it will be a very proper expression here: for by being *reduc'd to grain* they were *concocted*, and by being *reduc'd to the blackest grain* they were sufficiently *adusted*. Again, the Doctor observes that only two materials are here mention'd, and these without charcoal can never make gunpowder. This is true; but is it necessary that a poet should be as exact as a writer about arts and sciences? If so, not only Milton but Spenser must be blam'd, who has done the same thing as Milton has done; for in his *Fairy Queen*, Book 1. Cant. 7. St. 13. describing a cannon charg'd with gunpowder, he says,

With windy nitre and quick sulphur fraught,

where it is observable that he takes no notice of charcoal, tho' gunpowder can't be without it. But what is the Doctor's word *chark*? it is the workman's language, he says; if it be, it is spoken contractedly

To blackest grain, and into store convey'd: 515
 Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth
 Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,
 Whereof to found their engines and their balls
 Of missive ruin; part incentive reed
 Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire. 520
 So

tractedly for *charcoal*; and is but a cant word fit only for the powder-mill, not for a poem: for *charcoal* is, in its etymology, what is *chark'd* or rather *charr'd* to a coal, that is, burnt tho' not ashes. *Sooty coal*, V. 440. is right: but when the word *chark*, or *charcoal* at length, is used, *sooty* seems a superfluous epithet, because it is implied in the word *charr'd*. In the common reading the Doctor misses the word *pound*; a necessary word, because without long *pounding* the three ingredients together, no powder can be made. But is not the sense of the word *pound* sufficiently imply'd in *reduc'd to grain*? The words *found*, *mingled*, *reduc'd*, *convey'd*, *digg'd*, were chang'd (says the Doctor) from the present to the perfect tense: for the present tense *provide* in ver. 520. demonstrates that all the foregoing verbs were of the same manner. If there were any demonstration to be drawn from hence, one would think rather that it would fall against the present tense *provide*. But there is hardly a page where Milton has not run from one tense to another, and

sometimes he has even coupled unlike tenses. Pearce.

516. *Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,*]

Dr. Bentley has carried on the mark of parenthesis to the end of the verse; but it should be plac'd after *unlike*: and the *stone* may have been mention'd here as what they used for *balls*. That stone-bullets have been in use, see Chambers's Univ. Dict. in *Cannon*. Or Milton by the word *stone* here would express more distinctly that the metal, of which they made their *engins* and *balls*, was inclos'd in and mix'd with a stony substance in the mine. See Furetiere's French Dictionary upon the word *Mineral*.

Pearce.

520. — *pernicious with one touch to fire.*] The incentive reed is indeed *pernicious* as the *engins* and *balls* do no mischief till touch'd by that: but probably *pernicious* is not to be understood here in the common acceptation, but in the sense of the Latin *pernix*, quick, speedy, &c.

So all ere day-spring, under conscious night,
Secret they finish'd, and in order set,
With silent circumspection unesp'y'd.

Now when fair morn orient in Heav'n appear'd,
Up rose the victor Angels, and to arms 525
The matin trumpet sung: in arms they stood
Of golden panoply, refulgent host,
Soon banded; others from the dawning hills
Look'd round, and scouts each coast light-armed
scour,
Each quarter, to descry the distant foe, 530
Where

521. — *under conscious night,*] Ovid. Met. XIII. 15.

— quorum nox conscia sola est.
Hume.

526. *The trumpet sung:*] A classical expression. So Virg. Æn. V. 113.

*Et tuba commissos medio canit ag-
gere ludos.*

To arms the matin trumpet sung: So Tasso literally the same, as Mr. Thyer observes,

*Quando à cantar la matutina
tromba*

Comincia à l'arme.

Gier. Lib. Cant. 11. St. 19.

527. *Of golden panoply,*] With golden armour from head to foot completely arm'd. *Panoply.* Πα-
ρόπλα, Greek, armour at all points.
Hume.

528. — *others from the dawning
hills*] This epithet is usu-
ally apply'd to the *light*, but here
very poetically to the *hills*, the
dawn first appearing over them,
and they seeming to bring the ris-
ing day; as the evening star is said
likewise first to appear *on his hill-
top*, VIII. 520.

532. — *balt:*] Milton spells
it as the Italians do *alto*, but we
commonly write it with an *b* like
the French and Germans.

533. — *in*

Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,
In motion or in halt: him soon they met
Under spread ensigns moving nigh, in slow
But firm battalion; back with speediest sail
Zophiel, of Cherubim the swiftest wing,
Came fly'ing, and in mid air aloud thus cry'd.

535

Arm, Warriors, arm for fight; the foe at hand,
Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit
This day; fear not his flight; so thick a cloud
He comes, and settled in his face I see
Sad resolution and secure: let each

540

His

533. — *in slow*
But firm battalion;] The reason
of their being both a *slow* and
firm battalion is suggested a little
afterwards. They were *slow* in
drawing their cannon, and *firm* in
order to conceal it, ver. 551.

535. Zophiel, In Hebrew the spy
of God. Hume.

539. — *so thick a cloud*
He comes,] This metaphor is
usual in all languages, and in al-
most all authors to express a great
multitude. We have it in Heb.
XII. 1. *Seeing we also are com-
passed about with so great a cloud of
witnesses &c.* We have *νεφέλη*
μεγέθυς in Homer, Iliad. IV. 247:
nimbus peditum in Virgil, *Æn.* VII.

793. and clouds of foot in Paradise
Regain'd, III. 327. We have *pe-
ditum equitumque nubes* in Livy,
Lib. 5. and even *nubem belli* in
Virgil, *Æn.* X. 809. and *armo-
rum nubem* in Statius, *Theb.* IV.
839.

541. *Sad resolution and secure:*]
By *sad* here is meant sower and
sullen, as *tristis* in Latin and *tristo*
in Italian signify. Pearce.

Or possibly it means no more than
serious or in earnest, a sense fre-
quent in all our old authors. And
I remember a remarkable instance
of the use of the word in Lord
Bacon's Advice to Villiers Duke of
Buckingham; "But if it were
"an embassy of weight, concern-
Q q 2 ing

His adamantin coat gird well, and each
 Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orbed shield,
 Borne ev'n or high; for this day will pour down,
 If I conjecture ought, no drizzling shower, 545
 But rattling storm of arrows barb'd with fire.

So warn'd he them aware themselves, and soon
 In order, quit of all impediment;
 Instant without disturb they took alarm,
 And onward move imbattel'd: when behold 550
 Not distant far with heavy pace the foe
 Approaching gros and huge, in hollow cube
 Training his devilish enginry, impal'd
 On every side with shadowing squadrons deep,
 To hide the fraud. At interview both stood 555
 A

"ing affairs of state, choice was
 "made of some *sad* person of
 "known judgment, wisdom and
 "experience, and not of a young
 "man, not weighed in state mat-
 "ters &c." if *sad* there be not
 false printed for *staid* or *sage*. So
 it is used in Spenser for sober,
 grave, sedate. Fairy Queen, B. 2.
 Cant. 2. St. 14.

A sober *sad*, and comely cour-
 teous dame,
 and in other places.

541. — let each
 His adamantin coat gird well, and
 each
 Fit well his helm, gripe fast his
 orbed shield,] This is plainly
 copied from Agamemnon's direc-
 tions in Homer, Iliad. II. 382.

Εὐ μὲν τις δορυ διέτατο, εὐ
 δ' ἀσπίδα θέστω &c.

His sharpen'd spear let every Gre-
 cian wield,
 And every Grecian fix his brazen
 shield, &c. Pope.
 546. — barb'd

A while; but suddenly at head appear'd
Satan, and thus was heard commanding loud.

Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold;
That all may see who hate us, how we seek
Peace and composure, and with open breast 560
Stand ready to receive them, if they like
Our overture, and turn not back perverse;
But that I doubt; however witness Heaven,
Heav'n witness thou anon, while we discharge
Freely our part; ye who appointed stand, 565
Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch
What we propound, and loud that all may hear.

So scoffing in ambiguous words, he scarce
Had ended; when to right and left the front

Divided,

546. ——— *barb'd with fire.*]
Bearded, headed with fire. Of the
French *barbe*, and the Latin *barba*
a beard. Hume.

note on ver. 399. Pearce.
I knew one who used to think it
should be *hollow tube*: to which it
may be objected that *enginry*, *ma-*
chinæ, are the hollow tubes or guns
themselves. Fortin.

548. ——— *quit of all impediment;*]
The carriages and baggage of an
army were call'd in Latin *impedi-*
menta: and the good Angels are
said to be *quit of all impediment* in
opposition to the others incumber'd
with their heavy artillery.

553. *Training*] Drawing in
train, from the term, train of ar-
tillery.

568. *So scoffing in ambiguous words,*
&c.] We cannot pretend entirely
to justify this *punning* scene: but
we should consider that there is
Q q 3 very

552. ——— *in hollow cube*] Dr.
Bentley reads *square*, but see my

Divided, and to either flank retir'd: 570

Which to our eyes discover'd, new and strange,

A triple mounted row of pillars laid

On wheels (for like to pillars most they seem'd,

Or hollow'd bodies made of oak or fir, 574

With branches lopt, in wood or mountain fell'd)

Brass, iron, stony mold, had not their mouths

With

very little of this kind of wit any where in the poem but in this place, and in this we may suppose Milton to have sacrific'd to the taste of his times, when *puns* were better relish'd than they are at present in the learned world; and I know not whether we are not grown too delicate and fastidious in this particular. It is certain the Ancients practic'd them more both in their conversation and in their writings; and Aristotle recommends them in his book of Rhetoric, and likewise Cicero in his treatise of Oratory; and if we should condemn them absolutely, we must condemn half of the good sayings of the greatest wits of Greece and Rome. They are less proper indeed in serious works, and not at all becoming the majesty of an epic poem; but our author seems to have been betray'd into this excess in great measure by his love and admiration of Homer. For this account of the Angels jesting and insulting one another is not unlike some passages

in the 16th book of the Iliad. Æneas throws a spear at Meriones; and he artfully avoiding it, Æneas jests upon his *dancing*, the Cretans (the countrymen of Meriones) being famous dancers. A little afterwards in the same book, Patroclus kills Hector's charioteer, who falls headlong from the chariot, upon which Patroclus insults him for several lines together upon his skill in *diving*, and says that if he was at sea, he might catch excellent oysters. Milton's jests cannot be lower and more trivial than these; but if he is like Homer in his faults, let it be remember'd that he is like him in his beauties too. And Mr. Thyer farther observes, that Milton is the less to be blam'd for this punning scene, when one considers the characters of the speakers, such kind of insulting wit being most peculiar to proud contemptuous Spirits.

574. Or hollow'd bodies &c.] We must carefully preserve the parenthesis

With hideous orifice gap'd on us wide,
 Portending hollow truce: at each behind
 A Seraph stood, and in his hand a reed
 Stood waving tipt with fire; while we suspense 580
 Collected stood within our thoughts amus'd,
 Not long, for sudden all at once their reeds
 Put forth, and to a narrow vent apply'd

With

renthefis here, as Milton himself has put it. The construction then will be, *Which to our eyes discover'd a triple row of pillars laid on wheels, of brass, iron, stony mold or substance, had not their mouths gap'd wide, and show'd that they were not pillars; the intermediate words containing a reason why he call'd them pillars (for like to pillars most they seem'd or hollow'd bodies &c.)* being included in a parenthesis.

576. *Brass, iron, stony mold,*] *Mold* here signifies substance as in II. 355. but Dr. Bentley by reading *cast in mold* changes the sense of it to one of a very different nature. By this emendation (he says) he has rid the poem of *stone cannon*: but such cannon have been heard of elsewhere, and are now to be seen (I think) at Delf in Holland. Whether they ever were, or could have been used in war, may be question'd: but it is probable that Milton by seeing such *stone cannon* in foreign countries,

was led to mention them here as part of Satan's artillery. *Pearce.* We read before that these Angels digg'd up veins of mineral and stone, ver. 517. and that may account for the *brass, iron, stony* substance here.

578. *Portending hollow truce:*] Here Raphael himself cannot help continuing the pun.

580. *Stood waving*] This must certainly be an error of the press, occasion'd by *stood* in the line before or in the line following; but then it is a wonder that Milton did not correct it in his second edition. Dr. Bentley reads

— and in his hand a reed
Held waving tipt with fire;

and we should substitute some such word as this, as it makes better sense, as well as avoids the repetition of *stood* three times so near together.

With nicest touch. Immediate in a flame, 584
 But soon obscur'd with smoke, all Heav'n appear'd,
 From those deep throated engins belch'd, whose
 roar

Imbowel'd with outrageous noise the air,
 And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul
 Their devilish glut, chain'd thunderbolts and hail
 Of iron globes; which on the victor host 590
 Level'd, with such impetuous fury smote,
 That whom they hit, none on their feet might stand,
 Though standing else as rocks, but down they fell
 By thousands, Angel on Arch-Angel roll'd; 594
 The sooner for their arms; unarm'd they might

Have

586. — *deep throated engins*] *all her entrails.* So in ver. 740,
 So Shakespear in Othello, Act 741.
 III.

And oh, you mortal engins, whose
 rude throats
 Th' immortal Jove's dread clamors
 counterfeit.

That from *thy* just obedience could
 revolt,
 Whom to obey &c.

586. — *whose roar*
Imbowel'd with outrageous noise
the air,

And all her entrails tore,] The
 construction seems to be, *The roar*
of which (engins) imbowel'd with
outrageous noise tore the air and

Thy for of thee; and to this sense
 the word *whom* refers. This is com-
 mon in Milton's poem. Pearce.

The most natural and obvious con-
 struction is, *whose roar imbowel'd*
 or fill'd *the air with outrageous*
noise; but to this it is objected,
 that it is as much as to say that
 the

Have easily as Spi'rits evaded swift
 By quick contraction or remove; but now
 Foul dissipation follow'd and forc'd rout;
 Nor serv'd it to relax their ferried files.
 What should they do? if on they rush'd, repulse
 Repeated, and indecent overthrow 601
 Doubled, would render them yet more despis'd,
 And to their foes a laughter; for in view
 Stood rank'd of Seraphim another row,
 In posture to displode their second tire 605
 Of thunder: back defeated to return
 They worse abhorr'd. Satan beheld their plight,
 And to his mates thus in derision call'd.

O

the roar fill'd the air with roar. Neither do I see how the matter is much mended by saying that the roar of the cannon imbowel'd with roar tore the air &c. The cannon I think cannot themselves be properly said to be imbowel'd with noise, tho' they might imbowel with noise the air. I would therefore endeavor to justify this by other similar passages. It is usual with the poets to put the property of a thing for the thing itself: and as in that verse, II. 654. (where see the note)

A cry of Hell hounds never ceasing bark'd,

we have a *cry of Hell hounds* for the Hell hounds themselves, so here we have the *roar* of the cannon for the cannon themselves; and the *roar* of cannon may as properly be said to imbowel the air *with outrageous noise*, as a *cry* of Hell hounds to *bark*.

599. — *ferried files.*] The Italian word *ferrato*, close, compact. *Thyer.*

O Friends, why come not on these victors proud?
 Ere while they fierce were coming; and when we,
 To entertain them fair with open front 611
 And breast (what could we more?) propounded
 terms

Of composition, strait they chang'd their minds,
 Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,
 As they would dance; yet for a dance they seem'd
 Somewhat extravagant and wild, perhaps 616
 For joy of offer'd peace: but I suppose,
 If our proposals once again were heard,
 We should compel them to a quick result.

To whom thus Belial in like gamesome mood. 620
 Leader, the terms we sent were terms of weight,
 Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home,
 Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
 And stumbled many; who receives them right,
 Had need from head to foot well understand; 625
 Not understood, this gift they have besides,

They

620. *To whom thus Belial*] Who-
 ever remembers the character of
Belial in the first and second
 books, and Mr. Addison's remarks
 upon it, will easily see the pro-
 priety of making *Belial* reply to
 Satan upon this occasion and in this
 sportive manner, rather than *Beel-*
zebub, or *Moloch*, or any of the
 evil Angels.

635. *Rage*

They show us when our foes walk not upright.

So they among themselves in pleasant vein
 Stood scoffing, highten'd in their thoughts beyond
 All doubt of victory; eternal might 630

To match with their inventions they presum'd
 So easy', and of his thunder made a scorn,
 And all his host derided, while they stood
 A while in trouble : but they stood not long;
 Rage prompted them at length, and found them
 arms 635

Against such hellish mischief fit to' oppose.
 Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power,
 Which God hath in his mighty Angels plac'd)
 Their arms away they threw, and to the hills
 (For Earth hath this variety from Heaven 640
 Of pleasure situate in hill and dale)
 Light as the lightning glimpse they ran, they flew;
 From their foundations loosning to and fro
 They pluck'd the seated hills with all their load,

Rocks,

635. *Rage — found them arms*]
Furor arma ministrat.

Virg. *Æn.* I. 150.

643. *From their foundations &c.*]

There is nothing in the first and
 last day's engagement which does
 not appear natural, and agreeable
 enough to the ideas most readers
 would conceive of a fight between
 two

Rocks, waters, woods, and by the shaggy tops 645
 Up-lifting bore them in their hands: Amaze,
 Be sure, and terror feis'd the rebel host,

When

two armies of Angels. The second day's engagement is apt to startle an imagination which has not been raised and qualify'd for such a description, by the reading of the ancient poets, and of Homer in particular. It was certainly a very bold thought in our author, to ascribe the first use of artillery to the rebel Angels. But as such a pernicious invention may be well suppos'd to have proceeded from such authors, so it enter'd very properly into the thoughts of that being, who is all along described as aspiring to the majesty of his Maker. Such engines were the only instruments he could have made use of to imitate those thunders, that in all poetry, both sacred and profane, are represented as the arms of the Almighty. The tearing up the hills was not altogether so daring a thought as the former. We are in some measure prepared for such an incident by the description of the giants war, which we meet with among the ancient poets. What still made this circumstance the more proper for the poet's use is the opinion of many learned men, that the fable of the giants war, which makes so great a noise in antiquity, and gave birth to the sub-

limest description in Hesiod's works was an allegory founded upon this very tradition of a fight between the good and the bad Angels. It may perhaps be worth while to consider with what judgment Milton in this narration has avoided every thing that is mean and trivial in the descriptions of the Latin and Greek poets; and at the same time improved every great hint which he met with in their works upon this subject. Homer in that passage, which Longinus has celebrated for its sublimeness, and which Virgil and Ovid have copy'd after him, tells us that the giants threw Ossa upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Ossa. He adds an epithet to Pelion (*ειροσιφυλλον*) which very much swells the idea, by bringing up to the reader's imagination all the woods that grew upon it. There is further a great beauty in singling out by name these three remarkable mountains, so well known to the Greeks. This last is such a beauty, as the scene of Milton's war could not possibly furnish him with. Claudian, in his fragment upon the giants war, has given full scope to that wildness of imagination which was natural to him. He tells us that the giants tore up whole islands by the roots, and threw

When coming towards them so dread they saw
 The bottom of the mountains upward turn'd;
 Till on those curfed engines triple-row

650

They

threw them at the Gods. He describes one of them in particular taking up Lemnos in his arms, and whirling it to the skies, with all Vulcan's shop in the midst of it. Another tears up mount Ida, with the river Enipeus, which ran down the sides of it; but the poet, not content to describe him with this mountain upon his shoulders, tells us that the river flow'd down his back, as he held it up in that posture. It is visible to every judicious reader, that such ideas favor more of burlesque, than of the sublime. They proceed from a wantonness of imagination, and rather divert the mind than astonish it. Milton has taken every thing that is sublime in these several passages, and composes out of them the following great image;

From their foundations loosning
 to and fro
 They pluck'd the seated hills with
 all their load,
 Rocks, waters, woods, and by
 the shaggy tops
 Uplifting bore them in their
 hands: —

We have the full majesty of Homer in this short description, improved by the imagination of Clau-

dian, without its puerilities. I need not point out the description of the fallen Angels seeing the promontories hanging over their heads in such a dreadful manner, with the other numberless beauties in this book, which are so conspicuous, that they cannot escape the notice of the most ordinary reader. There are indeed so many wonderful strokes of poetry in this book, and such a variety of sublime ideas, that it would have been impossible to have given them a place within the bounds of this paper. Besides that I find it in a great measure done to my hand at the end of my Lord Roscommon's Essay on translated poetry. I shall refer my reader thither for some of the master-strokes in the sixth book of Paradise Lost, tho' at the same time there are many others, which that noble author has not taken notice of. *Addison.*

648. *When coming towards them so dread they saw*] Does not this verse express the very motion of the mountains, and is not there the same kind of beauty in the numbers, that the poet recommends in his excellent Essay on Criticism?

When

They saw them whelm'd, and all their confidence
 Under the weight of mountains buried deep;
 Themselves invaded next, and on their heads
 Main promontories flung, which in the air 654
 Came shadowing, and oppress'd whole legions arm'd;
 Their armour help'd their harm, crush'd in and
 bruise'd

Into their substance pent, which wrought them pain
 Implacable, and many a dolorous groan,
 Long struggling underneath, ere they could wind

Out

When Ajax strives some rock's
 vast weight to throw,
 The line too labors, and the words
 move slow.

656. *Their armour help'd their
 harm,*] Somewhat like that
 in Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1.
 Cant. 11. St. 27.

That erst him goodly arm'd, now
 most of all him harm'd.

661. — *now gross by sinning
 grown.*] What a fine moral
 does Milton here inculcate, and
 indeed quite thro' this book, by
 showing that all the weakness and
 pain of the rebel Angels was the
 natural consequence of their sin-
 ning! And I believe one may
 observe in general of our Author,
 that he is scarcely ever so far

hurried on by the fire of his
 Muse, as to forget the main end
 of all good writing, the recom-
 mendation of virtue and religion.

Thyer.

662. *The rest in imitation &c.*] *The rest* of the Satanic host that
 were not overwhelmed by the
 mountains, *in imitation* of the good
 Angels, &c.

666. *That under ground they fought
 in dismal shade;*] It was a
 memorable saying of one of the
 Spartans at Thermopylæ, who be-
 ing told that the multitude of Per-
 sian arrows would obscure the
 sun, why then says he we shall
 fight in the shade. I suppose that
 Statius alluded to this story in the
 following bold lines. *Thebaid.*
 VIII. 412.

Ex-

Out of such pris'n, though Spi'rits of purest light,
Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown. 661

The rest in imitation to like arms

Betook them, and the neighb'ring hills uptore;

So hills amid the air encounter'd hills

Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire, 665

That under ground they fought in dismal shade;

Infernal noise; war seem'd a civil game

To this uproar; horrid confusion heap'd

Upon confusion rose: and now all Heaven

Had

Exclusere diem telis, stant ferrea
cælo

Nubila, nec jaculis arctatus suffi-
cit aer.

But what was a shade of *arrows*
to a shade of *mountains* hurl'd to
and fro, and encountring in mid
air! This was *infernal noise* in-
deed, and making almost a Hell
of Heaven. Such was the uproar
in Hell, II. 539.

Others with vast Typhcean rage
more fell

Rend up both rocks and hills, and
ride the air

In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds
the wild uproar.

669. — and now all Heaven
Had gone to wrack, —] It is re-
mark'd by the critics in praise of

Homer's battels, that they rise in
horror one above another to the
end of the Iliad. The same may
be said of Milton's battels. In
the first day's engagement, when
they fought under a cope of fire
with burning arrows, it was said

—— all Heaven
Resounded, and had Earth been
then, all Earth
Had to her center shook.

But now, when they fought with
mountains and promontories, it is
said *All Heaven had gone to wrack*,
had not the almighty Father inter-
pos'd, and sent forth his Son in
the fulness of the divine glory and
majesty to expel the rebel Angels
out of Heaven. Homer's Iliad,
VIII. 130.

Evθx

Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread; 670
 Had not th'almighty Father, where he sits
 Shrin'd in his sanctuary of Heav'n secure,
 Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
 This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd:
 That his great purpose he might so fulfil, 675
 To honor his anointed Son aveng'd
 Upon his enemies, and to declare
 All pow'r on him transferr'd: whence to his Son
 Th' assessor of his throne he thus began.

Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd, 680
 Son in whose face invisible is beheld
 Visibly, what by deity I am,

And

Εθα κε λοιγῷ ἐνν, καὶ ἀμνη-
 χανά εργα γενοντο,
 Εἰ μὴ αὐ' οὐ νοησε πατήρ αν-
 δρων τε θεων τε.

So the Son is called in some of
 the Fathers, *παρεδρῷ Θεῷ*, dei
 assessor.

674. — *advis'd:*] Is here a
 participle adverbial, and very ele-
 gant; it means advisedly, design-
 edly; the same with the Latin *con-*
sulto or *prudens*, as in Horace, Od.
 I. III. 21.

Nequicquam Deus abscidit
Prudens Oceano dissociabili
 Terras. *Richardson.*

681. *Son in whose face invisible is
 beheld*
Visibly, what by deity I am,] So
 the first editions have pointed the
 sentence; and the construction and
 sense of it is this; *Son in whose
 face what is invisible is beheld vi-*
sibly, viz. what I am by deity.

Pearce.
Invisible here is a neuter adjective
 used for a substantive, and it is in
 allusion to these texts, Rom. I. 20.
*The invisible things of God are clearly
 seen,*

679. *Th' assessor of his throne*] So *The invisible things of God are clearly
 seen,*

And in whose hand what by decree I do,
 Second Omnipotence, two days are past,
 Two days, as we compute the days of Heaven, 685
 Since Michael and his Pow'rs went forth to tame
 These disobedient: fore hath been their fight,
 As likeliest was, when two such foes met arm'd;
 For to themselves I left them, and thou know'st,
 Equal in their creation they were form'd, 690
 Save what sin hath impair'd, which yet hath wrought
 Insensibly, for I suspend their doom;
 Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last
 Endless, and no solution will be found:
 War wearied hath perform'd what war can do, 695
 And

seen, and Col. I. 15. *The image of the invisible God.*

691. — *which yet hath wrought*

Insensibly,] This word doth not seem well to consist with that alteration, which the Angel had just before said that sin had wrought in the fall'n Angels.

Thyer. The same difficulty stuck with me at first; but, I suppose, the author meant that the manner in which sin wrought was *insensible*, not the effects.

695. *War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,*] And in
 Vol. I.

deed within the compass of this one book we have all the variety of battels that can well be conceiv'd. We have a single combat, and a general engagement. The first day's fight is with darts and swords, in imitation of the Ancients; the second day's fight is with artillery, in imitation of the Moderns; but the images in both are rais'd proportionably to the superior nature of the beings here describ'd. And when the poet has briefly compris'd all that has any foundation in fact and reality, he has recourse to the fictions of the poets in their descriptions of
 R r the

And to disorder'd rage let loose the reins,
 With mountains as with weapons arm'd, which makes
 Wild work in Heav'n, and dange'rous to the main.
 Two days are therefore past, the third is thine;
 For thee I have ordain'd it, and thus far 700
 Have suffer'd, that the glory may be thine
 Of ending this great war, since none but Thou
 Can end it. Into thee such virtue' and grace
 Immense I have transfus'd, that all may know
 In Heav'n and Hell thy pow'r above compare; 705
 And this perverse commotion govern'd thus,
 To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir
 Of all things, to be Heir and to be King
 By sacred unction, thy deserved right.
 Go then thou Mightiest in thy Father's might, 710
 Ascend my chariot, guide the rapid wheels
 That shake Heav'n's basis, bring forth all my war,

My

the giants war with the Gods. And when war hath thus perform'd what war can do, he rises still higher, and the Son of God is sent forth in the majesty of the almighty Father, agreeably to Scripture; so much doth the sublimity of holy Writ transcend all that is true, and all that is feign'd in description.

710. *Go then thou Mightiest &c.*] The following lines in that glorious commission, which is given the Messiah to extirpate the host of rebel Angels, are drawn from a sublime passage in the Psalms. The reader will easily discover many other strokes of the same nature.

Addison.

The

My bow and thunder, my almighty arms
Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh;
Pursue these sons of darkness, drive them out 715
From all Heav'n's bounds into the utter deep:
There let them learn, as likes them, to despise
God and Messiah his anointed king.

He said, and on his Son with rays direct
Shone full; he all his Father full express'd 720
Ineffably into his face receiv'd;
And thus the filial Godhead answ'ring spake.

O Father, O Supreme of heav'nly Thrones,
First, Highest, Holiest, Best, thou always seek'st
To glorify thy Son, I always thee, 725
As is most just; this I my glory' account,
My exaltation, and my whole delight,
That thou in me well pleas'd, declar'st thy will
Fulfill'd, which to fulfil is all my bliss.

Scepter

The Psalm here meant is the XLVth, ver. 3. & 4. *Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty: and in thy majesty ride prosperously &c.*

714. — *and sword upon thy puissant thigh;*] A great man observed to me, that the sentence falls in this place, and that it may

be improv'd by reading and pointing the whole passage thus,

— bring forth all my war,
My bow and thunder, my al-
mighty arms;
And gird my sword upon thy pu-
issant thigh.

R r 2

732. Thou

Scepter and pow'r, thy giving, I assume, 730
 And gladlier shall resign, when in the end
 Thou shalt be all in all, and I in thee
 For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'st:
 But whom thou hat'st, I hate, and can put on
 Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on, 735
 Image of thee in all things; and shall soon,
 Arm'd with thy might, rid Heav'n of these rebell'd,
 To their prepar'd ill mansion driven down,
 To chains of darkness, and th' undying worm,
 That from thy just obedience could revolt, 740
 Whom

732. *Thou shalt be all in all, &c.]* We may still observe that Milton generally makes the divine Persons talk in the stile and language of Scripture. This passage is manifestly taken from 1 Cor. XV. 24. and 28. *Then cometh the end when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God: And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.* And immediately afterwards when it is said

— I in thee

For ever, and in me all whom
 thou lov'st:

this is plainly in allusion to several expressions in John XVII. *That*

they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us. ver. 21. *I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou hast loved them, as thou hast loved me.* ver. 23. And when it is added

But whom thou hat'st, I hate,

is not this an allusion to Psal. CXXXIX. 21. *Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee, &c?* And there are several other instances, which the pious reader will perhaps be better pleas'd to recollect himself, than to have them pointed out to him.

737.—*rid Heav'n of these rebell'd,]*
 OF

Whom to obey is happiness entire.

Then shall thy Saints unmix'd, and from th' impure
Far separate, circling thy holy mount
Unfeigned Halleluiahs to thee sing,
Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief. 745

So said, he o'er his scepter bowing, rose
From the right hand of glory where he sat;
And the third sacred morn began to shine,
Dawning through Heav'n: forth rush'd with whirl-
wind sound

The chariot of paternal Deity,

750

Flashing

Of these rebellious, of these who
have rebell'd; a remarkable ex-
pression.

religious grandeur, which throws
the advantage on the side of the
English poet. *Thyer.*

746. *So said, he o'er his scepter
bowing, rose &c.]* The de-
scription of the Messiah's going out
against the rebel Angels is a scene
of the same sort with Hesiod's Ju-
piter against the Titans. They
are both of them the most un-
doubted instances of the true sub-
lime; but which has exceeded it is
very difficult to determin. There
is, I think, a greater profusion of
poetical images in that of the lat-
ter; but then the superior charac-
ter of a Christian Messiah, which
Milton has with great judgment
and majesty supported in this part
of his work, gives a certain air of

749. — *forth rush'd with whirl-
wind sound &c.]* Milton has
raised his description in this book
with many images taken out of
the poetical parts of Scripture.
The Messiah's chariot is formed
upon a vision of Ezekiel, who, as
Grotius observes, has very much
in him of Homer's spirit in the
poetical parts of his prophecy.

Addison.

The whole description indeed is
drawn almost word for word from
Ezekiel, as the reader will see by
comparing them together.

Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
 Itself instinct with Spirit, but convoy'd
 By four Cherubic shapes; four faces each
 Had wondrous; as with stars their bodies all
 And wings were set with eyes, with eyes the wheels
 Of beril, and carreering fires between;
 Over their heads a crystal firmament,
 Whereon a saphir throne, inlaid with pure

756

Amber,

— forth rush'd with whirlwind
 found

The chariot of paternal Deity,
 Flashing thick flames,

*And I looked, and behold, a whirl-
 wind came out of the north, a great
 cloud, and a fire infolding itself, I. 4.
 Or perhaps the author here drew
 Isaiah likewise to his assistance, Isa.
 LXVI. 15. For behold the Lord will
 come with fire, and with his chariots
 like a whirlwind.*

— wheel within wheel undrawn,
 Itself instinct with Spirit, but con-
 voy'd
 By four Cherubic shapes;

*Also out of the midst thereof came the
 likeness of four living creatures, and
 their appearance was as it were a
 wheel in the middle of a wheel; and
 when the living creatures went, the
 wheels went by them, for the spirit
 of the living creature was in the
 wheels. I. 5, 16, 19, 20.*

— four faces each

Had wondrous; as with stars their
 bodies all

And wings were set with eyes, with
 eyes the wheels

*And every one had four faces. I. 6.
 And their whole body, and their
 wings, and the wheels were full of
 eyes round about. X. 12.*

— the wheels

Of beril, and carreering fires be-
 tween;

*The beril is a precious stone of a
 sea-green color, and carreering fires
 are lightnings darting out by fits,
 a metaphor taken from the run-
 ning in tilts; The appearance of the
 wheels and their work was like unto
 the color of a beril; and the fire was
 bright, and out of the fire went forth
 lightning. I. 16, 13.*

Over their heads a crystal firma-
 ment,

Whereon

Amber, and colors of the show'ry arch.

He in celestial panoply all arm'd

760

Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,

Ascended; at his right hand victory

Sat eagle-wing'd; beside him hung his bow

And quiver with three-bolted thunder stor'd,

And from about him fierce effusion roll'd

765

Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire:

Attended

Whereon a saphir throne, inlaid
with pure
Amber, and colors of the show'ry
arch.

And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creatures was as the color of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above: And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a saphir stone: And I saw as the color of amber, as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain. I. 22, 26, 27, 28.

Aaron's breastplate; what they were critics and commentators are by no means agreed; but the word *Urim* signifies *light* and *Thummim* *perfection*; and therefore Milton very properly gives the epithet of *radiant* to *Urim*. It is most probable that *Urim* and *Thummim* were only names given to signify the clearness and certainty of the divine answers, which were obtain'd by the high-priest consulting God with his breast-plate on, in contradistinction to the obscure, enigmatical, uncertain and imperfect answers of the Heathen oracles.

760. He in celestial panoply all
arm'd

Of radiant Urim,] All arm'd in complete heavenly armour of radiant light. *Celestial panoply* is in allusion to St. Paul's expression, Eph. VI. 11. *Put on the panoply, the whole armour of God.* The word was used before, ver. 527. *Urim* and *Thummim* were something in

765. And from about him fierce
effusion roll'd

Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire:] A furious tempest pouring forth smoke and fighting flame round about him. *Bickering*, fighting and thence destroying, of the Welsh *Bicre* a combat. *There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his*

Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints,
 He onward came, far off his coming shone;
 And twenty thousand (I their number heard)
 Chariots of God, half on each hand were seen: 770
 He on the wings of Cherub rode sublime
 On the cryſtallin ſky, in ſaphir thron'd,
 Illuſtrious far and wide, but by his own
 Firſt ſeen; them unexpected joy ſurpris'd,
 When the great enſign of Meſſiah blaz'd 775
 Aloft by Angels borne, his ſign in Heaven;
 Under whoſe conduct Michael ſoon reduc'd
 His army, circumfus'd on either wing,
 Under their Head imbody'd all in one.
 Before him pow'r divine his way prepar'd; 780
 At his command th' uprooted hills retir'd
 Each to his place; they heard his voice, and went
 Ob-

his mouth devoured. Pſal. XVIII. 8.
A fire ſhall devour before him, and
it ſhall be very tempeſtuous round
about him. Pſal. L. 3.

Hume.

767. Attended with ten thousand
 thousand Saints,
 He onward came, &c.] Jude 14.
 Behold the Lord cometh with ten thou-
 sands of his Saints.

And twenty thousand (I their
 number heard)
 Chariots of God,

The chariots of God are twenty thou-
 ſand. Pſal. LXVIII. 17. I heard
 the number of them. Rev. VII. 4.
 Let it be remark'd how much of
 his ſublimity, even in the ſublimeſt
 part of his works, Milton owes to
 Scripture.

787. — bpoe

Obsequious; Heav'n his wonted face renew'd,
 And with fresh flow'rets hill and valley smil'd.
 This saw his hapless foes but stood obdur'd, 785
 And to rebellious fight rallied their Powers
 Insensate, hope conceiving from despair.
 In heav'nly Spi'rits could such perverseness dwell?
 But to convince the proud what signs avail,
 Or wonders move th' obdurate to relent? 790
 They harden'd more by what might most reclame,
 Grieving to see his glory, at the fight
 Took envy; and aspiring to his highth,
 Stood reimbattel'd fierce, by force or fraud
 Weening to prosper, and at length prevail 795
 Against God and Messiah, or to fall
 In universal ruin last; and now
 To final battel drew, disdaining flight,

Or

787. ——— *hope conceiving from
 despair.*] Imitated from
 Virgil.

*Una salus victis nullam sperare sal-
 lutem. Æn. II. 354.*

Or rather from Quintus Curtius.
 Lib. 5. cap. 4. *Ignaviam quoque
 necessitas acuit, et sæpe desperatio
 spei causa est.*

788. *In heav'nly Spirits could such
 perverseness dwell?*]

—Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?
 Virg. Æn. .III.

797. *In universal ruin last;*] So
 it is in Milton's two first editions;
 and if he wrote *last*, it must be
 understood the same as *at last*:
 but I was thinking whether it
 would

Or faint retreat; when the great Son of God
To all his host on either hand thus spake. 800

Stand still in bright array, ye Saints, here stand
Ye Angels arm'd, this day from battel rest;
Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God
Accepted, fearless in his righteous cause,
And as ye have receiv'd, so have ye done 805
Invincibly; but of this curst crew
The punishment to other hand belongs;
Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints:
Number to this day's work is not ordain'd
Nor multitude; stand only and behold 810
God's indignation on these Godless pour'd
By me; not you but me they have despis'd,
Yet envied; against me is all their rage,

Be-

would not be better to read *In universal ruin lost*, when I found it so in Dr. Bentley's edition, but without any note upon it, or any thing to distinguish the alteration, as if it had been so printed in all the former editions.

808. *Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints:] To me belongeth vengeance and recompense. Deut. XXXII. 35. Vengeance is mine, I will repay it, saith the Lord. Rom. XII. 19.*

826. *And full of wrath bent on his enemies.]* Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verse as mean and superfluous. I suppose he understood it thus, *And full of wrath bent his course, went on his enemies;* this is said afterwards, ver. 831. *He on his impious foes right onward drove, &c.* But it may be understood thus, *He chang'd his countenance into terror, and bent it so chang'd and full of wrath upon his enemies;* and I cannot see how this

Because the Father, t' whom in Heav'n supreme
Kingdom and pow'r and glory appertains, 815
Hath honor'd me according to his will.

Therefore to me their doom he hath assign'd;
That they may have their wish, to try with me
In battel which the stronger proves, they all,
Or I alone against them, since by strength 820
They measure all, of other excellence
Not emulous, nor care who them excels;
Nor other strife with them do I vouchsafe.

So spake the Son, and into terror chang'd
His count'nance too severe to be beheld, 825
And full of wrath bent on his enemies.

At once the Four spread out their starry wings
With dreadful shade contiguous, and the orbs

Of

is either mean or superfluous. Or rather *bent* may be a participle in this construction—*his countenance too severe to be beheld, and bent full of wrath on his enemies.*

827. *At once the Four &c.*] Whenever he mentions the four Cherubim and the Messiah's chariot, he still copies from Ezekiel's vision.

At once the Four spread out their
starry wings

With dreadful shade contiguous,

Their wings join'd together made a dreadful shade; and Ezekiel says, *Their wings were joined one to another.* I. 9.

— and the orbs

Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with
the sound

Of

Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the sound
 Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host. 830
 He on his impious foes right onward drove,
 Gloomy as night; under his burning wheels
 The stedfast empyréan shook throughout,
 All but the throne itself of God. Full soon
 Among them he arriv'd, in his right hand 835
 Grasping ten thousand thunders, which he sent
 Before him, such as in their souls infix'd
 Plagues; they astonish'd all resistance lost,
 All courage; down their idle weapons dropt;

O'er

Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host. And again, Odyss. XI. 605.

— ὁ δ' ἐρεμνὴ νυκτὶ εοικώς.

*And when the living creatures went,
 the wheels went by them; and when
 they went I heard the noise of their
 wings, like the noise of great waters,
 as the noise of an host. I. 19, 24.*

Gloomy as night he stands. Broome.

833. *The stedfast empyréan shook
 throughout,] The pillars of
 Heaven tremble, and are astonish'd
 at his reproof. Job XXVI. 11.*

Hume.

832. *Gloomy as night;]* From
 Homer, Iliad. XII. 462. where
 the translator makes use of Milton's
 words.

— ὁ δ' ἀρ' ἐδορε παίδιμ' Ἐχ'ωρ,
 Νυκτὶ δοῦν ἀταλάν' ὑπὸ πτεῖα.

838, *Plagues;]* The pause resting
 so upon the first syllable of the verse
 makes this word very emphatical.
 The reader may see beauties of the
 same kind in IV. 350. and the note
 there.

Now rushing in, the furious chief
 appears,

Gloomy as night ! Pope.

— others on the grass
 Couch'd

O'er shields and helms and helmed heads he rode 840
 Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate,
 That wish'd the mountains now might be again
 Thrown on them as a shelter from his ire.

Nor less on either side tempestuous fell
 His arrows, from the fourfold-visag'd Four 845
 Distinct with eyes, and from the living wheels
 Distinct alike with multitude of eyes;
 One Spirit in them rul'd, and every eye
 Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire
 Among th' accurs'd, that wither'd all their strength,

And

Couch'd, and now fill'd with pasture gazing sat.

Whose carcases on ground were
 horribly prostrate.

841. *Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate,*] Milton commonly pronounces this word, as we do, with the accent upon the first syllable. See I. 280. X. 1087. 1099. But here the accent is upon the last syllable, and so Fairfax uses it in his translation of Tasso, Cant. 1. St. 83.

And B. 3. Cant. 12. St. 39.

Before fair Britomart she fell prostrate.

He heard the western Lords would undermine
 His city's wall, and lay his tow'rs prostrate.

And Spenser, I think, commonly pronounces it in this manner, Fairy Queen. B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 54.

842. *That wish'd the mountains now might be again &c.]* So Rev. VI. 16. *They said to the mountains, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:* which is very applicable here, as they had been overwhelmed with mountains. See ver. 655. What was so terrible before, they wish'd *as a shelter* now.

853. Yet

And of their wonted vigor left them drain'd, 851

Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fall'n.

Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd

His

853. *Yet half his strength he put not forth, &c.*] There is no question but Milton had heated his imagination with the fight of the Gods in Homer, before he enter'd upon this engagement of the Angels. Homer there gives us a scene of men, heroes, and Gods, mix'd together in battel. Mars animates the contending armies, and lifts up his voice in such a manner, that it is heard distinctly amidst all the shouts and confusion of the fight. Jupiter at the same time thunders over their heads; while Neptune raises such a tempest, that the whole field of battel, and all the tops of the mountains shake about them. The poet tells us, that Pluto himself, whose habitation was in the very center of the earth, was so affrighted at the shock, that he leap'd from his throne. Homer afterwards describes Vulcan as pouring down a storm of fire upon the river Xanthus, and Minerva as throwing a rock at Mars; who, he tells us, cover'd seven acres in his fall. As Homer has introduced into his battel of the Gods every thing that is great and terrible in nature, Milton has filled his fight of good and bad Angels with all the like circumstances of horror. The shouts of armies, the rattling

of brazen chariots, the hurling of rocks and mountains, the earthquake, the fire, the thunder, are all of them employ'd to lift up the reader's imagination, and give him a suitable idea of so great an action. With what art has the poet represented the whole body of the earth trembling, even before it was created!

All Heav'n refounded, and had
Earth been then,
All Earth had to her center shook.

In how sublime and just a manner does he afterwards describe the whole Heaven, shaking under the wheels of the Messiah's chariot, with that exception to the throne of God!

— Under his burning wheels
The stedfast empyréan shook
throughout,
All but the throne itself of God.

Notwithstanding the Messiah appears clothed with so much terror and majesty, the poet has still found means to make his readers conceive an idea of him, beyond what he himself was able to describe.

Yet

His thunder in mid voly; for he meant

Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven: 855

The overthrown he rais'd, and as a herd

Of

Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
His thunder in mid voly; for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven.

all his wrath. And it greatly exceeds Hesiod, who makes Jupiter upon a like occasion exert all his strength. Hes. Theog. 687.

Οὐδ' ἀρ' ἐτι Ζεὺς ἰχθυόεντων μένθ'·
ἀλλὰ νυ τεύχε
Εἰθερ μὲν ῥέουσ' ὡπλυντο φρεσίν,
ἐκ δὲ τε πᾶσαν
Φαῖνε βίην.

856. — and as a herd

In a word, Milton's genius, which was so great in itself, and so strengthen'd by all the helps of learning, appears in this book every way equal to his subject, which was the most sublime that could enter into the thoughts of a poet. As he knew all the arts of affecting the mind, he knew it was necessary to give it certain resting places, and opportunities of recovering itself from time to time: he has therefore with great address interspersed several speeches, reflections, similitudes, and the like reliefs to diversify his narration, and ease the attention of the reader, that he might come fresh to his great action, and by such a contrast of ideas have a more lively taste of the nobler parts of his description.

Addison.

Yet half his strength he put not forth, &c. This fine thought is somewhat like that of the Psalmist, LXXVIII. 38. *But he being full of compassion, forgave their iniquity, and destroyed them not; yea, many a time turned he his anger away, and did not stir up*

Of goats &c.] It may seem strange that our author amidst so many sublime images should intermix so low a comparison as this. But it is the practice of Homer; and we have some remarkable instances in the second book of the Iliad, where in a pompous description of the Grecians going forth to battle, and amidst the glare of several noble similitudes, they are compar'd for their number to *flies about a shepherd's cottage, when the milk moistens the pails*; and after he has compar'd Agamemnon to Jove, and Mars, and Neptune, he compares him again to a *bull*. But we may observe to the advantage of our author, that this low simile is not apply'd, as Homer's are, to the persons he meant to honor, but to the contrary party; and the lower the comparison, the more it expresses their defeat. And there is
the

Of goats or timorous flock together throng'd
 Drove them before him thunder-struck, pursued
 With terrors and with furies to the bounds
 And crystal wall of Heav'n, which opening wide,
 Roll'd inward, and a spacious gap disclos'd 861
 Into the wasteful deep; the monstrous sight
 Struck them with horror backward, but far worse
 Urg'd them behind; headlong themselves they threw
 Down

the greater propriety in the similitude of *goats* particularly, because our Saviour represents the wicked under the same image, as the good are called *the sheep*. Mat. XXV. 33. *And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.* For which reason Dr. Pearce is of opinion that by a *timorous flock* are not meant sheep but deer, that epithet being as it were appropriated by the poets to that animal. Virgil has *timidi damæ* twice at least. Or the author (as Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin imagin) might have said not *or* but a *timorous flock*; and as a *herd of goats* a *timorous flock*. But he would hardly have call'd the same a *herd of goats*, and then a *flock* immediately afterwards, and neither would he have used the expression of *timorous flock* for a herd of deer in contradistinction to a herd of goats, tho' it is a proper phrase for sheep, which seem plainly to be meant by it. And it is probable that in the highth and fury of his description he did not

attend to the minuteness of that figurative distinction between goats and sheep, however beautiful it may be in its proper place: or if he had designed it, he would have avoided the ambiguity of such a word as *flock*, which seems improper either to goats or deer.

859. *With terrors and with furies to the bounds*] Job VI. 4. *The terrors of God do set themselves in array against me: and the fury of the Lord is a common expression in Scripture.* Isa. LI. 20. *They are full of the fury of the Lord.* And Virgil frequently uses *furæ* for such frights and disturbances of mind as drive persons to madness. See Georg. III. 511. Æn. I. 41. IV. 376, 474. &c. And so the word seems to be used here.

865. ——— *eternal wrath*
Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.] The uncommon measure of this verse, with only one Iambic foot in it, and that the last, is admirably contriv'd to express the idea.

Down from the verge of Heav'n; eternal wrath 865
 Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.

Hell heard th' unsufferable noise, Hell saw
 Heav'n ruining from Heav'n, and would have fled
 Affrighted; but strict fate had cast too deep
 Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound. 870
 Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,
 And felt tenfold confusion in their fall

Through

idea. The beauty of it arises chiefly from the Pyrrichius in the third, and the Trochee in the fourth place,

Burnt after them tō thē bōttōm-
 lēfs pīt;

and change them into Iambics, which some perhaps would think better, and it will lose its effect;

Burnt after them tō Hēll's trē-
 mēndōus pīt.

Milton himself was so sensible of this beauty, that he repeats it in *Paradise Regain'd*, I. 360.

— but was driven

With them from bliss to the bot-
 tomless deep.

868. *Heav'n ruining from Heav'n,*] *Ruining* is here used as a deponent; it is a beautiful way of speaking, and very expressive of the idea; it is founded on the notion of the Latin *ruina* from *ruo*. And Milton here follow'd the sense of the Italian word *rovinare* or *ruinare*, which

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in the dictionary Della Crusca is explain'd by falling headlong and violently from a higher to a lower place.

Pearce.

The word *ruining* in this place is the Italian word *ruinando* Anglicis'd, which expresses in the strongest manner the idea which the author wants to convey, as it denotes any thing falling down with ruin and precipitation. To give one instance out of a thousand. Tasso *Gier. Liberata*. Cant. 9. St. 39.

Come ne l' Apennin robusta pi-
 anta,

Che sprezzò d'Euro, e d'Aquilon
 la guerra

Se turbo inusitato al fin la schi-
 anta,

Gli alberi intorno *ruinando* atterra.

The following instance may be added too from Marino. *Adon*. Cant. 1. St. 36.

E *ruinando* dal' etherea mole.

Thyer.

871. *Nine days they fell;*] And so in Book I. 50.

S f

Nin

Through his wild anarchy, so huge a rout
 Incumber'd him with ruin: Hell at last
 Yawning receiv'd them whole, and on them clos'd;
 Hell their fit habitation fraught with fire 876
 Unquenchable, the house of woe and pain.
 Disburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repair'd
 Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.
 Sole victor from th' expulsion of his foes 880
 Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:
 To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood
 Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,

With

Nine times the space that measures
 day and night &c.

Thus in the first Iliad the plague continues nine days, and upon all occasions the poets are fond of the numbers nine and three. They have three Graces and nine Muses. What might at first occasion this way of thinking it is not easy to say; but it is certainly very ancient, and we are now so accusom'd to it, that if here, instead of nine, Milton had said ten days, I am persuaded it would not have had so good an effect. The same space of time is assign'd for the fall of Angels, as Mr. Lauder remarks, in one of the Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus translated into English by George Turberville.

Nay rather 'twas the cruel'st imp
 And spiteful'st fiend of Hell,

Of those with Lucifer that from
 The skies to dungeon fell;

That *nine days space* were tumbling
 down.

And possibly it might be said at first in allusion to Hesiod's description of the fall of the Titans. Theog. 722.

Εννεα γὰρ νυκτῶσσι καὶ ἡμέται,
 κ. τ. λ.

874. *Incumber'd him with ruin:*] This too, like the word *ruining* in ver. 868. must be taken in its Italian signification. *Ingombrato* is very poetical, and expresses the utmost embarrassment and confusion; but *incumber'd*, tho' plainly the same word, yet in its common acceptation has a meaning too weak and low for the author's purpose in this verse. *Thyer.*

876. *Hell their fit habitation — the house of woe and pain.*] Very like

With jubilee advanc'd; and as they went,
 Shaded with branching palm, each order bright, 885
 Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,
 Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion given,
 Worthiest to reign: he celebrated rode
 Triumphant through mid Heav'n, into the courts
 And temple of his mighty Father thron'd 890
 On high; who into glory him receiv'd,
 Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss.

Thus measuring things in Heav'n by things on Earth,
 At thy request, and that thou may'st beware

By

like that in Fairfax's Tasso, Cant. 9.
 St. 59.

Fit house for them, the house of
 grief and pain.

An instance this, and there are
 others, that Milton made use of
 the translation of Tasso, as well as
 of the original.

878. *Disburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd,*
 So Tasso when Michael has drove
 the infernal Spirits to Hell. Gier.
 Lib. Cant. 9. St. 66.

Liberato da lor quella fi negra
 Faccia depone il mondo, e si ral-
 legra.

The earth deliver'd from so foul
 annoy

Recall'd her beauty, and resum'd
 her joy. Fairfax. *Thyer.*

*Disburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd, and
 soon repair'd*

*Her mural breach, returning whence
 it roll'd.]* Returning is to be
 join'd in construction with *Heav'n*,
 and not with *breach*. Heaven re-
 turned to its place: But the ex-
 pression (as we noted before) is
 not very accurate, *Heav'n repair'd*
her mural breach, and return'd
whence it roll'd.

888. *Worthiest to reign:]* Al-
 luding to Rev. IV. 11. *Thou art*
worthy, O Lord, to receive glory,
and honor and power, &c. and so
 making the Angels sing the same
 divine song that St. John heard
 them sing in his vision.

893. *Thus measuring things in
 Heav'n by things on Earth, &c.]*
 He repeats the same kind of apo-
 logy here in the conclusion, that
 he made in the beginning of his
 narration. See V. 573. &c.

By what is past, to thee I have reveal'd 895
 What might have else to human race been hid;
 The discord which beset, and war in Heaven
 Among th' angelic Pow'rs, and the deep fall
 Of those too high aspiring, who rebell'd
 With Satan; he who envies now thy state, 900
 Who now is plotting how he may seduce
 Thee also from obedience, that with him

Bereav'd

By likening spiritual to corporal
 forms, &c

and it is indeed the best defense that can be made for the bold fictions in this book, which tho' some cold readers perhaps may blame, yet the coldest, I conceive, cannot but admire. It is remarkable too with what art and beauty the poet from the highth and sublimity of the rest of this book descends here at the close of it, like the lark from her loftiest notes in the clouds, to the most prosaic simplicity of language and numbers; a simplicity which not only gives it variety, but the greatest majesty, as Milton himself seems to have thought by always choosing to give the speeches of God and the Messiah in that stile, tho' these I suppose are the parts of this poem, which Dryden censures as the flats which he often met with for thirty or forty lines together.

900. *With Satan; he who envies
 now thy state,]* The con-

struction requires *him*, as Dr. Bentley says: or it may be understood *He it is who envies now thy state.*

909. *Thy weaker ;]* As St. Peter calls the wife *the weaker vessel.* 1 Pet. III. 7.

It may perhaps be agreeable to the reader to find here at the conclusion of this sixth book the commendations, which Lord Roscommon has bestow'd upon it in his Essay on translated verse, and to which Mr. Addison refers in a note above. That truly noble critic and poet is there making his complaints of the barbarous bondage of rime, and wishes that the English would shake off the yoke, having so good an example before them as the author of Paradise Lost.

Of many faults rime is perhaps the cause;

Too strict to rime, we slight more useful laws.

For that, in Greece or Rome, was never known,

Till

Bereav'd of happiness thou may'st partake
 His punishment, eternal misery;
 Which would be all his solace and revenge,
 As a despite done against the most High,
 Thee once to gain companion of his woe.
 But listen not to his temptations, warn
 Thy weaker; let it profit thee to' have heard
 By terrible example the reward

905

910

Of

Till by Barbarian deluges o'er- flown:	Defy'd Jehovah! Here, 'twixt host and host,
Subdued, undone, they did at last obey,	(A narrow but a dreadful interval)
And change their own for their in- vaders way.	Portentous fight! before the cloudy van
I grant that from some mossy idol oak	Satan with vast and haughty strides advanc'd,
In double rimes our Thor and Wo- den spoke;	Came trowning arm'd in adamant and gold.
And by succession of unlearned times,	There bellowing engins with their fiery tubes
As Bards began, so Monks rung on the chimes.	Dispers'd ethereal forms, and down they fell
But now that Phœbus and the fa- cred Nine	By thousands, Angels on Arch-An- gels roll'd;
With all their beams on our blest'd iland shine,	Recover'd, to the hills they ran, they flew,
Why should not we their ancient rites restore,	Which (with their pond'rous load, rocks, waters, woods)
And be what Rome or Athens were before?	From their firm seats torn by the shaggy tops,
Have we forgot how Raphael's numerous prose	They bore like shields before them through the air,
Led our exalted souls through heav'nly camps,	Till more incens'd they hurl'd them at their foes.
And mark'd the ground where proud apostate Thrones	All was confusion, Heav'n's foun- dations shook,

Threatning

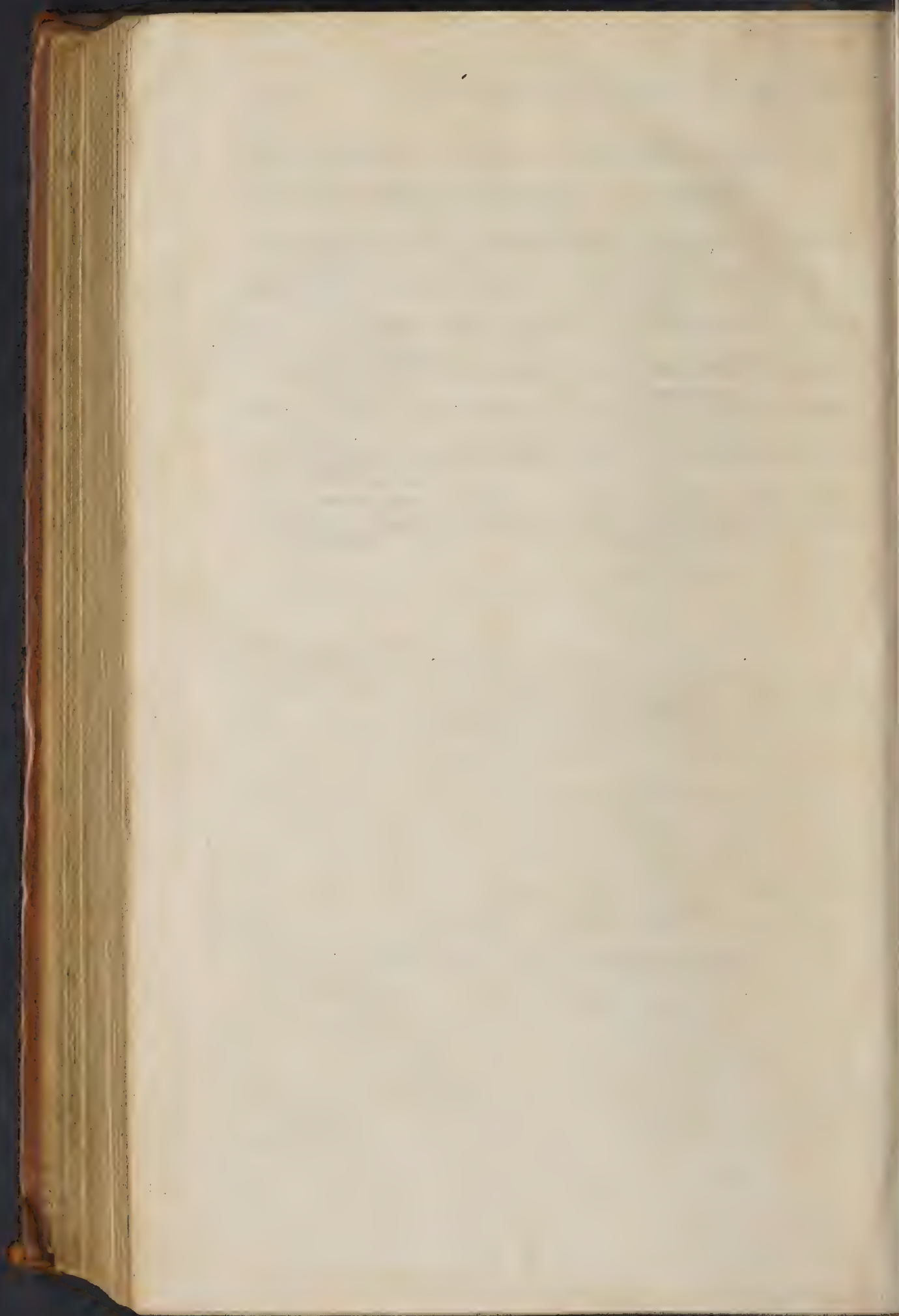
Of disobedience; firm they might have stood,
Yet fell; remember, and fear to transgress.

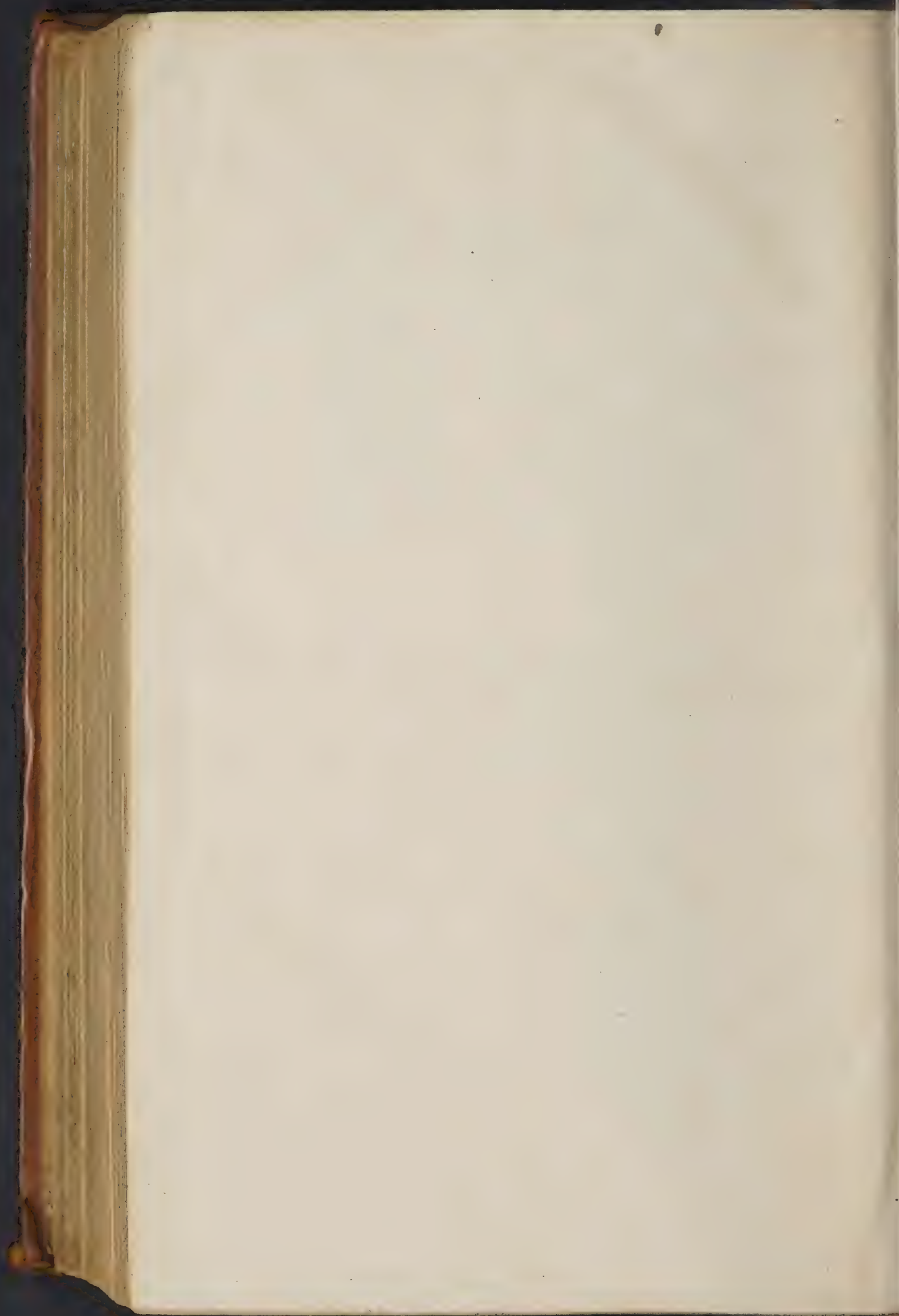
Threatning no less than universal wrack,	Drove th' old original rebels head- long down,
For Michael's arm main promonto- ries flung,	And sent them flaming to the vast Abyss.
And over-press'd whole legions weak with sin;	O may I live to hail the glorious day,
Yet they blasphem'd and struggled as they lay,	And sing loud Pæans through the crouded way,
Till the great ensign of Messiah blaz'd,	When in triumphant state the British Muse,
And (arm'd with vengeance) God's victorious Son	True to herself, shall barb'rous aid refuse,
(Effulgence of paternal Deity)	And in the Roman majesty appear,
Grasping ten thousand thunders in his hand	Which none know better, and none come so near.

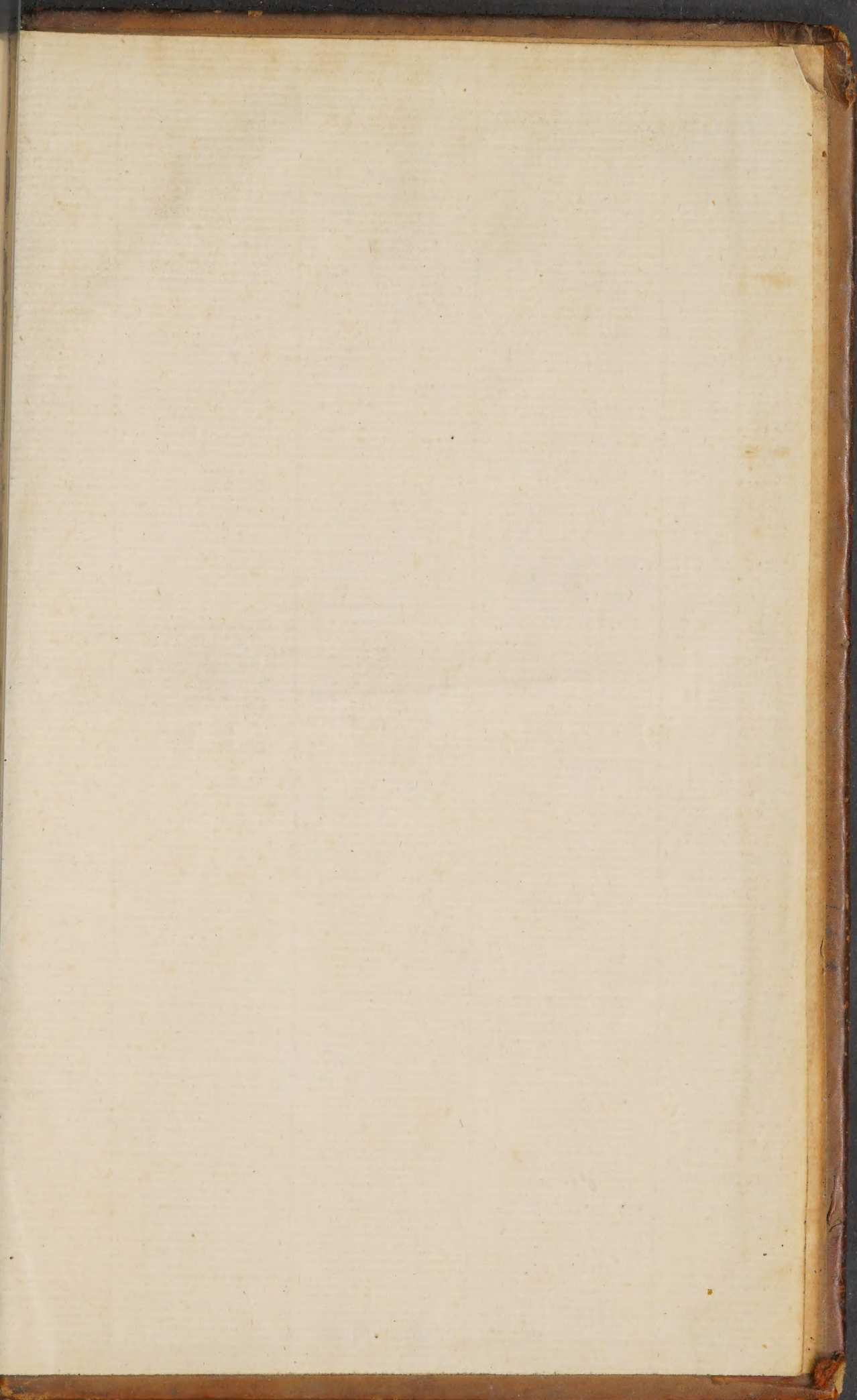
The end of the Sixth Book.

E R R A T U M.

Book V. 310. In the Note, for *cuo* read *ecco*.







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